

The Making of the Russian Nation

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“A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est'.”
Povesť vremennykh let.

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CHAPTER I

STATUS CAUSAE ET CONTROVERSIAE*

1. GENERAL REMARKS

THE present study is closely connected with my book *The Origin of Russia* (which, in what follows, will be referred to by the abbreviation *OR*), published nine years ago.¹ This book created interest in several countries as witnessed by many reviews and references, both in historical periodicals and in well-known newspapers (a list of reviews concerning *OR* can be found in Appendix I.). The opinions expressed were very helpful to me, providing valuable material for a reconsideration of my own views and urging me to renewed efforts in the quest for truth. The present treatise is their outcome. It is quite separate from *OR*, but since it deals with the same subject matter, I consider it to be a second stage of studies on a question in many respects very difficult and involved.

The difficulties are of many kinds, primarily of a technical nature. For research on the history of Eastern Europe a knowledge of the Russian language only is not sufficient. It is necessary to be acquainted with Ukrainian, White Rus'ian, Polish, Lithuanian, Latvian and Estonian historiography, and, on certain questions, also with Scandinavian and Balkan scholarship. I do not mention the evident need of familiarity with works written in English, French, German and Italian.

The literature concerning the early stages of East European history, even taking only purely scholarly studies,² is extremely abundant. Unfortunately, there does not exist a bibliography which includes everything that has been written on the subject in all languages. The existing bibliographical publications only partially meet

* I hereby wish to express my sincere thanks to my great friends, Karolina Lanckorońska and Walerian Meysztowicz, for their most valuable advice and assistance which they gave me in the course of my research on this subject.

¹ H. Paszkiewicz, *The Origin of Russia*, 1954, pp. 556 + xii, George Allen and Unwin, London; Philosophical Library, New York. A Chinese edition by Chen Chung Book Co. Ltd., Taipei, Formosa, 1956.

² I must, in these considerations, pass over popular or semi-popular books, which appear in many countries in considerable numbers, and which can be taken as evidence of growing interest, among the public, in the past of Eastern Europe, but which do not mark any advance of knowledge. In books of this kind we are often faced with all too eager conclusions, with premature synthetical generalizations, while the most fundamental problems have not been, as yet, sufficiently cleared up by historians.

this need.³ Also, and this should be well noted, many fundamental works are not to be obtained in the West even in the best stocked libraries.

There are, however, difficulties of a considerably graver character, which have left a disfiguring imprint on the literature of the subject and which have nothing, or at least should have nothing, to do with historical studies. These difficulties are due to emotional elements, political passions, national feelings, or as they are sometimes called 'patriotic' factors. It cannot be denied that they have slowed down, and are still slowing down, the progress of historical science. To illustrate these observations I shall quote the views of Presnyakov (concerning Russian historiography before the advent of the Soviet regime) and of Grekov.

'When I wrote my book⁴—says Presnyakov—I often pondered, with some misgivings, on a truly uncommon fact: here is a subject which has been thoroughly elaborated, here is material which is old

³ See N. Zdobnov, *Istoriya russkoi bibliografii do nachala XX v.*, 3rd ed., 1955; S. Reiser, *Khrestomatiya po russkoi bibliografii s XI v. po 1917 g.*, 1956; *Bibliografiya russkoi bibliografii po istorii SSSR. Annotirovannyi perechen' bibliograficheskikh ukazatelei, izdannykh do 1917 goda*, 1957; *Istoriya SSSR. Ukazatel' knig i statei, vyshed-shikh v 1877-1917 gg.* I, *Istoriografiya SSSR*, 1957; K. Simon, *Istoriya SSSR. Ukazatel' sovetskoi literatury, 1917-1952* I, 1956; A. Pankratova, *Istoriya SSSR. Annotirovannyi ukazatel' literatury dlya uchitelei srednei shkoly*, 3rd ed., 1955; A. Eikhengol'ts, *Obshchaya bibliografiya*, 1957; *Bibliografiya sovetskoi bibliografii* (published every year); I. Shovkoplyas, *Arkheologichni doslidzhennya na Ukraini (1917-1957)*, 1957; N. Vinberg, T. Zadneprovskaya, and A. Lyubimov, *Sovetskaya arkheologicheskaya literatura. Bibliografiya (1941-1957)*, 1959; V. Vinogradov, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' literatury po russkomu yazykoznaniiyu s 1825 po 1880 god I-VIII, 1954-1959*; N. Debets, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' literatury po yazykoznaniiyu izdannoii v SSSR s 1918 po 1957 g.* I, 1958; D. Likhachev, *Bibliografiya sovetskikh rabot po drevnerusskoi literature za 1945-1955 gg.*, 1956; cf. M. Itkin and others, O. sostoyanii i zadachakh sovetskoi istoricheskoi bibliografii, *Vol.* 1959 (6), pp. 195-203; A. Zil'berman, K voprosu o tekushchei istoricheskoi bibliografii, *ISSSR*, 1959 (4), pp. 218-219; G. Markovskaya and Z. Fradkina, *Sovetskaya istoricheskaya bibliografiya (1917-1958) in Sovetskaya bibliografiya. Sbornik statei*, 1960, pp. 195-229. Amongst bibliographical publications published outside Russia the following deserve special notice: R. Kerner, *Slavic Europe. A Selected Bibliography in the Western European Languages Comprising History, Languages and Literatures*, 1918; I. Gapanovitch, *Historiographie russe (hors de la Russie)*, 1946; J. Dorosh, *Guide to Soviet Bibliographies*, 1950; W. Philipp, I. Smolitsch, F. Valjavec, *Verzeichnis des deutschsprachigen Schrifttums (1939-1952) zur Geschichte Osteuropas und Südosteuropas*, *FÖG* I, 1954; an analogous list of literature on the subject in French, by R. Portal, *ibid.* IV, 1956; in Italian—by A. Tamborra, *ibid.* IV, 1956; in English (except the U.S.A.) by J. Keep, *ibid.* V, 1957; G. Stökl, *Russisches Mittelalter und sowjetische Mediaevistik*, *JGO* III (1), 1955; *idem*, *Zeitschriftenschau*, *ibid.* III (3), 1955; IV (2), 1956; *idem*, *Russische Geschichte von der Entstehung des Kiever Reiches bis zum Ende der Wirren (862-1613)*, *ibid.* VI (2), 1958; *Ost- und Südosteuropa im westlichen Schrifttum der Nachkriegszeit*, 1956; I. Smolitsch, *Verzeichnis des sowjetrussischen Schrifttums 1939-1952 zur Geschichte Osteuropas und Südosteuropas*, *FÖG* III, 1956; E. Amburger, *Bericht über die Veröffentlichungen zur Geschichte Russlands und der Sowjetunion ausserhalb der Sowjetunion (1939-1952)*, *HZ* 183 (1), 1957; H. Halm, *Achtzig Jahre russischer Geschichtsschreibung ausserhalb Russlands*, *JGO* V (1-2), 1957; D. Doroshenko, *A Survey of Ukrainian Historiography and O. Ohloblyn, Ukrainian Historiography (1917-1956)*, *AUA* V-VI, 1957; J. Curtiss, *History*, and F. Whitfield, *Linguistics*, in H. Fisher, *American Research on Russia*, 1959; *The American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies* (published every year); M. Woltner, *Die altrussische Literatur im Spiegelbild der Forschung*, *ZSP* XXI, 1952; XXIII, 1955; XXVII, 1959. Besides this in many other books and periodicals bibliographical notes concerning these problems are to be found.

⁴ A. Presnyakov, *Obrazovanie velikoruskogo gosudarstva*, 1918.

and well known, and yet it is necessary to establish anew elementary facts or fundamental, essential features on the phenomena one is investigating.' Presnyakov stresses that for the majority of historians dealing with the problem under consideration, written sources play a role only in so far as they justify ideas which have been accepted in advance. 'Thence followed—writes that scholar—a most peculiar fashion of examining sources and facts, which prejudged the methods of scholarly procedure . . . ; the data contained in the sources became, not the foundation of any further construction, but only a supply of illustrations which were to serve the defence of accepted historical and sociological doctrine.'⁵

Grekov states:

All these problems of the economic, social and political development of the East-European nations, and of the Eastern Slavs in the first place, are complex and difficult. It is quite natural that they should always have attracted the attention of those who were interested in the history of our country, and now they face us with greater acuteness than ever. Their importance for the present time is obvious: without the solution of these problems no adequate picture can be drawn of Russia's historical development as a whole. . . . Although all these questions relate to such distant times, their significance is far from being purely academic, which is why they have given rise to such a sharp controversy, reflecting the national and political outlook of those who have taken part in it. In consequence, the approach to the facts, the selection of the facts, and the manner of their treatment were very diverse.⁶

In another treatise the same author demands that before everything else the sources be investigated and that one should not 'allow oneself to be fascinated by sociological schemes alone'.⁷ Describing the studies of Parkhomenko, Grekov remarks that 'he [Parkhomenko] usually leaves facts aside under the pretext that they are doubtful and in this way is able to construct his hypothesis without any hindrances'.⁸ This observation is extremely valuable since it is applicable not only to Parkhomenko but to a great number of other authors, not excluding Grekov himself.

Elements of a political and national nature which, as Presnyakov rightly remarks, were very conspicuous in many works dating from before 1917, have reappeared in Soviet historiography.⁹ In addition,

⁵ A. Presnyakov, *Rech' pered zashchitoy dissertatsii pod zaglaviem: Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, LZAK XIII, 1920, pp. 3-6. E. Karsky, *Belorussiya* I, 1903 recalled, before Presnyakov, the historian's duty to 'proceed from the facts and not to adapt facts to preconceived theories'. Cf. V. Picheta, *Obrazovanie belorusskogo naroda*, Vol. I, 1946 (5-6), p. 12.

⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1944, pp. 8-9; 1953, pp. 11-12. Reprint of the last edition (1953) in B. Grekov, *Izbrannyye trudy* II, 1959. The English translation: B. Grekov, *Kiev Rus'*, 1959.

⁷ B. Grekov, *Osnovnye itogi izucheniya istorii SSSR za 25 let*, in *Dvadtsat' pyat' let istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR*, 1942 (ed. by V. Volgin, E. Tarle, A. Pankratova).

⁸ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1944, p. 275.

⁹ G. Stökl, *Russisches Mittelalter und sowjetische Mediaevistik*, JGO III (1), 1955, pp. 3, 5-6; K. Shtepa, 'The "Lesser Evil" Formula', in C. Black (ed.), *Rewriting Russian History*, 1956, pp. 107-120; N. Chubaty, in *A*, 1957, pp. 112-114. See also F. Barghoorn, *Soviet Russian Nationalism*, 1956.

doctrinal factors (the so-called laws of historical materialism) came to be applied and have even further complicated and hindered historical studies. I acknowledge the merit of Soviet historians in editing the texts of sources which have appeared of late,¹⁰ but with regret I must state at the same time that Soviet historical research despite its high opinion of its own methods and results,¹¹ in fact leaves much to be desired. Completely subordinated to party and government,¹² proud to serve political aims¹³ and to be the militant propaganda of Bol'shevism,¹⁴ it declares itself opposed to objectivity in historical research,¹⁵ and shows its contempt for the achievements of Western historians, more especially for those of the English-speaking world.¹⁶

During the 10th International Congress of Historians (Rome, 1955) it was noticed that a change of attitude towards non-Marxist

¹⁰ A list of these publications in: S. Valk, *Sovetskaya arkheografiya*, 1948; D. Likhachev in *Vol*, 1951 (5), pp. 106-109; A. Novosel'sky and V. Shunkov, *Izdanie istoricheskikh istochnikov v SSSR, Doklady sovetskoi delegatsii na X mezhdunarodnom kongresse istorikov v Rime*, 1955 (in Russian and French), and *IA*, 1956 (2); V. Shunkov, *Izdanie istoricheskikh istochnikov v SSSR v 1957 g.*, *IA*, 1958 (3); D. Likhachev, *Seriya monograficheskikh issledovaniy pamyatnikov drevnerusskoi literatury, IANOLY XIX* (3), 1960, pp. 237-242.

¹¹ The Soviet historians propound their opinions with great finality and a great air of superiority towards non-Marxist scholars. That superiority itself is based on the assumption *a priori* that 'Soviet historical learning is first and foremost in the world' (*samaya peredovaya v mire*). *Istoricheskoe znachenie knigi I.V. Stalina 'Istoriya Vsesoyuznoi kommunisticheskoi partii (bol'shevikov). Kratkii kurs'*, *Vol*, 1948 (9), p. 13. See also A. Sidorov, *Hauptprobleme und einige Entwicklungsergebnisse der sowjetischen Geschichtswissenschaft*, *R VI*, 1955, pp. 389-456; *idem* in *A*, 1957, pp. 101-102, 117-118.

¹² O nekotorykh vazhneishikh zadachakh sovetskikh istorikov, *Vol*, 1953 (6), pp. 3-4; Nauchnye i organizatsionnye zadachi sovetskoi arkheologii v svete reshenii XIX s'ezda KPSS, *SAr XVIII*, 1953, pp. 5-6; L. Cherepnin, *Bor'ba russkogo naroda za nezavisimost' v XIII v.*, *Istoriografiya*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR, IX-XIII vv.*, 1953, p. 768; A. Pankratova, *Nasushchny voprosy sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, *Kom XXX* (6), 1953, p. 61; *Za leninskuyu partiinost' v istoricheskoi nauke*, *Vol*, 1957 (3), p. 3; *Vazhnaya zadacha sovetskikh istorikov*, *ISSSR*, 1959 (3), p. 16; *Partiinaya propaganda i zadachi obshchestvennykh nauk*, *VAN*, 1960 (5), pp. 3-9; *Postanovlenie TSK KPSS 'O zadachakh partiinoi propagandy v sovremennykh usloviyakh' i istoricheskaya nauka*, *Vol*, 1960 (6), pp. 3-9; *Sovetskaya istoricheskaya nauka na novom etape razvitiya*, *Vol*, 1960 (8), pp. 3-18, etc.

¹³ A. Deborin in *Vol*, 1948 (12), p. 176; *O powiazanie polskiej nauki historycznej z nowym zyciem narodu*, *KH LX*, 1953, p. 22, etc.

¹⁴ A. Pankratova, *Marksistskaya istoricheskaya nauka—ideinoe oruzhie kommunistov*, *MP*, 1948 (6), pp. 18-24; *O zadachakh sovetskikh istorikov v bor'be s proyavleniyami burzhuaiznoy ideologii*, *Vol*, 1949 (2), p. 13, and others.

¹⁵ *Protiv obektivizma v istoricheskoi nauke*, *Vol*, 1948 (12), pp. 3-12; A.V., *Zasedanie uchenogo soveta Instituta istorii Akademii Nauk SSSR 24-28 marta 1949 g.*, *ibid.*, 1949 (3), p. 154; *Ocherki, IX-XIII vv.*, 1953, p. 8, and others.

¹⁶ M. Alpatov, *Sovremennaya reaktсионnaya istoriografiya—orudie amerikanskikh podzhigatelei voyny*, *Vol*, 1950 (9), pp. 123, 125 asserts that American historiography 'propagates ideological nonsense' and that American historians are 'the gangsters of learning'. The same author treats the question similarly in his paper *Reaktсионnaya istoriografiya na sluzhbe podzhigatel'noi voyny*, 1951; M. Levchenko, *Fal'sifikatsiya istorii vizantino-russkikh otnoshenii v trudakh A.A. Vasil'eva*, *VV IV*, 1951, p. 159 considers that 'contemporary bourgeois historical science is in a lamentable state of marasmus and moral decay'; B. Shtein, *Burzhuaiznye fal'sifikatory istorii (1919-1939)*, 1951, p. 236 writes: 'The fact that bourgeois historiography in its struggle against the Soviet Union, is constrained to have recourse to falsification testifies not to the strength but to the weakness of the capitalist camp'; I. Mints, *Noveishie uprazhneniya amerikanskikh fal'sifikatorov istorii SSSR*, *Vol*, 1953 (11), pp. 106-120 consistently alludes to American historians 'falsifiers of history'; similarly *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 8 speaks about 'contemporary Anglo-American counterfeiters of history'. Similar contemptuous designations and phrases from Soviet historical writings could be quoted indefinitely.

historiography had taken place. It was acknowledged that works of Western historians were valuable, if only to a certain extent, and that they should be taken into account in historical research.¹⁷ There is no doubt that such an attitude is much more reasonable from the scholarly point of view. Two circumstances, however, should be noted here. Western historians have not changed their methods nor yet their opinions on the aims and tasks of historical research. What good, therefore, can come from the acquaintance with the achievements of 'gangsters' and 'counterfeiters'? And, what is more important, this new appraisal of Western historiography is not the result of reflection on the part of Soviet historians, it is not the outcome of their studies and investigations, nor yet a consequence of the needs of Soviet learning, but has taken place under orders from the Communist Party in the same way as the former abuse and vilification. It is easy to see that this change was in connection with political events, such as the Geneva Conference of 1955. In one word, nothing has changed in the complete dependence of Soviet historians on Party and Government. 'In an unflinching application of Lenin's principle of the Party—we read in 1958—lies the guarantee of further creative successes of Soviet historical science.'¹⁸

Political considerations also determine the attitude of Soviet authors to pre-revolutionary Russian historical studies. At a certain period they were completely disqualified, whereas at other times they are not denied scholarly value.¹⁹ How arbitrary and full of contradictions are such assessments! Also, works published during the Communist period, even though under the patronage of the highest State authorities, are praised or blamed according to directives issued by the political quarters.²⁰ May it suffice to point out how great a role was played by such luminaries of Soviet scholarship as Marr and Pokrovsky, who after their death were violently dethroned by Stalin, 'the greatest scholar of all times and nations', 'the greatest coryphaeus of world science', as he was generally referred to. But this 'ingenious scholar' has also been cashiered after his death. In this way the most

¹⁷ Za dal'neishee ukreplenie nauchnykh svyazei mezhdu istorikami vseh stran, *VoI*, 1955 (8), pp. 3-10.

¹⁸ Lenin V.I. o partiinosti v istoricheskoi nauke *VoI*, 1958 (4), p. 22. See also A. Topchiev, Stroitel'stvo kommunizma i nauke, *Kom*, 1957 (13), p. 79; Za Leninskuyu partiinost' v istoricheskoi nauke, *VoI*, 1957 (3), pp. 3-19; Nashi zadachi, *IANOLY XVIII* (2), 1959, pp. 97-98; V. Vinogradov, XXI sezd KPSS i zadachi sovetskoi filologicheskoi nauki, *IANOLY XVIII* (3), 1959, pp. 193-208; N. Merpert, O semiletнем plane Instituta arkhologii AN SSSR, *SAr*, 1960 (1), pp. 3-13; Obshchee sobranie Akademii Nauk SSSR, *VAN*, 1959 (4), pp. 3-4. Similarly—*VAN*, 1959 (5), pp. 75-78; *VoI*, 1959 (5), pp. 3-21; *SAr*, 1959 (1), p. iii, etc.

¹⁹ Cf. Ob izuchenii istorii istoricheskoi nauki, *VoI*, 1956 (1), pp. 3-12. In this article the book *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v Rossii I*, 1955 (ed. by M. Tikhomirov, M. Alpatov, and A. Sidorov) was subjected to criticism while the old Russian historians, such as Karamzin, Evers, S. Solov'ev and others, were defended. The demand was also put forward for a different appraisal of the works of more recent historians, such as Pavlov-Sil'vansky, Presnyakov and others.

²⁰ Cf. A. Mazour and H. Bateman, Recent Conflicts in Soviet Historiography, *JMH XXIV* (1), 1952, pp. 56-68.

outstanding authorities in Soviet scholarship are 'gone with the wind' in an unexpectedly short time.²¹ In this connection, Presnyakov's remark should be remembered: 'In learning as well as in life, everything passes, only the truth remains.'²²

In order that truth may be attained I venture to suggest that work on the history of Eastern Europe, based on an independent examination of the sources, should be conducted by scholars of all nations.²³ This would automatically eliminate political tendencies which have for such a long time poisoned the atmosphere of learning and lowered the level of historical studies on the European East. In this connection it is necessary to remember that Russian historians—both Soviet and émigrés—are deeply convinced that Russia is a great mystery which foreigners are incapable of understanding and appreciating, and that her past, allegedly different from the rest of the world and allegedly enigmatic, cannot be sufficiently well understood and appraised by men of non-Russian descent.²⁴ In my opinion, only a scholarly effort on an international scale can lead to the true advancement of historical knowledge in the East-European past and clear up numerous problems of fundamental importance which, up to the present, are considered controversial in the literature on the subject.

Stökl gives a fair picture of the state of research on early East European history in its present phase. He rightly points out that three

²¹ I do not intend here to characterize the work of Soviet historians in detail as that has already been done. Cf. H. Jablonowski, *Die Lage der sowjetrussischen Geschichtswissenschaft nach dem zweiten Weltkriege*, *Saec* II, 1951, pp. 443-464; A. Ohloblyn, *Soviet Historiography*, in *Academic Freedom under the Soviet Regime*, 1954, pp. 69-77; G. Ritter (and G. Rauch), *Leistungen, Probleme und Aufgaben der internationalen Geschichtsschreibung zur neueren Geschichte*, *R* VI, 1955, pp. 277-279, 315; C. Black, *History and Politics in the Soviet Union*, in *Rewriting Russian History* (ed. by C. Black), 1956, pp. 3-31; H. Jablonowski in *A*, 1957, pp. 102-103; W. Lednicki, *ibid.*, pp. 110-112; R. Pipes, *ibid.*, pp. 103-104; P. Urban, *Changing Trends in Soviet Historiography*, *CR*, IX, 1959, pp. 11-24; V. Piroshkov, *Sowjetische Geschichtswissenschaft im inneren Widerstreit (1956-1959)*, *Saec* XI (1-2), 1960, pp. 180-198, and many others. See also R. Schott, *Das Geschichtsbild der sowjetischen Ethnographie*, *Saec* XI (1-2), 1960, pp. 27-63.

²² A. Presnyakov, *Rech' pered zashchitoi dissertatsii pod zaglaviem: Obrazovanie velikorusskogo gosudarstva*, *ŁZAK* XIII, 1920, p. 10.

²³ 'If one states that political, national or other factors weighed and continue to weigh on many studies devoted to the subject we are considering, one should put forward the demand that studies on the history of [Eastern Europe] . . . should finally be undertaken on a large scale from which all these unscientific elements should be excluded. The Ukrainian scholar, S. Tomashivs'ky (Nowa teoria o początkach Rusi, *KH*, 1929, p. 324) appealed to the Poles to take part in these studies, and this appeal should be broadened so as to apply to the historians of all nations'. H. Paszkiewicz, *Rus' (Russia) from the 9th to the 14th Century. Some Considerations on Modes and Methods of Research*, *TH*, 1950, p. 70.

²⁴ I share the opinion of Seton-Watson. 'At the outset—says that scholar—it should be stated that I do not believe that Russia and her problems are unique. They have, of course, their special features, but in many ways they are comparable with other peoples and other lands. I don't believe that Russian nature is something that human reason cannot penetrate. Some Russians will, it is true, contemptuously reject this view. "We are different", they will say. "You will never understand us". Here argument ends. Esoteric revelations and irrational rhetoric are unanswerable. All that one can say with absolute confidence is that there is nothing unique at all in the dogma, "My nation is unique". This attitude is as old as the human race. . . . It is a dangerous dogma, used by dubious people. It makes all human intercourse impossible.' H. Seton-Watson, *Soviet Nationality Policy*, *RR*, 1956, p. 3.

recent publications concerning roughly the same period, a work by several Soviet historians,²⁵ three volumes by Vernadsky,²⁶ and my own book (*OR*), representing together a total of over 3,500 pages, show such fundamental differences of opinion, that a reconciliation of the standpoints of their authors seems well nigh impossible.²⁷ Stökl's remarks may now be amplified. Recently a new book by Vernadsky has appeared²⁸ and if my present study be added the number of pages will greatly exceed 4,000.²⁹ The comments and reactions caused by the three works mentioned by Stökl also deserve notice. Smal-Stocki compares *OR* to Vernadsky's books³⁰ and the Soviet publications.³¹ Soviet historians also criticize Vernadsky when reviewing his works.³² The same must be said of non-Russian scholars.³³ Vernadsky, in his review,

²⁵ *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Period feodalizma IX–XV vv.*, I–II, 1953.

²⁶ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, 1943 (third printing, 1946); *idem*, *Kievan Russia*, 1948 (second printing, 1951); *idem*, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953.

²⁷ G. Stökl, Russisches Mittelalter und sowjetische Mediaevistik, *JGO* III (1), 1955, p. 7.

²⁸ G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959. Also in French, *Essai sur les origines russes* I–II, 1959.

²⁹ Not to speak of many other treatises published during those years.

³⁰ '[I speak] with profound respect about this laborious work [*OR*], with which the author has enriched, in English, the literature of Eastern Europe and which is a welcome counterbalance to Vernadsky's "Kievan Russia" and "The Mongols and Russia".' R. Smal-Stocki, in *CHR*, 1955, p. 197. Cf. R. Smal-Stocki, Vernadsky's Conception of the Origin of the Slavs, *PSSS* I, 1951.

³¹ 'All the basic problems which, in the Soviet Union, are regulated by orders and instructions from the Russian Communist Party, are freely discussed in this work [*OR*] which, in this regard, is a symbol of the lost academic freedom in Moscow's sphere of influence.' *Ibid.*

³² '[Vernadsky's book, *The Mongols and Russia*] will not be appreciated by scholars who have respect for truth.' N. Merpert and V. Pashuto, in *Vol*, 1955 (8), pp. 180–186; 'In the last works concerning the history of ancient Rus', such as those of Professor Vernadsky of Yale University, there unfortunately prevails the old conception of the rise of the Russian State, the falsity of which derives from the author's ignorance of and unwillingness to explore the new materials concerning the Slavs.' B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 30; *idem*, *Drevnie rusy. K voprosu ob obrazovanii yadra drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I.V. Stalina*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, p. 27. See also S. Pokrovsky, *Neonormanistskaya kontseptsiya obrazovaniya russkogo gosudarstva*, *SGP*, 1946 (1), pp. 84–88; M. Tikhomirov, *Slavyane v 'Istorii Rossii'* prof. G. Vernadskogo, *Vol*, 1946 (4), pp. 124–129; S. Tolstov, *Drevneishaya istoriya SSSR v osveshchenii G. Vernadskogo*, *ibid.*, pp. 113–124.

³³ 'Professor Vernadsky is regarded by some as an authority on the ancient history of Russia. The reader therefore opens this latest book of his [*The Origins of Russia*] with high hopes, especially since the author concerns himself with the relations of the Russian and other Slavonic peoples with those of the Caucasus and the Eurasian plain. . . . It is hard to find words to describe the egregious blunders, the preposterous asseverations which affront the eye on almost every page. . . . Out of the ocean of error and confusion with which this volume is filled, we have scooped only a few drops by way of sample. Since all the individuals and many of the tribes and nations dealt with have been extinct for about a thousand years, no statement made about them, however absurd, can harm them now. The sophisticated reader may even derive pleasure from some of the more fanciful pieces of lore crammed pell-mell into these pages, for the author has cast his net wide. But the prospective purchaser should not be led into mistaking this farrago of nonsense for a genuine contribution to learning. Or is this nothing but a veteran scholar's practical joke on a large scale?', D. Lang, in *BSOAS* XXII (2), 1959, p. 371. 'It [*Essai sur les origines russes*] will remain one of the major curiosities of Russian historiography and a monument to the gullibility of publishers and their learned advisers. It is not a book to be recommended to a serious scholar interested in the origins of Russia.' D. Lang, in *SEER* XXXVIII (No. 91), 1960, pp. 564–567.

criticizes my theses.³⁴ Stökl contrasts *OR* to the *Ocherki*.³⁵ It is difficult to find more striking examples of differences of opinion.

In view of this fact it is worth while to remember the words written by Korduba thirty years ago because they have lost nothing of their significance. He had in mind the same problems which were considered in *OR*.

Historians—said that scholar—differ from mathematicians in this, that the latter having established that a problem or task is insoluble . . . simply leave it alone, while historians all the time return to such a question with pertinacity, racking their brains for new ideas, so that in the outcome the literature on such subjects swells to terrifying dimensions, very often without bringing about any advancement whatever of the problem itself.³⁶

We have, therefore, to face the question whether the origin and formation of Rus' really do represent insoluble riddles? There is no denying that the enigmatic character of the problem, in spite of the abundance of sources on the one hand and polemics lasting about 200 years on the other, really is very fascinating. It is not astonishing that scholars wish to wrest this great secret from the past. This secret in itself is many times more important than all the political tendencies which have enveloped it and only brought about a great entanglement of facts and conceptions.

May I be allowed, in spite of Korduba, whom I regard very highly as an historian and remember very warmly as my friend, to express my deep conviction that the problem before us is undoubtedly susceptible of a solution. In my opinion, the road to this goal leads along the line of a precise analysis of the texts of sources belonging to the period. Thus, the emphasis is on the method of study.

2. SOURCES

Let us now in turn pass to the historical sources and to methods of making use of them.

I advanced in *OR* the following principle:

³⁴ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, pp. 293-301.

³⁵ 'It is the same historical subject treated once [*Ocherki*] by a team of well schooled specialists, to whom it is not given to sound the secrets of historical development but only to demonstrate in the particular the truth of generally acknowledged maxims. In the second instance [*OR*] the subject has been taken up by a single investigator who is bent on discovering how things were in reality; and he has the intellectual courage to reshape entirely a whole series of the most controversial problems in the medieval history of Eastern Europe. In the *Ocherki* the discussion is taken to be finished and decided long ago in a complacent absence of complications. With Paszkiewicz everything is subject to discussion. . . . This opposition of method is reflected in the opposition of the results: for the authors of the *Ocherki* the history of Rus' appears as the outcome of changing conditions of production on the basis of a possibly old and possibly large monolithic, national foundation of Eastern Slavdom or Russianism, whereas the critical analyst Paszkiewicz perceives an extraordinary variety of ethnical elements, which find an over-all unity only in the spiritual sphere, in the Christian faith of Rus'.' G. Stökl, *Russisches Mittelalter*, p. 6.

³⁶ M. Korduba, *Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi*, *PH*, 1932, p. 58; also in French, in *MS*, 1931.

It is not permissible to correct the written sources unless other sources of the same category contradict them. A source which is contrary to a great many others in the information which it conveys must be treated with reserve and subjected to a careful examination, so that the degree of its trustworthiness can be established. Only if the result of such examination is favourable can the historian accept the information contained in the source. If it becomes necessary to decide which source is the most important, regard should be given, first of all, to the place and time of its origin. These requirements are so obvious that they need not even be formulated if it were not for the fact that many authors appear constantly to forget such very elementary principles.³⁷

Likhachev is opposed to the views of pre-Soviet historiography, according to which the history of every text is in fact the history of its gradual warping by copyists. Hence the priority accorded to 'corrected' or 'more correctly deciphered' texts although these 'corrections' often proved to be very subjective and misleading. Likhachev is of the opinion that the alterations of a text cannot be studied without reference to the political tendencies visible in the source itself, nor yet its contents understood, without reference to the totality of historical conditions in the given epoch.³⁸

Historians in the Soviet Union are inclined to exaggerate greatly the political tendencies allegedly apparent in the texts preserved from the epoch in question. Such an attitude towards the sources encourages particular authors in their turn to 'obliterate' such traces of political elements which they interpret in a most arbitrary fashion. In practice, therefore, we are continually confronted with the 'correction' of sources no less arbitrary than that mentioned by Likhachev in relation to the older historical writing.

A convincing example of the truth of this observation is provided by an article by Chernykh in which the author violently attacks pre-Soviet scholars for wanting texts of sources published without any changes whatsoever.³⁹ According to Chernykh, such demands are proof of 'mendacious scientific "objectivism" and formalism'. If Chernykh's demand, and that of similarly minded authors,⁴⁰ were to be realized, Soviet historians would have at their disposal only texts that have been 'corrected', practically speaking censored, according to the directives of the one and only infallible authority, to wit, the Soviet Communist Party. Different views on this subject are held by Cherepnin,⁴¹ Likhachev,⁴² Ustyugov,⁴³ Zimin,⁴⁴ etc.⁴⁵

³⁷ *OR*, p. 113.

³⁸ D. Likhachev, *Nekotorye novye printsipy v metodike tekstologicheskikh issledovanii drevnerusskikh literaturnykh pamyatnikov*, *TANOLY* XIV (5), 1955, pp. 403-419.

³⁹ V. Chernykh, *Razvitie metodov peredachi teksta istoricheskikh pamyatnikov v russkoi dorevolutsionnoi arkhografii*, *IA*, 1955 (4), pp. 201-211.

⁴⁰ Cf. E. Tal'man, *O peredache teksta istoricheskikh istochnikov*, *IA*, 1956 (5), pp. 174-186; I. Korneva, *ibid.*, p. 242 and in *TMAI* VIII, 1957 (unavailable to me). Cf. V. Avtokratov and A. Zimin, in *IA*, 1958 (2), p. 225.

⁴¹ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 23, 564-569.

⁴² D. Likhachev, *Po povodu stat'i V. A. Chernykha o razvitii metodov peredachi teksta istoricheskikh istochnikov*, *IA*, 1956 (3), pp. 188-193.

As to the manglings of the texts by later copyists, these date chiefly from the 15th and especially from the 16th century and are in connection with Moscow's tendency to form her own new version of history, corresponding to her aspirations and political claims.⁴⁶ I do not say that certain alterations in the texts were not sometimes made in earlier times but there is no reason whatever to generalize and exaggerate the frequency of the occurrence. Such alterations, where they occurred, concerned rather the language of the documents than the actual contents of the sources. That is why I consider it only admissible to propose a change in a preserved text in exceptional cases and only after it is proved that the text in question has been consciously or unconsciously distorted; mere suppositions cannot be considered as sufficient reasons. The fact remains that what is termed 'correcting sources' is a very risky procedure based on hypothetical grounds. Far-reaching conclusions are generally based on allegedly 'corrected' texts and, thus, hypotheses are built on hypotheses. In the upshot, proud cupolas come into being without any sort of scientific value.

The problem under consideration will cease to be controversial when the analysis of the texts preserved in the sources (and not 'corrected'!) produces a clear picture of a consistent and harmonious whole. In one word, it is not through incessant corrections, which in point of fact are distortions of the sources, but only through an ever more accurate analysis of the preserved texts that we can expect to approach truth. If the conclusions I have reached in *OR* differ from those of my predecessors,⁴⁷ this is chiefly due to the circumstance that I have, as faithfully as possible, stood by the sources and by the facts averred by them.⁴⁸ In his review of *OR*, Shevelov states simultaneously that: (1) 'The method he (Paszkievicz) pursues is to stick to the facts

⁴⁶ Cf. D. Mikhailova, *Obsuzhdenie voprosa o peredache teksta istoricheskikh istochnikov*, *IA*, 1956 (6), p. 242. Ustyugov is in favour of correcting the source and of printing these corrections, but not in the text itself and only in the notes to it.

⁴⁷ A. Zimin, in *IA*, 1956 (5), p. 239. Where the reconstruction of original texts on the basis of later material is concerned, an interesting polemic has ensued between Likhachev and Zimin. Cf. D. Likhachev, *Nekotorye novye printsipy*, pp. 403-419; A. Zimin, *O priemakh nauchnoi rekonstruktsii istoricheskikh istochnikov X-XVII vv.*, *IA*, 1956 (6), pp. 133-143; D. Likhachev, *K voprosu o rekonstruktsiyakh drevnerusskikh tekstov*, *ibid.*, 1957 (6), pp. 154-166.

⁴⁸ Cf. F. Bronowski and B. Krzemieńska, *Z zagadnień źródłoznawstwa w nauce radzieckiej*, *SZ* IV, 1959, pp. 125-133.

⁴⁶ M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.*, 1940, p. 6; D. Likhachev, *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba Moskvyy i Novgoroda v XIV-XV vv.*, *IsZ*, 1941, pp. 43-56; L. Cherepnin, *Dokumenty moskovskogo velikoknyazheskogo arkhiva i ikh znachenie v politicheskoi bor'be pri Ivane III*, *TIAI* II, 1946, pp. 3-67. Cf. M. Il'in, *Tverskaya literatura XV v. kak istoricheskii istochnik*, *TIAI* III, 1947, pp. 17-68.

⁴⁷ When comparing the *Ocherki istorii SSSR* with *OR*, Stökl, already quoted, writes: 'Contradiction in methods finds its counterpart in contradictory results [following from these works].'

⁴⁸ Other reviewers have noted this. 'Paszkievicz keeps close to a strict interpretation of the documentary sources' (Kirchner). 'By a thorough examination of contemporary sources, Russian—in particular the Chronicle of 'Nestor'—Jewish, Greek, Arabic, and others, he [Paszkievicz] sheds new light on Eastern Europe' (Skwarczyński).

as presented in the sources', and that (2) 'he loses, time and again, all objectivity necessary to solve any problem'.⁴⁹ This implies that faithful adherence to the texts of the sources leads to loss of objectivity.

A similar attitude towards the written sources was taken by many other authors. 'We have—says Grekov—at our disposal only scanty, or vague or inaccurate information.'⁵⁰ According to Raudonikas, written sources are 'mostly deficient, contradictory, and enigmatic'.⁵¹ Łowmiański negatively assesses the value of these sources, 'which, although numerous and varied, are neither reliable nor precise, nor even in agreement with one another'.⁵² Rybakov⁵³ and Lopatin⁵⁴ also see vivid contradictions in them. Other authors are somewhat more cautious, nevertheless they consider the written sources as insufficiently clear and admitting of various interpretations. As a result of all these opinions a conviction has developed in historical writing that the problem we have to deal with cannot be solved only on the basis of written sources.

Both in my preceding book and in the present one I represent a fundamentally different point of view. I am deeply convinced that the preserved texts of the sources abound in information, that they do not contain contradictory data, that they complement one another and produce complete clarity in respect of the problem I have put forward. If, therefore, *OR* is controversial, as some of my reviewers maintain, the controversy can be reduced to a different appraisal of the meaning and value of written sources.

When—in my opinion, much too eagerly—written sources were declared to be insufficient, and there was little hope of finding new texts relating to such distant times, recourse was had to the help of archaeologists and linguists. In this question I have taken the following line: 'Written sources should be the foundation of our research. Archaeological and linguistic material, which by its very nature is largely hypothetical, has its importance, but this is mainly auxiliary.'⁵⁵

There is no doubt that historians can be quite rightly expected to take the works of archaeologists and linguists into account. However, reservations should be made as to the scale on which this is done. If one charges written sources with being 'scanty' and 'vague', it is difficult not to observe that the explanations of archaeologists and linguists are seldom less, and often more hypothetical. This material must be accepted with great caution. Meanwhile the exact contrary

⁴⁹ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, pp. 42–43.

⁵⁰ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 11.

⁵¹ W. Raudonikas, *Die Normannen der Wikingerzeit und das Ladogagebiet*, 1930, p. 7.

⁵² H. Łowmiański, *Zagadnienie roli Normanów w genezie państw słowiańskich*, 1957, p. 35.

⁵³ B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 38(81).

⁵⁴ I. Lopatin, in *WAI*, 1955, p. 107.

⁵⁵ *OR*, p. 113. In this respect I strongly disagree with the views of Rybakov. Cf. B. Rybakov, *Mesto slavyano-russkoi arkheologii v sovetskoj istoricheskoi nauke*, *SAr*, 1957 (4), pp. 55–65.

has happened. In studies on early East European history claims have been based on archaeological and linguistic materials, and surprisingly enough, these claims are put forward by historians (Grekov, Vernadsky, etc.) who do not find in written sources sufficient arguments to support their theses. Today the chief spokesmen on matters connected with my subject are archaeologists and linguists. The archaeologist Rybakov publishes his papers not only in archaeological but also in historical periodicals. *OR* which is a purely historical book has been reviewed by the linguist Jakobson not in a linguistic periodical, but in *The American Historical Review*.

The situation thus created is paradoxical indeed. Historians with uncommon zeal become archaeologists and linguists, while archaeologists and linguists turn to history. In certain cases archaeologists have become linguists and *vice versa*. What is more, political elements come in and politicians (*e.g.*, Stalin) turn scholars and scholars politicians. Such a state of affairs hampers the development of historical studies. The level of such studies is lowered more especially by many Soviet archaeologists who often draw all too bold and unwarranted conclusions. These archaeologists either do not read the texts of the sources⁵⁶ or they know them and correct them in a very arbitrary fashion. My attitude towards the results of Soviet archaeological investigations relating to the period I am interested in (9th to 14th century) differs. I accept them if they are in accordance with written sources. I do not accept them if they are not confirmed by written sources. I reject them if they are contradicted by written sources.

This attitude of mine towards archaeological (and partly also linguistic) studies has been remarked upon by my reviewers. Some of them merely record the fact,⁵⁷ while others, like for instance Vernadsky or Shevelov hold this against me. 'It was of no avail—writes the latter—to restrict his sources to written ones only and to discard archaeological and linguistic data, with but few exceptions.' And further on: 'Of course, collaboration with archaeologists and linguists would contribute to an objective examination of data.'⁵⁸ The reviewer quotes Rybakov's study dating from 1953 as a model of valuable archaeological work.

In view of Shevelov's opinion that the results of Soviet archaeological studies are so important, I will allow these archaeologists to speak for themselves. It is worth noting that their point of view as

⁵⁶ 'Many [Soviet] archaeologists are, unfortunately, loath to refer to the [Kievan] Chronicle in general, probably because they harbour exaggerated ideas of the difficulty of the Old Russian language.' A. Artsikhovskiy, *V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov*, *SAr*, 1937, p. 54.

⁵⁷ 'He [Paszkievicz] has read Soviet archaeologists very widely' (Stöckl). 'With regard to archaeological findings and linguistic arguments, Paszkievicz is sceptical . . . Archaeological and linguistic evidence he finds largely hypothetical and of auxiliary importance only' (O'Brien). 'He is extremely cautious of archaeological and philological finds' (Kirchner). 'The author . . . suggests some rules for the exploitation of sources in which linguistics is mainly regarded of auxiliary importance' (Smal-Stocki).

⁵⁸ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, pp. 42, 44.

expressed below was formulated and published in the leading journal of Soviet archaeology (*Sovetskaya arkheologiya*) as an editorial intended to serve as a signpost for further archaeological research in the Soviet Union, all this at the very time when Rybakov's treatise was about to appear. We read:

The basic direction of bourgeois historical and also archaeological science is toward the propagation of idealism, the diffusion of theories of cosmopolitanism, of militarism and of militant racism. The unrelenting unmasking of bourgeois falsifiers of the historical process, these scientific flunkies of imperialism, constitutes the most important task of Soviet archaeologists. . . . All Soviet archaeologists in their every-day work, in their monographs and articles concerning the many problems of archaeological science, should always, starting from the basic standpoint of Marxist-Leninist theory, critically examine the work of contemporary foreign bourgeois archaeologists no less than those of pre-revolutionary Russians. Soviet archaeologists should take a Party view and not admit [into their studies] any objectivity or any idea of conciliation with regard to works which are hostile to us in the way of ideology.⁵⁹

The same attitude was taken in 1959: 'Soviet historians and archaeologists . . . base their research-work on the instructions of the Party'.⁶⁰

Since Shevelov does not quote the title of Rybakov's paper he had in mind, and restricts himself to a general allusion to 'the article by Rybakov in *Sovetskaja Arkheologija*, 17', I do it in his place. The title is: 'The Ancient Rus'. The Problem of the Formation of the Nucleus of the Old-Rus'ian Nationality in the Light of the Works of I. V. Stalin'.⁶¹ The contents is in keeping with the title and provides an archaeological 'justification' of the theses advanced by Stalin. The theories of Rybakov will be discussed at greater length in Chapter III of the present book. Here it will suffice to quote a few fragments from Rybakov's study in order to show its style and character. Speaking of the theory of the Norse descent of the Rus', Rybakov says: 'After many of the Normanists' arguments were rejected, the Normanist theory remained suspended somewhere between conservative learning and political pamphleteering. The fascist falsifiers of history in Hitler's Germany, in the U.S.A. and in other imperialistic countries have made the Normanist theory their battle-cry' (p. 27). In another place (p. 73) we read as follows: 'Stalin in his work inspired by genius: Marxism and Linguistic Problems . . .', etc.

I will abstain from quoting further passages from this article which aroused so much appreciation in Shevelov, and only point out that this reviewer who attaches such great importance to archaeological

⁵⁹ Nauchnye i organizatsionnye zadachi sovetskoi arkheologii v svete reshenii XIX sezda KPSS, *SAr* XVIII, 1953, pp. 6-7.

⁶⁰ XXI sezda KPSS i zadachi sovetskoi arkheologii, *SAr*, 1959 (1), p. III.

⁶¹ B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy. K voprosu ob obrazovanii yadra drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, pp. 23-104.

studies, has taken no account whatever of the results achieved by Scandinavian archaeologists. And if it be added that at the present time, *i.e.*, since 1953, important changes have occurred in the opinions of Soviet archaeologists and that many of Rybakov's views are challenged in Russia herself, it would seem all the more justified to treat the results arrived at by Russian archaeologists with due caution, as I have done.

In my opinion, it is Miller who has best characterized the nature and aims of Soviet archaeology.

As a result—he writes—of the complete submission of Soviet archaeology to the political tasks of the Communist Party, a shuffling of facts and a distortion of long-established beliefs had begun in this science. Therefore, one must approach the conclusions and declarations of contemporary Soviet archaeology with extreme caution since they often are based on facts which have been falsified from their very roots.⁶²

One thing is beyond doubt: although in the study of our subject the treatises of archaeologists are being taken largely and carefully into account by many authors, the problem has not become less controversial despite this. Some scholars refer to archaeology to prove that the Rus' were Norsemen, others, that they were Slavs. Some say that the Slavs had lived on the Middle Dnieper since times immemorial, others maintain only since the 8th or 9th century A.D. Some hold that archaeology provides proofs of the unity of the 'Old-Rus'ian nation', others, that it does not provide such proofs, etc.

3. HISTORICAL TERMINOLOGY

In connection with the written sources belonging to the period we are concerned with, there occurs the question of the terminology to be adopted in historiography. When in *OR* I raised the demand that names and terms be used in strict accordance with their meaning, I had in mind those which are peculiar to the period and which should not be exchanged for terms originating in later times.⁶³ In the present book the reader will find plenty of such examples. Here I would like to insist only on two facts. In all East-Slavonic sources of the period the term 'Rus'' (the 'u' should be pronounced as in 'put', while the 's' is soft) is used regularly and consistently. This appellation should be universally adopted in historical writing. But the very opposite is being done. Many authors are changing it to the term 'Russia'. They say that 'Rus'' is the old name for 'Russia'. But if the latter term is in truth well defined, the same cannot be said of the former. One of the results of *OR* was that it proved how the two appellations, 'Rus'' and 'Russia' were by no means synonymous; that, on the con-

⁶² M. Miller, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 1954, p. 140. See also *idem*, *Archaeology in the USSR*, 1957.

⁶³ Cf. H. Jablonowski, *Westrussland zwischen Wilna und Moskau*, 1955, p. 6.

trary, they were in many respects contradictory. The sense of this distinction appears in some languages. In Ukrainian there is *Rus'* with the derived adjective *rus'kii*, and *Rosiya*—*rosiis'kii*. The same differentiation exists in Polish, of *Rus'* and *ruski*, from *Rosja* and *rosyjski*. Contrary to this, in the chief languages of Western Europe—English, French and German—there exists only the name: *Russia*, *Russie* and *Russland*. It designates indiscriminately the Kievan State from the 10th to the 13th century, the Grand Duchy of Moscow from the 14th to the 17th century, the Empire of Peter the Great and of his successors from the 18th to the 20th century, as well as the Soviet State. This had led to many misconceptions in historical literature and to a great confusion of ideas.

Lopatin says in his review of my book: 'The history of the name 'Rus-Russia' is confused and obscure. Mentions of 'Rus' and 'Russians' by early Russian chroniclers and foreign travellers of the 9th and 10th centuries have such contradictory and confusing connotations that today it is extremely difficult to distinguish who the people bearing that name were.'⁶⁴ Lopatin indeed identifies 'Rus' and 'Russia' and expresses himself in such a way as to suggest to the reader that both names appeared simultaneously. The terms 'Rus' and 'Russia' became 'confused and obscure' only because the reviewer confused two distinct notions and arrived at erroneous conclusions as he was bound to do for this very reason, and not on account of inaccuracy in the sources. For many authors the identity of Rus' and Russia is a dogma and any doubt expressed on its account only meets with anger and indignation.

But there are scholars who face this problem objectively, who wish to conduct their studies in a spirit of scholarly investigation, and who encounter serious difficulties for reasons which are not in themselves insurmountable.⁶⁵ There are two possible issues to this situation: either to surrender to a question of form, in this case to the fact that the term 'Rus' has no counterpart in West European languages, to substitute 'Russia' for it, and then to give up any further scholarly research on the subject, or to sacrifice questions of form and, in the interest of knowledge, to introduce the term 'Rus' into international historiography. *Tertium non datur*.

⁶⁴ I. Lopatin, in *WAI*, 1955, p. 107. The question is similarly dealt with by another of my reviewers, M. Cherniavsky, in *PSQ*, 1955, pp. 298–299 ('He examines in great detail the history of Rus' or Russia'; 'Rus' or Russia thus embraced the Varangians, the Slavs, and the non-Slavic tribes of that persuasion', etc.).

⁶⁵ Because in the West the Latin term *Rutheni* was often used to designate the Rus' during the period treated, some authors, in order to differentiate between 'Rus' and 'Russia', introduce this term into present-day West European languages (e.g., Ruthenia, Ruthenian land, Ruthenians, etc.). I do not think that this is a particularly happy solution to this problem. This latinized version of the name 'Rus' is today as little comprehensible to the average reader in the West as the appellation 'Rus'. Another, and more important factor enters into consideration here. Ethnic terms should be used in the form in which they became crystallized in their environment, and not in the version given them in far-away foreign lands. In this question, I think, East Slavonic sources should have the decisive voice.

It is a symptom of the prevailing paradoxical situation that I was obliged to use the term 'Russia' in the title of *OR*⁶⁶ (the same must be said about the title of the present study), because 'Rus' would, unfortunately, not be understood by the generality of my readers.

As to terminology, another observation is necessary here in connection with what precedes. There is the question of the name to be given to the language of East Slavonic writings of the epoch under discussion. Generally this language is designated as 'Russian', and in order to fix the time to which it belongs the adjective 'old' is sometimes added, and thus the term 'Old Russian language' is produced. The sources of the period, however, never refer to a language so called. The famous Chronicle of 'Nestor' (*Povest' vremennykh let*), written in Kiev at the beginning of the 12th century, which is of special importance to the problem, uses only one term: 'the Slavonic language'. This term must be retained as the only one appropriate and exact.⁶⁷

In later times as Christianity spread and the idea of 'Rus' in a broad ecclesiastical and religious sense became stabilized, there appeared the expression 'Rus'ian language' instead of Slavonic language to designate the language used by the Rus'ian Church in its liturgy.⁶⁸ This occurs with particular frequency from the 15th and 16th centuries on.⁶⁹ To justify this remark may I quote the *Povest' vremennykh let* on the one hand, and on the other a source typical of 16th-century ideology, the *Kniga stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya* ('The Book of Degrees of the Imperial Genealogy').

When relating the division of the Slavs into groups, and enumerating the particular tribes, 'Nestor' ends his paragraph with the following words: 'Thus the Slavonic [not the Rus'ian] *yazyk* spread, [as a

⁶⁶ I should like to correct here an error which has slipped in *OR*, namely, the use of the adjectival form 'Russian' instead of 'Rus'ian'.

⁶⁷ The adjective 'eastern' can be added ('East Slavonic language') to indicate the differences which occurred at this time between particular Slavonic languages.

⁶⁸ It is difficult to ascertain when 'Rus'ian language' came to be used with the meaning of Slavonic speech. The first cases known to the present author of such a confusion of the terms 'Slavonic' and 'Rus'ian' with reference to the Slavonic tongue occur in the 13th century. Cf. *OR*, 21. In the Kievan Chronicle (*PSRL* II), under the year 1183, we meet with a mention of a locality Erel', 'which the Rus' call Ugol'; cf. K. Kudryashov, *Severnoe Prichernomor'e v IX-XII vv.*, *KSIE* IV, 1948, p. 95. The word *ugol* ('the corner') is Slavonic. But from the above text it does not follow that the term 'Rus'ian language' (with the meaning 'Slavonic') was in existence, though it does follow that the Rus' did use a Slavonic language. 'Nestor' writes of the inhabitants of the Kievan land that they called themselves the Polyanians and that later they also took on the name 'Rus' but that they spoke Slavonic ('no sloven'skaa rech' be'). D. Likhachev, *Povest' vremennykh let* I, 1950, p. 23. A conclusion similar to the one drawn from the above note ought to be drawn from the report of the Persian writer Fahr ad-din Mubarak-sah ('The Book of Genealogy', 1206). T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad tzw. Korespondencją chazarską*, *BZIH*, 1954 (11-12), p. 16.

⁶⁹ We read in the sources of this period of the translation of texts from the Rus'ian language into that of Perm' (*PSRL* V, p. 250), from Latin into Rus'ian language (*PSRL* VI, p. 298), etc. Cf. A. Sobolevsky, *Perevodnaya literatura Moskovskoi Rusi XIV-XVII vv.*, 1903, pp. 36-37; E. Mel'nikov, *Vyskazyvaniya o russkom i slavyanskom yazyke i bor'ba s inostrannymi slovami v drevnei Rusi XI-XVII vv.*, *S XXII* (4), 1953, pp. 575-583.

result of which] . . . the writing was also named Slavonic [not Rus'ian]. *I tako razidesya sloven'skii yazyk, tem zhe i gramota prozvasya sloven'skaya.*⁷⁰ And in another passage the chronicler recounts how the holy books were written for the first time for a number of Slavonic peoples. 'They are also termed Slavonic [not Rus'ian] writing . . . *yazhe prozvasya gramota sloven'skaya.*'⁷¹

'Nestor' says of the Kievan Polyani: 'They were called Polyani but their speech was still Slavonic [not Rus'ian]. They took the name of Polyani, because they lived in the fields. And the Slavonic [not Rus'ian] language was common to them . . . *ashche i polyane zvakhysya, no sloven'skaya rech' be. Polyami zhe prozvani byshi, zane v poli sedyakhu, a yazyk slovenski edin.*'⁷²

The chronicler recounts that 'Methodius chose two priests who were very rapid writers, and they translated the whole Scriptures in full from Greek into Slavonic [not into Rus'ian] . . . *i prelozhi vsya knigi ispoln' ot grech'ska yazyka v slovenesk.*'⁷³ Similarly he tells us, under the year 1037, of writers who, in the reign of Yaroslav the Wise, 'translated [many texts] from the Greek into Slavonic [not into Rus'ian] . . . *i prekladasho ot grek na sloven'skoe pismo,*'⁷⁴ and so on.

And now here is information from the *Stepennaya kniga*:

After the christening of Ol'ga and Vladimir the holy books were translated 'from the Greek language into Rus'ian . . . *so Grecheskogo yazyka na Russkii.*'⁷⁵ In connection with the activity of Cyril and Methodius 'the Rus'ian alphabet [writing] began . . . *nachalo byst' Ruskiiya azbukvy.*'⁷⁶ The two brothers translated the holy books 'from Greek into Rus'ian . . . *so Grecheskogo yazyka na Ruskii.*'⁷⁷ Vladimir the Great 'was named Vasili. He was called Vasili according to the Greek language, but in Rus'ian that is translated as tsar' . . . *Vasilie narechen byst'. Vasilie zhe po Grecheskomu yazyku glagoletsya, po Ruskomu zhe yazyku tolkuetsya tsar.*'⁷⁸ In the *Stepennaya kniga*, similarly to other later sources, there occur incessantly the notions of the 'Rus'ian language' and 'Rus'ian writing' (*O gramote Ruskoi,*⁷⁹ *Ruskimi pis'meny,*⁸⁰ *i prelagashe ot Grecheskikh knig na Ruskii yazyk,*⁸¹ etc.).

The introduction into historical literature of a terminology garbled in later times, is largely responsible for the undermining of confidence in the written sources originating in the period with which

⁷⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 11.

⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

⁷² *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷³ *Ibid.*, p. 23.

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

⁷⁵ *Kniga stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya, PSRL XXI* (1), 1908, p. 35.

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 35.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 60.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 63.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

we are concerned, to the confusion of ideas and the drawing of many false conclusions.⁸² The adoption of the right names and terms in dealing with the present subject is much more important than might appear at first sight.

4. THE PROBLEM OF NEW SOURCES

Kirchner writes in his review of *OR*: 'As long as historians find no new sources—and with one or two minor exceptions Paszkiewicz uses, of course, no others than his predecessors—there can be but little expectation that the problems discussed will ever be solved to the satisfaction of all scholars.'⁸³

Now, it is evidently easier to call for new sources than to find them, all the more so as we have to deal with such distant times. None the less there is much justification for Kirchner's remark. When preparing to write *OR* I often reflected, whether there was any possibility of finding material that would bring new elements into the discussion, and always came to the conclusion that this was probably impossible as so many of my predecessors had investigated these problems and surely would have found the new sources if they existed. I was not the only one to take this view. Similar opinions were voiced by Presnyakov and Grekov. My pessimism did not mean that I abandoned all further research and, in fact, I did quote in *OR* some original texts hitherto passed over by scholars, but they were not of sufficient importance actually to solve the basic problem. What could further be done?

The only new approach I could think of, consisted in a change of method. I started from the certainty that there existed a large, an unexpectedly abundant reserve of sources relating to our problem, Arabic, Persian, Jewish, Byzantine, Italian, German, Czech, Hungarian, Polish, Scandinavian and yet others, in addition to the records in East-Slavonic which are the most important of all. I rejected the possibility that all these sources, which were quite independent from one another, had to be regarded as untrustworthy and misleading. This might be true if we only had one or two texts, but in this case the sources were far too numerous. Furthermore, they could not be

⁸² The following text from the missal of the Metropolitan Cyprian (14th century) is worthy of note: 'this missal has been copied [translated] from Greek books into the Rus'ian language (*Sii sluzhebnik prepisan ot gretskeykh knig na russkiy yazyk*).' F. Buslaev, *Istoricheskaya khristomatiya tserkovno-slavyanskogo i drevne-russkogo yazykov*, 1861, pp. 135, 138–139 provides this text with a characteristic commentary: 'It is remarkable that here Rus'ian language is used with the meaning of Church-Slavonic.' Modern authors find nothing unusual in this. Without scruples they disfigure 'Nestor's' texts when they write, for instance, about the translations from the Greek already referred to: . . . 'translations which were carried out in the 11th century from the Greek language immediately into Rus'ian'. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 376; Yaroslav the Wise encouraged them 'to translate Greek books into the Rus'ian language'. N. Chaeu, *Prosveshchenie, in Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 217, and so on. The progress of knowledge is not always linked with the course of time.

⁸³ W. Kirchner, in *Hi*, 1956, p. 115.

permeated by any hidden tendency (national, political, religious, etc.) capable of distorting the picture of reality, because they came from too many different countries.

Having taken written sources as the basis of my research I automatically removed all others (especially archaeological) to the second rung. Finally, I was led by reflection to assume that there are in the sources no actual contradictions, which arise only through erroneous interpretation of the texts, and that it was only necessary to fix the meaning of words and terms occurring in the sources in order to see the confusions and contradictions disappear. After long efforts spent on seeking new connotations for particular words, I attained positive results and established a key which allowed me to discover new meanings in well-known texts, especially in the Chronicle of 'Nestor'.⁸⁴ The case is fairly simple because the number of words concerned is very small.

On this basis I constructed *OR* and came to conclusions differing from those of my predecessors. My procedure met with disapproval of Shevelov, who wrote: 'In 1876 Potebnja warned against the attempts to open all doors in a historical work with one key. If the key fails the whole work is frustrated. This has happened to Paszkiewicz's book.'⁸⁵ Shevelov contents himself with denying categorically, though without any supporting arguments, the meaning of certain words as I have established them, in order to see my entire book collapse. In answer to his illusionary contention I can only say that if my key opens all the doors, because it restores clarity to all the texts of the sources and eliminates supposed contradictions, this result cannot be accidental.

The words which are of special importance for my investigation are: *yazyk*, *strana-zemlya* and *rod*. Strong protests have been raised against the connotation of these words as established by me. My opponents are right when they remark that I have not carried out a thorough semantic analysis of these words and have been satisfied with quoting a number of examples which in the opinion of my critics are worthless, but in my conviction have the great significance for the problem under consideration.

There is no doubt that the difference between us lies in the method

⁸⁴ 'Nothing that we know—I wrote in *OR*, p. 5—about the *Povest*' casts any doubt upon its trustworthiness as a historical source, especially from the middle of the 10th century onwards. It is certainly curious that the men who recopied 'Nestor's' work were not disturbed by the alleged obscurities and inconsistencies about which so much has been written by modern historians, and that they did not make any comments or additions of their own. It is obvious that, in their opinion, the text was clear and intelligible, and they were better placed than we are to form an opinion on the subject. In order to deal with this most essential problem, it is necessary to examine 'Nestor's' vocabulary, the terms and expressions used by the chronicler, and to establish a code which would enable us to decipher the obscure passages in the work. Should this method produce satisfactory results, and should it appear that the text of the Chronicle is a consistent whole which leaves no possibility of ambiguous interpretation, then the judgement passed on 'Nestor's' work would have to undergo a radical revision.'

⁸⁵ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, p. 43.

of study. In writing *OR* I assumed that semantic analysis does not belong to the historian, but to the linguist. The historian has done his duty when he has submitted the results obtained by historical analysis of the texts. The linguist should check the historian's observations against the material at his disposal. The reviews by Jakobson, Shevelov and others were a direct denial of the concept of cooperation between representatives of different branches of science as conceived by me. What was prudence on my part was taken for weakness and a good opportunity for a virulent attack.

Those who reproached me for not having carried out in *OR* a semantic examination of the words quoted above thereby acknowledged my right as a historian to have a say on linguistic matters. I do not deny that I undertook these studies with some misgivings and contrary to my personal conviction. But nobody can reproach me for having trespassed upon the field of semantics, after I have been encouraged or rather challenged by some linguists to do so. When writing *OR* I was convinced that in view of a controversy of such long standing, the linguists had already done everything in their power to clear up the question. To be frank, I did not know that there existed in this sphere first-class material which would allow me to advance new arguments and shed new light on the problem I have to deal with.

CHAPTER II

ETHNOS—YAZYK

THE word *yazyk* is of great importance for our subject because it appears in the sources in conjunction with the term *Rus'* (*rus'skyi yazyk*) and thus throws light on the meaning of *Rus'*.

It is common knowledge—a fact accepted by myself as well as by my opponents—that the Slavonic word *yazyk* corresponded to the Greek *ethnos*. In order to interpret *yazyk* correctly, it is necessary therefore to establish the meaning of *ethnos*.

1. ETHNOS

Ethnos is a word with a long development and a very rich and varied sense. Originally, it designated a number of people living together, a company, a body of men, later—a people, a nation. The Greeks used this designation for foreign, 'barbarous' peoples; the New Testament applies it to people outside the range of Judaism and Christianity, consequently pagans.¹ I do not intend to deal in detail with the various meanings that came to be attached to the word *ethnos* in the course of time. I shall concentrate exclusively on the formulation of certain legal concepts of the Greek Church in the first centuries of Christianity.

The 34th 'Apostolic canon' is taken as the basis of these considerations. It is concerned with the organization of the Church, and more especially with the relationship of the bishops of every *ethnos* to him who is chief among them. The passage which is of interest to us reads as follows:

¹ H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus graecae linguae* III, 1835, p. 182; F. Passow, *Handwörterbuch der griechischen Sprache* I, 1841, pp. 779–780; Ch. Byzantius, *Dictionnaire grec-français et français-grec*, 2nd ed., 1856, p. 131; V. Rost, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch*, 4th ed., 1862, p. 287; J. Thayer, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament*, 1887, p. 168; A. Kyriakides, *A Greek-English Dictionary*, 1892, p. 154; E. Sophocles, *A Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods (from B.C. 146 to A.D. 1100)*, 1893, p. 421; H. Cremer, *Biblisch-theologisches Wörterbuch der Neutestamentlichen Gräcität*, 9th ed., 1902, pp. 385–387; W. Prellwitz, *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache*, 2nd ed., 1905, p. 127; J. Hastings, *Dictionary of the Apostolic Church* I, 1926, p. 373; J. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1930, p. 181; G. Abbott-Smith, *A Manual Greek Lexicon of the New Testament*, 3rd ed., 1937, p. 129; W. Bauer, *Griechisch-deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments und der übrigen urchristlichen Literatur*, 3rd ed., 1937, p. 360; Δημητράκος Δ. Μέγα Λέξικον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης III, 1937, pp. 2251; H. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* I, 1940, p. 480; É. Boisacq, *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque*, 4th ed., 1950, p. 218; M. Frisk, *Griechisch-etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1954; W. Arndt and F. Gingrich, *A Greek-English Lexicon of the New Testament and other Early Christian Literature*, 1957, p. 217, and others.

Τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστου ἔθνους εἰδέναι χρή τὸν ἐν αὐτοῖς πρῶτον, καὶ ἡγεῖσθαι αὐτὸν ὡς κεφαλὴν, καὶ μηδὲν τι πράττειν περιττὸν ἄνευ τῆς ἐκείνου γνώμης. Ἐκεῖνα δὲ μόνᾳ πράττειν ἕκαστον ὅσα τῇ αὐτοῦ παροικίᾳ ἐπιβάλλει, καὶ ταῖς ἐπ' αὐτὴν χώραις . . .²

How in this text should the word *ethnos* be interpreted? Does it have the most common meaning of 'people', 'race', 'nation', as it figures so often in the Latin,³ English,⁴ Russian,⁵ etc. translations, or another? Was the organization of the Church in the first centuries of its history based on ethnic or other criteria? It cannot be denied that this problem is very important to us from the academic point of view, but as late as in the 19th and 20th century it was also of great practical significance.

In the 1860s and '70s the Bulgarians demanded that the Patriarch of Constantinople should recognize their Church as autocephalous. Later, in connection with the organization of the Georgian Church, a lively controversy developed at the beginning of the 20th century between outstanding Russian canonists and historians of the Eastern Church. In both cases many opinions were voiced on the meaning of *ethnos* in the 34th 'Apostolic canon'.

Bulgarian national aspirations in the 19th century which also found expression in the ecclesiastical sphere (independence of the Bulgarian Church from the Greek Patriarch in Constantinople, though Bulgaria politically depended at that time on Turkey) led to a prolonged Bulgarian-Greek quarrel. In September 1872, the Synod of Constantinople condemned the Bulgarians on a charge of the heresy of phyletism.⁶ I do not intend to describe these events at any length because there exists an abundant literature on the subject.⁷ What is of importance to me is that among the arguments

² PG CXXXVII, 1865, col. 104-105.

³ 'Episcopos unuscujusque gentis nosse oportet eum qui in eis est primus, et existimare eum ut caput: et nihil facere, quod sit magni momenti praeter illius sententiam: illa autem sola facere unumquemque, quae ad suam parochiam pertinent, et pagos qui ei subsunt . . . ' PG CXXXVII, col. 103, 106.

⁴ 'The Bishops of each nation ought to recognize him who is chief among them, and esteem him as their head, and do nothing unusual without his consent (judgment); but each should perform those things merely which have relation to their own diocese, and the districts subject to it . . . ' T. MacNally, *The Apostolic Canons in Greek, Latin and English*, 1867, p. 15.

⁵ 'Episkopam vsyakogo naroda podobaet znati pervogo v nikh i priznavati ego yako glayu . . . ' *Kniga pravil svyatykh apostol, svyatykh soborov uselenskikh i pomesnykh, i svyatykh otets*, 1839. Cf. N. Glubokovsky, *Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' pechatnykh izdaniy apostol'skikh i sobornykh pravil na slavyanskom i russkom yazykakh*, in H. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church*, XIV, 1900, pp. XXIII-XXVIII.

⁶ Cf. R. James-Longford, *A Dictionary of the Eastern Orthodox Church*, n.d., p. 99.

⁷ E. Golubinsky, *Kratkii ocherk istorii pravoslavnykh tserkvei bolgarskoi, serbskoi i rumynskoi*, 1871, pp. 176-193, 295-328; I. Troitsky, *Tserkovnaya storona bolgarskogo voprosa*, 1888, pp. 1-30; V. Teplov, *Greko-bolgarskii tserkovnyi vopros po neizdannym istochnikam*, 1889, pp. 118-126; T. Burmov, *Blgaro-grtskata tsrkovna rasprya*, 1902, pp. 515-620; S. Zankov, *Die Verfassung der bulgarischen orthodoxen Kirche*, 1918, pp. 24-38; M. Jugie, *Nationalisme et phylétisme dans l'Eglise gréco-russe*, EO XXIV, 1925, pp. 326-339; P. Nikov, *Vzrazhdanie na blgarskiya narod. Tserkovno-natsionalni borbi i postizheniya*, 1928; S. Zankov, *Nation, Staat, Welt und Kirche im orthodoxen*

adduced by the Bulgarians there figures the 34th 'Apostolic canon' interpreted in an ethical sense.⁸ This was opposed by the Greeks who, among many counter-arguments, put forward the 9th canon of the Council of Antioch.⁹

This canon reads as follows:

Τοὺς καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν ἐπισκόπους εἰδέναι χρὴ, τὸν ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει προσεστώτα ἐπίσκοπον, καὶ τὴν φροντίδα ἀναδέχεσθαι πάσης τῆς ἐπαρχίας. διὰ τὸ ἐν τῇ μητροπόλει πανταχόθεν συντρέχειν, πάντας τοὺς τὰ πράγματα ἔχοντας . . .¹⁰

It has been remarked long ago that the 34th 'Apostolic' and the 9th Antiochean canon contain the same statement only expressed in slightly different words. The most important difference is that instead of *ethnos* the Antiochean canon uses the word *eparchia*. The question is whether these two terms are identical or different in meaning?

In order to find the answer I must first consider which of the two texts is the older. Of the Council of Antioch we know the exact date: A.D. 341. The problem is different in the case of the famous collection of 'Apostolic canons'. Throughout the Middle Ages it was considered as emanating from the apostles themselves. Today the opinion is prevalent that in its present form it originated in Syria at the end of the 4th or in the early 5th century,¹¹ which does not exclude,

Osten als theologisches Problem, *AUS* XIV, 1936-1937, pp. 8, 10-17; L. Widerszal, *Bułgarski ruch narodowy, 1856-1872*, *RHWTN* XVIII (2), 1937, pp. 94-198; M. Arnaudov, *Ekzarkh Iosif i blgarskata kulturna borba sled szdavaneto na ekzarkhiyata I*, 1940, pp. 89-130; M. Jugie, *Le Schisme Byzantin*, 1941, pp. 290-292; S. Nikitin, *Diplomaticheskie otnosheniya Rossii s yuzhnyimi slavyanami v 60kh godakh XIX v.*, *Slavyanskii Sbornik*, 1947, pp. 268-280; I. Vlasov'sky, *Naris istorii ukrains'koi pravoslavnoyi tserkvi I*, 1955, pp. 9-13, and others. W. Meyszowicz has attracted my attention to the significance of the Bulgarian-Greek controversy for my subject.

⁸ According to the Bulgarians, the words: 'The bishops of each *ethnos*' meant 'the bishops of each nation'.

⁹ The sources relating to the Bulgaro-Greek controversy are published by I. Mansi and L. Petit, *Sacrorum Conciliorum Nova et Amplissima Collectio* XLV, 1911.

¹⁰ PG CXXXVII, 1865, col. 1300. Cf. 'Episcopos, qui sunt in unaquaque provincia, scire oportet episcopum qui praeest metropoli, et curam suscipere totius provinciae: eo quod in metropolim undequaque concurrunt omnes, qui habent negotia.' *Ibid.*, col. 1299. See also W. Lambert, *Codex Canonum Ecclesiae Universae. The Canons of the First Four General Councils of the Church and those of the Early Local Greek Synods in Greek, with Latin and Revised English Translations*, 1868, p. 129 ('The Bishops in each province ought to recognize the Bishop presiding in the metropolis, and who takes upon him the care of the whole province; because all who have business assemble together from all quarters of the metropolis'); H. Percival, *The Seven Ecumenical Councils of the Undivided Church*, in *A Select Library of Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* XIV, 1900, p. 112 ('It behoves the bishops in every province to acknowledge the bishop who presides in the metropolis, and who has to take thought for the whole province; because all men of business come together from every quarter to the metropolis'). The German translation by K. Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts*, *KS* V (4), 1901, pp. 60-61.

¹¹ C. Hefélé and H. Leclercq, *Histoire des Conciles I* (2), 1907, Appendix IX, 'Les Canons dits Apostoliques', pp. 1203-1221, written by Leclercq, contains an abundant bibliography of the subject. See also A. Fortescue, *The Orthodox Eastern Church*, 1916, p. 114; G. Bardy, *Canons Apostoliques*, in *Dictionnaire du Droit Canonique* II, 1937, pp. 1288-1295; F. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1957, p. 73.

but on the contrary renders it most probable that the collection contains rules of law coming from much earlier times. It is also possible that, as some scholars assert, the 34th 'Apostolic canon' is a repetition of the 9th canon of Antioch.

It is worth noting that in the discussion that developed among the Russian canonists at the beginning of the 20th century, N. Suvorov,¹² E. Golubinsky,¹³ N. Glubokovsky,¹⁴ and others supported the territorial interpretation of *ethnos* in the 34th 'Apostolic canon', i.e., as meaning an eparchy. Only Zaozersky took the ethnical view and remained isolated.¹⁵

He entered into a controversy with Glubokovsky¹⁶ but was—in my opinion—unable to produce convincing arguments. Zaozersky assumed that the 9th canon of the Council of Antioch was derived from the 34th 'Apostolic canon'. Glubokovsky who maintained that in later Greek the word *ethnos* was replaced by *eparchia*, which designated a Roman province, quoted Dio Cassius (c. A.D. 150–c. 235) in support of his thesis. Zaozersky could not deny that Dio Cassius sometimes uses the word *ethnos* to designate a Roman province, but in spite of this he rejected Glubokovsky's interpretation because in the majority of cases Dio Cassius understood under *ethnos* a *gens*, i.e., the population of a locality. In the opinion of Zaozersky, it was impossible for one writer to use the same word in different senses. This is far from the truth.

'At the time of the Council of Antioch—writes Zaozersky—a new division of the Graeco-Roman Empire into eparchies, dioceses,¹⁷ and prefectures was introduced, a division of which nobody dreamed in the days of Dio Cassius.' On the strength of this, Zaozersky rejects the possibility that this author could have identified *ethnos* with *eparchia*.

In my opinion, the whole question is not as controversial as it appears at first sight, but the basis of the discussion between Glubokovsky and Zaozersky is too narrow. If one does not limit oneself to Dio Cassius and takes also other authors into account, the difficulties disappear. Without attempting to exhaust all the extant material, I have taken into account Greek authors of the first three centuries of the Christian era, both pagan—such as Appian,¹⁸ Hero-

¹² Cf. *TsV XX* (8), February 24, 1907, p. 256.

¹³ E. Golubinsky, *O reforme v byte russkoi tserkvi*, 1913, p. 102.

¹⁴ N. Glubokovsky, *K tolkovaniyu 34-go apostol'skogo pravila*, *TsV XX* (10), March 10, 1907.

¹⁵ N. Glubokovsky, in *TsV XX* (8), February 24, 1907, p. 256.

¹⁶ N. Zaozersky, *Topograficheskii smysl 34-go Apostol'skogo pravila*, *BV*, June 1907, pp. 343–356.

¹⁷ On the meaning of the term 'Diocesis', see Kornemann, *Diocesis*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* V, 1905, pp. 716–734.

¹⁸ H. White, *Appian's Roman History. With an English Translation* III, 1913, pp. 464–465, etc.

dian,¹⁹ Dio Cassius²⁰—and Christian—such as Eusebius of Caesarea²¹—and, in addition, certain texts of the 2nd and 3rd centuries contained in Egyptian papyri, chiefly imperial decrees and rescripts.²² These sources²³ demonstrate that in the period under consideration the term *ethnos* was universally applied to Roman provinces. There is, therefore, no reason to suppose with Zaozersky that it was only after the new division of the Empire by Diocletian in the 4th century that the word *ethnos* could assume the meaning of a province. In the days of the Roman Empire *ethnos* had the connotation of an *eparchia* or a *provincia populi Romani*.²⁴

Ramsay thinks that the essential fact in the Roman province was not the territory, but the people, hence the Greek translation of *provincia* was *ethnos*.²⁵ A Roman province was *praedium populi Romani* (Cicero); its most important function: tax-payments to Rome.²⁶

But taxes—writes Glubokovsky—could not be paid by the territory itself, only by the ‘nation’ that inhabited it. Quite naturally, therefore, the ethnic element played a prominent part in the concept of a Roman province, and in the Greek translation this element later prevailed in the appellation indicating a province. That is why, in later Greek, the term *ethnos* took the place of *eparchia* when a Roman province was alluded to.²⁷

There is no doubt that the ecclesiastical organization which had to keep in step with the spread of Christianity, adapted itself more and more, especially in the East, to the administrative organization of the Empire. The eparchy, the political province, in time became

¹⁹ L. Mendelsohn, *Herodiani ab excessu divi Marci libri octo*, 1883, pp. 21, 47. German translation by A. Stahr, *Herodians Geschichte des römischen Kaiserthums seit Marc Aurel*, 1858, pp. 19–20, 49.

²⁰ E. Cary, *Dio's Roman History. With an English translation* IV, 1916, pp. 295–297; VI, pp. 219, 221, 291, 360.

²¹ E. Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke (Die lateinische Übersetzung des Rufinus bearbeitet von Th. Mommsen)* II (2), 1908, pp. 108 and 111, 400 and 401, 736 and 737, etc. See also Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, in *The Loeb Classical Library* II, 1932 (with an English translation by J. Oulton), pp. 250–251, 310–311, 328–329, 364–365, 396–397, etc. Beveridge sees this and says: ‘Ἐπισκοπῶν ἔθνη. Sic Eusebius vocare solet provincias populi Romani.’ PG XX, col. 939.

²² A. Hunt, *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* VII, 1910, pp. 147–148; F. Preisigke, *Griechische Papyrus der kaiserl. Universitäts-u. Landesbibliothek zu Strassburg* I, 1912, p. 78. Cf. U. Wilcken, *Der ägyptische Konvent*, AP IV, 1908, p. 380.

²³ This source-material was contributed to the present study by K. Lanckorońska. I mention this with deep gratitude.

²⁴ This observation is not new. Cf. H. Stephanus, *Thesaurus Graecae Linguae* III, 1835, p. 183; J. Moulton and G. Milligan, *The Vocabulary of the Greek Testament*, 1930, p. 181; Δημητράκος Δ., *Μέγα Λέξικον τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς Γλώσσης*, III, 1937, p. 225; H. Liddell and R. Scott, *A Greek-English Lexicon* I, 1940, p. 480, and others.

²⁵ W. Ramsay, *Pisidian Antioch, Exp*, Seven Series III, 1907, p. 277.

²⁶ J. Marquardt, *Römische Staatsverwaltung* I, pp. 497–499, in J. Marquardt and Th. Mommsen, *Handbuch der römischen Alterthümer* IV, 2nd ed., 1881. See also G. Stevenson, *The Provinces and their Government*, CAH IX, 1932, p. 462; A. Berger, *Encyclopedic Dictionary of Roman Law*, TAPS XLIII, 1953, p. 659.

²⁷ N. Glubokovsky, *K tolkovaniyu*; similarly—E. Golubinsky, *O reforme*, Cf. A. Łotocki, *Autokefalia. Zasady autokefalii*, 1932, p. 136 (and in *PUNI* XVI, 1935, p. 126).

the ecclesiastical province with a metropolitan at its head.²⁸ Thus, I can conclude these considerations by stating that the terms: *ethnos* and *eparchia* had the same meaning.²⁹

I should add one more remark. The Synod of Constantinople (1872) referring in its answer to the Bulgarians to the meaning of *ethnos* in the 34th 'Apostolic canon', also quotes the opinion of the famous canonist, Zonaras.

The canon law of the Eastern Church developed gradually over centuries not in one place, but in many parts of the East and partly in the West. This diversity of time and place found expression in terminology and language, influenced the subject-matter of Church rules and their interpretation. Some regulations ceased to be intelligible to later generations which became aware of real or apparent contradictions in them. The Eastern Church, as is well known, was intimately linked with the State, and secular legislation in Church matters became part of ecclesiastical law. At times orders of State authorities were applied although they were not in keeping with the canons.

It remains the achievement of three outstanding canonists—Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon—that this abundant material accumulated in the course of centuries was ever put into order. Their

²⁸ The problem of the Church organization in the period under discussion is dealt with by: P. Smedt, *L'Organisation des églises chrétiennes jusqu'au milieu du IIIe siècle*, 1891; A. McGiffert, *A History of Christianity in the Apostolic Age*, 1897, pp. 645–672; K. Lübeck, *Reichseinteilung und kirchliche Hierarchie des Orients bis zum Ausgange des vierten Jahrhunderts*, KS V (4), 1901, pp. 11–91; W. Ramsay, *The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170*, 7th ed., 1903, pp. 361–374; A. Lopukhin, *Pravoslavnaya bogoslovskaya entsiklopediya V*, 1904, p. 448; *Polnyi pravoslavnyi bogoslovskii slovar'*, n.d. I, p. 864; P. Gidulyanov, *Mitropolity v pervye tri veka khristianstva*, 1905 (unavailable to me); N. Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, 2nd ed., 1905, pp. 243, 297–304, 318, 351–352; P. Gidulyanov, *Vostochnye patriarkhi v period chetyrekh pervykh vselenskikh soborov*, 1908, p. 186; P. Hinschius, in *The Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge IV*, 1909, p. 150; V. Myshtsyn, *Ustroistvo khristianskoi tserkvi v pervye tri veka*, 1909; J. Kirsch, in *The Catholic Encyclopedia XII*, 1911, p. 514; C. Turner, *The Organization of the Church*, in *CMH I*, 1911, pp. 143–182; F. Uspensky, *Istoriya vizantiiskoi imperii I*, 1914, pp. 293–300; K. Müller, *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Verfassung der alten Kirche*, *APAW* (1922 N. 3), 1923, pp. 1–35; N. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire*, 1925, pp. 76–77; D. Lanslots, *The Primitive Church or the Church in the Days of the Apostles*, 1926; M. Buchberger, *Lexicon für Theologie und Kirche III*, 1931, p. 706; J. Hussey, *Church and Learning in the Byzantine Empire, 867–1185*, 1937, pp. 120–121; J. Zeiller, *Ecclesiastical Organization*, in J. Lebreton (and others), *The History of the Primitive Church*, 1948, pp. 970–990; A. Ranovich, *Vostochnye provintsii Rimskoi imperii v I–III vv.*, 1949, pp. 34, 254–258; J. Lindsay, *Byzantium into Europe*, 1952, pp. 48–50; J. Palanque, *The Metropolitan Sees at the End of the 4th Century*, in J. Palanque (and others), *The Church in the Christian Roman Empire II*, 1952, pp. 416–670; Th. Klauser, *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum XVIII*, 1955, p. 311; W. Addis and T. Arnold, *A Catholic Dictionary*, 16th ed., 1957, pp. 257–258, 304, 308; F. Cross, *The Oxford Dictionary of the Christian Church*, 1957, pp. 400, 454, 896, 1118; J. Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, 1957, pp. 100–113 and many others.

²⁹ Not only the canons quoted above but also writers of the period treat the words *ethnos* and *eparchia* as synonyms. E.g., Eusebius, *The Ecclesiastical History*, in *The Loeb Classical Library II*, 1932, p. 268–269 (with an English translation by J. Oulton): '... τῶν καθ' ἐκάστην ἐπαρχίαν μαρτύρων ἀριθμῶσαι τις τὸ πλῆθος καὶ μάλιστα τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀφρικὴν καὶ τὸ Μαύρων ἔθνος.' Oulton translates: '... how could one here number the multitude of the martyrs in each province and especially of those in Africa and Mauretania' ... Oulton's footnote 3 says here: 'The province (ἔθνος) of the Moors.'

commentaries enjoyed great authority not only because of what they contained, but because they had the official approval of the Eastern Church. Being thus acknowledged, these commentaries became one with the texts of the canon law to such an extent that in practice they assumed the character of sources of canon law.³⁰

The latest of the three canonists was Balsamon. He wrote his commentaries in the second half of the 12th century. It was only controversial which of the two wrote earlier, Aristenes or Zonaras.³¹ The opinion prevails today that it is more likely to have been Aristenes. He wrote under directions from the Emperor John Comnenus during his reign (1118–1142).³² The commentaries of Zonaras originated about the middle of the 12th century.³³

It is of great interest how these canonists interpret *ethnos* in the 34th 'Apostolic canon'. Here Zonaras deserves special attention because he uses the term *eparchia* while the text he is commenting on speaks of *ethnos*. But to him the two words are synonymous. Here is the text of Zonaras:

... Διὰ τοῦτο ὁ παρὼν κανὼν τοὺς ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας πρώτους ἐπισκόπους τοὺς τῶν μητροπόλεων δηλονότι ἀριερεῖς, κεφαλὴν ἡγεῖσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπισκόπων τῆς αὐτῆς ἐπαρχίας, κελεύει. . . .³⁴

Aristenes and Balsamon use neither *ethnos* nor *eparchia*, but their commentaries leave no room for doubt that they take the 34th 'Apostolic canon' in the territorial and administrative, and not in the ethnic, sense.³⁵

All three also comment on the 9th canon of the Council of Antioch, and all say explicitly that they consider it identical in meaning with

³⁰ M. Krasnozhenn, *Istoriya obrazovaniya kanonicheskogo kodeksa grecheskoi tserkvi ot nachala ego vozniknoveniya do epokhi vvedeniya na Rusi khristianstva*, 1909 (unavailable to me); *idem*, *Tolkovateli kanonicheskogo kodeksa vostochnoi tserkvi: Aristin, Zonara i Val'samon*, 2nd ed., 1911, pp. 29, 58, 268; A. Pavlov, *Zametki na polyakh pervogo izdaniya knigi M. Krasnozhenn, Tolkovateli . . .*, 1892; V. Demidov, *Kharakter i znachenie tolkovanii na kanonicheskii kodeks grecheskoi tserkvi—Aristina, Zonary i Val'samona*, PO, 1888, No. 7, pp. 401–442; No. 8, pp. 624–638; No. 9, pp. 3–70. See also the manuals of the ecclesiastical law of the Eastern Church such as: D. Azarevich, *Istoriya vizantiiskogo prava I* (1), 1876; I. Berdnikov, *Kratkii kurs tserkovnogo prava*, 1888–1889; N. Zaozersky, *Istoricheskoe obozrenie istochnikov prava pravoslavnoi tserkvi*, 1891; V. Pevtsov, *Tserkovnoe pravo*, 1892; M. Ostroumov, *Ocherk pravoslavnogo tserkovnogo prava, I Vvedenie*, 1893; P. Lashkarev, *Pravo tserkovnoe v ego osnovakh, vidakh i istochnikakh*, 2nd ed., 1899; A. Pavlov, *Kurs tserkovnogo prava*, 1902; M. Gorchakov, *Tserkovnoe pravo*, 1906; N. Suvorov, *Uchebnik tserkovnogo prava*, 4th ed., 1912; M. Krasnozhenn, *Osnovy tserkovnogo prava*, UZTIU XXI (5), 1913; *idem*, *Tserkovnoe pravo*, 4th ed., 1917, and others.

³¹ A. Pavlov, *O novom perevode tolkovanii na tserkovnye pravila*, PO I, 1876, pp. 731–738; *idem*, *K voprosu o khronologicheskom otnoshenii mezhdu Aristinom i Zonaroyu kak pisatelyami tolkovanii na tserkovnye pravila*, ZMNP, 1896 (1), pp. 172–199, and others.

³² K. Krumbacher, *Geschichte der byzantinischen Literatur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches (527–1453)*, 2nd ed., 1897, p. 607 (in I. Müller, *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-Wissenschaft IX*, 1); A. Stickler, *Historia Iuris Canonici Latini, Institutiones Academicæ, I Historia Fontium*, 1950, p. 408.

³³ K. Krumbacher, *op. cit.*, p. 607; A. Stickler, *op. cit.*, p. 408.

³⁴ PG CXXXVII, col. 107–108 ('Propterea praesens canon primos cujusque provinciae episcopus, metropolitanos videlicet archiepiscopos, aliorum per eam provinciam episcoporum caput estimari iubet . . .').

³⁵ PG *ibid.*, col. 105–110.

the 34th 'Apostolic'.³⁶ Aristenes says that the 9th canon of Antioch teaches the same things as the 34th 'Apostolic', namely that the bishops of every province should know him who is chief among them.³⁷ Zonaras perceives that different words convey the same meaning,³⁸ and Balsamon says (of the 9th canon of Antioch): 'What the present canon contains is said in the 34th Apostolic canon, and read it'.³⁹ Matters could not be more clearly put.⁴⁰ In one word, the famous Byzantine canonists of the 12th century confirm what had been accepted for many centuries⁴¹ that both: *ethnos* and *eparchia* stand for an ecclesiastical metropolitan province.

2. YAZYK

As Christianity spread among the Slavs, translators began, on a fairly large scale, to make the monuments of Greek letters accessible to the newly converted. In order to perpetuate among them the principles of Christian teaching, religious texts were translated chiefly but not exclusively.⁴² New notions and terms relating to ecclesiastical⁴³ as well as to political⁴⁴ matters reached the Slavs together with these translations. 'Nestor' stresses that in Eastern Europe translations were most numerous in the reign of Yaroslav the Wise.⁴⁵ Undoubtedly, they raised the cultural level of Rus',⁴⁶ but in the long run these

³⁶ Evidently, in accordance with the opinion current in their time Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon consider that the 'Apostolic canons' came down from the Apostles.

³⁷ '... Τὰ αὐτὰ τῷ τριακοστῷ τετάρτῳ κανόνι τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων καὶ ὁ κανὼν οὗτος διδάσκει, τὸ ἐπιγινώσκειν τοὺς ἐπισκόπους ἐκάστης ἐπαρχίας τὸν ἐαυτοῦ πρῶτον . . .' *PG ibid.*, col. 1301.

³⁸ 'Εἰ καὶ μὴ τοῖς ῥήμασι διόλου ὁ κανὼν οὗτος ἀπαρλλάκτως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν λδ' κανόνα τῶν ἀγίων ἀποστόλων ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὴν ἔννοιαν ἐκείνῳ ἐν ᾧ ἅπασι συμφωνεῖ . . .' *PG ibid.*, col. 1301.

³⁹ 'Τὰ τοῦ παρόντος κανόνος ἡρμηνεύθησαν ἐν τῷ λδ' ἀποστολικῷ κανόνι, καὶ ἀνάγνωθι, τοῦτον.' *PG ibid.*, col. 1300.

⁴⁰ It is noteworthy that a famous canonist of the 17th century had no doubts about this fact. Bishop Beveridge wrote on the 34th 'Apostolic canon': 'Insignis locus ad evincendam archiepiscoporum metropolitarem et patriarcharum antiquitatem, et primitivarum ecclesiarum in provincias distributionem . . .' *PG ibid.*, col. 104-105.

⁴¹ Eusebius of Caesarea, for instance, clearly states that the term *ethnos* has a religious meaning. E. Schwartz, *Eusebius Werke*, p. 834: 'τῷ ἔθνει τῶν Χριστιανῶν.' These words are translated in *PG XX*, col. 826: "ad Christianorum sectam". E. Schwartz, *op. cit.*, p. 927: 'ὕπὲρ τῶν ὁμοεθνῶν'. These words are translated: 'in behalf of his fellow-Christians' (the English translation by A. McGiffert, in H. Wace and P. Schaff, *A Select Library of the Nicene and Post-Nicene Fathers I*, 1890, p. 349).

⁴² D. Likhachev, *Literatura, in Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi II*, 1951, pp. 167-177; *idem*, *Vozniknovenie russkoi literatury*, 1952, pp. 132-133; B. Grekov, *Pis'mennaya kul'tura drevnei Rusi*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR I*, 1953, pp. 221-223; M. Heppell, *Slavonic Translations of Early Byzantine Ascetical Literature*, *JEH V* (1), 1954, pp. 86-100; N. Gudry, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 6th ed., 1956, pp. 21-44; *idem*, *U istokov velikoi slavyanskoi literatury*, *RL*, 1958 (3), pp. 40-56; N. Meshchersky, *Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoi Rusi*, *TODRL XV*, 1958, pp. 54-72; *idem*, *K voprosu o zaimstvovaniyakh iz grecheskogo v slovarnom sostave drevnerusskogo literaturnogo yazyka*, *VV XIII*, 1958, pp. 246-261.

⁴³ M. Fasmer (Vasmer), *Greko-slavyanskije etyudy*, *IORYS XII* (2), 1907, pp. 198-199, 257, 266, etc.; A. Meillet, *Le Slave Commun*, 2nd ed., 1934, pp. 514-515.

⁴⁴ G. Stöckl, *Die Begriffe Reich, Herrschaft und Staat bei den orthodoxen Slaven*, *Saec V*, 1954, pp. 104-106; F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia*, *DOP IX-X*, 1956, pp. 73-121.

⁴⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povesť I*, 1950, p. 102.

⁴⁶ J. Matl, *Antike Gestalten in der slawischen literarischen und Volks-Überlieferung*, *Saec VI* (4), 1955, p. 410.

translations, taking the place of the originals, held the Eastern Slavs at a distance from the Greek language and left a specific imprint on the culture of Rus'.⁴⁷

In connection with these translations I shall limit myself to the problem of *ethnos*. This word was mostly rendered in Slavonic by the terms: *yazyk*, *strana-zemlya*, and *rod*.⁴⁸ The 34th 'Apostolic canon' mentioned above was translated many times into Slavonic and then the word *ethnos* was generally rendered by *yazyk*. Recently Lettenbauer has published the fragment of a Latin manuscript of Italian origin from the second half of the 9th century. It contains a collection of canons of the Western Church. A detail of immense importance: above the text of the 34th 'Apostolic canon' there figure five words in Slavonic,⁴⁹ and the editor has quite rightly remarked that they are not words translated from the Latin text above which they figure, but from its Greek version. In the passage I have already quoted concerning the bishops of each *ethnos*, we find two Slavonic words: *isiku komusdo*.

Also in other Slavonic texts of this canon which figure in the *Kormchaya kniga*, *Nomocanon* (Byzantine collection of canon law)⁵⁰ the passage concerning the bishops of every *ethnos* reads: *episkopom kogoszho yazyka*.⁵¹ Many other sources, such as *Codex Suprasliensis* of the 10th–11th centuries,⁵² Georgius Monachus Slavonic version of the 11th century,⁵³ *Savvina Kniga* of the 11th century,⁵⁴ *Chudovskaya Psaltyr'* of the 11th century,⁵⁵ *Sinaiskaya Psaltyr'* of the same time,⁵⁶ can be enumerated, in which *ethnos* is rendered by *yazyk*. The

⁴⁷ G. Fedotov, *The Russian Religious Mind. Kievan Christianity*, 1946, pp. 57–58.

⁴⁸ F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, 1862–1865, pp. 802, 887, 1167, etc.; V. Jagić, *Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1913, pp. 420, 441, 457, etc. L. Zhukovskaya, O perevodakh evangeliya na slavyanskii yazyk i o 'drevnerusskoi redaktsii' slavyanskogo evangeliya, in *Slavyanskoe yazykoznanie. Sbornik statei*, 1959, p. 87 rightly remarks that one and the same concept was often rendered by different words even by the same translator.

⁴⁹ W. Lettenbauer, Eine lateinische Kanonessammlung in Mähren im 9. Jahrhundert, *ÖCP XVIII*, 1952, pp. 246–269. Cf. M. Lacko, De recentibus investigationibus epochae cyrillo-methodianae, *Ant V*, 1959, p. 125.

⁵⁰ Rozenkampf, *Obozrenie Kormchei knigi v istoricheskom vide*, 1829; N. Kalachov, *O znachenii Kormchei v sisteme drevnerusskogo prava*, 1850; A. Pavlov, *Pervonachalniyi slavyano-russkii nomokanon*, 1869; T. Mitrovits, *Nomokanon der slavischen morgenländischen Kirche oder die Kormtschaja Kniga*, 1898; N. Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, 1905; V. Beneshevich, *Drevne-slavyanskaya Kormchaya XIV titulov bez tolkovanii I*, 1906; II, 1928; H. Schmid, *Die Nomokanonübersetzung des Methodius*, 1922; O. Lotots'ky, *Ukrains'ki dzhherela tserkovnogo prava*, *PUNI V*, 1931; Ae. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Russorum*, 1936, and many others.

⁵¹ I. Sreznevsky, *Obozrenie drevnikh russkikh spiskov Kormchei knigi*, *SORYS LXV* (2), 1897, p. 11.

⁵² S. Severyanov, *Suprasl'skaya rukopis'*, *PSY II* (1), 1904. Cf. A. Margulies, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*, 1927; K. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasliensis*, 1935; *idem*, *Fehlübersetzungen im Codex Suprasliensis*, *Altkirchenslavischen Studien I*, 1939.

⁵³ V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amariola v drevnem slavyanorusskom perevode I*, 1920; II, 1922; III, 1930.

⁵⁴ V. Shchepkin, *Savvina kniga*, *PSY I* (2), 1903.

⁵⁵ V. Pogorelov, *Chudovskaya Psaltyr'*, *PSY III* (1), 1910.

⁵⁶ S. Severyanov, *Sinaiskaya Psaltyr'*, *PSY IV*, 1922.

passages need not be quoted because there is not the slightest doubt on this point.⁵⁷

What was meant by *yazyk*? In the first place 'tongue' and 'language'. This is the basic meaning of the word, but furthermore *yazyk* sometimes stood for 'voice',⁵⁸ for 'last will' and 'testament',⁵⁹ 'evidence given by a witness',⁶⁰ a 'prisoner taken for the sake of securing intelligence',⁶¹ etc.⁶² Moreover, there is another meaning to the same word, namely: a 'people', 'race' or 'nation'.

These last terms are interpreted by many scholars exclusively in their present-day meaning which is purely ethnical. But this point of view must meet with reservations because it does not take into account the conditions and the spirit of the epoch. In pre-Christian times a religious grouping generally corresponded to a national grouping. Each nation had its gods, its customs and traditions linked with religious cult. Religion was considered as the exclusive property of the nation and, beside its language, the principal feature which distinguished it from other nations. Christianity did not impose denationalization, nevertheless it put forward international ideals and caused religious elements to play a vital role in medieval Europe, no less vital than political and economic factors. And yet the old tradition which attributed a religious significance to ethnic ideas was not completely eliminated.

In the sources relating to our subject some words and terms are often used in a double meaning. Large ethnic groups and groupings of a religious nature continually appear side by side under the same appellations. If the religious element is underestimated that leads to false and one-sided conceptions.⁶³ Some examples can be quoted which prove that terms to which we are in the habit of attributing exclusively ethnic meaning in fact related also to subjects in the religious sphere. Thus 'Slavs' were identified with 'Greeks',⁶⁴ 'Rus' with 'Greeks',⁶⁵ 'Slavs' with 'Rus'.⁶⁶ After the Slavonic Poles had

⁵⁷ V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Mefodiya Patarskogo i apokrificheskie videniya Daniila v vizantiiskoi i slavyano-russkoi literaturakh*, 1897, p. 174; V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1913, pp. 420, 430-431, 441; M. Vasmer, *Ein russisch-byzantinisches Gesprächsbuch*, *VBSI* II, 1922, p. 27.

⁵⁸ L. Sadnik and R. Aitzetmüller, *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten*, 1955, p. 27.

⁵⁹ V. Adrianova-Peretts (ed.), *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, 1949, p. 354.

⁶⁰ S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazyka* I, 2nd ed., 1952, p. 397.

⁶¹ P. S(okolov), *Obshchii tserkovno-slavyano-rossiiskii slovar'* II, 1834, p. 1767; B. Unbegaun, *La langue russe au XVIIe siècle (1500-1550)* I, 1935, pp. 227, 230; G. Kochin, *Materialy dlya terminologicheskogo slovary drevnei Rossii*, 1937, p. 401.

⁶² Cf. N. Amosova, *K voprosu o leksicheskom znachenii slova*, *VLU*, 1957 (2), pp. 164-165.

⁶³ V. Zvegintsev, *Semasiologiya*, 1957, p. 122 rightly states that the course of scholarly research depends first of all on the exact definition of the meaning of the words which appear in the text.

⁶⁴ 'Monasteria . . . Graecorum sive Slavorum.' A. Budilovich, *Obshcheslavyanskii yazyk* II, 1892, p. 96.

⁶⁵ '... superavit Ruthenos seu Graecos'. *MPH* III, p. 62. G. Labuda, *Slavs in Early Mediaeval Pomerania and their Relations with the Scandinavians in the 9th and 10th Centuries*, in *Poland at the XIth International Congress of Historical Sciences in*

accepted the Latin rite they used to be contrasted to 'Slavs',⁶⁷ etc. When the terms *Graeci*, *Rutheni*, *Slavi*, are taken in an exclusively ethnic sense, as usually happens, and co-ordinated to *yazyk*, people, nation, the above-mentioned sources are deprived of sense.⁶⁸

3. THE RELIGIOUS MEANING OF THE WORD YAZYK

I now pass to the analysis of the East-Slavonic texts which demonstrate the ecclesiastic meaning of the term *yazyk*.

A. The Church Statute of Yaroslav the Wise

The Church Statute (*ustav*) of Yaroslav the Wise has not been preserved in the original, only in later copies. If we assume that the texts of which we dispose and which have been preserved in several versions do not date from the days of Yaroslav, it does not follow that they are not based on some older text. 'Nestor' relates that Yaroslav 'loved Church statutes' (*lyubya tserkovnyya ustavy*).⁶⁹ In my opinion, the views of two outstanding experts, Pavlov and Yushkov, deserve special attention. Pavlov thinks that although we cannot assert that the two statutes of Vladimir and of Yaroslav were enacted by these two princes in person, their contents may nevertheless have originated in the lifetime of the one and the other. An indirect confirmation of the authenticity of the two acts is to be found in later documents of the Rus'ian princes, which closely conform to both these statutes.⁷⁰

Yushkov supposes that the beginning and the end of the Statute was the work of Yaroslav himself but that the middle part, the so-called *sudebnik*, which deals with offences against Church and religion, originated in the middle of the 12th century at the latest.⁷¹ Lotots'ky also believes that the Statute of Yaroslav already played an important role in the early period of Rus'ian Christianity.⁷² Tikhomi-

Stockholm, 1960, p. 72 supposes that the Rus' went under the name of Greeks in the text of Adam of Bremen. Patriarch Anthony stated, in 1393, that all Christians (according to him, all followers of the Eastern Church) are 'Romans' (the name of the Byzantines). *Eo ipso*, the Rus' were also 'Romans'. *RIB* VI, 1908, pp. 271-272.

⁶⁶ See Chapter IV of the present study.

⁶⁷ The Chronicle of 'Gallus' dating from the early 12th century, speaks of the Poles as 'Poloni', nevertheless it relates that at the death of King Boleslaw the Great (1025) his subjects mourned for him, and that, both 'Latini' and 'Slavi', followers of both the Latin and the Slavonic rite. *MPHNS* II, p. 39. Cf. *OR*, pp. 381-382.

⁶⁸ I. Krachkovsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi arabistiki*, in his *Izbrannye sochineniya* V, 1958, p. 13 rightly remarked that the names given to the Arabs in East Slavonic sources—'Agaryane', 'Izmail'tane', 'Sratsiny'—alluded sometimes to their ethnic descent and sometimes to their religious creed.

⁶⁹ D. Likhachev, *Povesť* I, p. 102. Cf. 'syn tvoi Georgii [Yaroslav] . . . ne rushashcha tvoi ustav no utverzhayushcha' (Hilarion). A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894, p. 74.

⁷⁰ I know the work of A. Pavlov, *Kurs tserkovnogo prava* (ed. by I. Gromoglasov, 1902) only in the German translation by L. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kultur-geschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, 1905, pp. 39-45. M. Krasnozhenn, *Osnovy tserkovnogo prava*, *UZIYU* XXI (5), 1913, pp. 36-37 is of the same opinion.

⁷¹ S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 211-216.

⁷² O. Lotots'ky, *Ukrains'ki dzherela tserkovnogo prava*, *PUNI* V, 1931, p. 310.

rov asserts that the text of the Statute dates from the middle of the 11th century.⁷³ Other authors—older (Klyuchevsky, Malyshevsky, Dobroklonsky, etc.) as well as modern ones, such as Schultz,⁷⁴ Grekov,⁷⁵ Ammann,⁷⁶ Soloviev,⁷⁷ Dvornik,⁷⁸ Kartashev,⁷⁹ Sherman,⁸⁰ Schmidt,⁸¹ more or less share this opinion. Golubinsky,⁸² Goetz,⁸³ Chodynicky,⁸⁴ Vernadsky⁸⁵ suppose that the Statute was compiled not in the 11th, but in the 13th century.⁸⁶

For my considerations this is immaterial since I am concerned here with the meaning of the word *yazyk* as it occurs in the Statute of Yaroslav independently of whether this dates from the 11th or the 13th century.

The passage of the Statute in the so-called East-Rus'ian version which I wish to analyse contains the prohibition to neither eat nor drink with those who are not followers of the Eastern Church. Here is the text: '*A s nekreshchenym ili inoyazych'nikom ili ot nashego yazyka nekreshchen budet', ni yasti ni piti s nim, dondezhe krestitsya; a vedaa kto yast' i piet', da budet' mitropolitu v vine.*'⁸⁷

The analysis of the quoted text renders it necessary that a number of questions be discussed, and in the first place that the meaning of *inoyazych'nik* be established. If we consider that *yazyk* stands for speech, people, nation, then *inoyazych'nik* is a person speaking another, a foreign tongue, somebody descended from another, a foreign people, coming from a foreign country (*inoplemen'nik*,

⁷³ M. Tikhomirov, *Krest'yanskoe i gorodskoe vosstaniya na Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, 1955, p. 107.

⁷⁴ L. Schultz, *Russische Rechtsgeschichte von den Anfängen bis zur Gegenwart*, 1951, pp. 71-75.

⁷⁵ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 127.

⁷⁶ A. Ammann, *Die ostslavische Kirche im jurisdiktionellen Verband der byzantinischen Grosskirche (988-1459)*, *Osc XIII*, 1955, pp. 69-70.

⁷⁷ A. Soloviev, *L'influence du droit byzantin dans les pays orthodoxes*, *R VI*, 1955, p. 629.

⁷⁸ F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia*, *DOP IX-X*, 1956, pp. 104-105.

⁷⁹ A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi I*, 1959, pp. 194-199.

⁸⁰ I. Sherman, *Russkie istoricheskie istochniki X-XVIII vv.*, 1959, p. 44.

⁸¹ K. Schmidt, *The Social Structure of Russia in the Early Middle Ages*, *Ra*, 1960, pp. 27-28.

⁸² E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi I*, 1902, p. 30.

⁸³ L. Goetz, *Zur Frage nach dem Umfang der kirchlichen Gerichtsbarkeit im vor-mongolischen Russland*, *ZOG III*, 1913, pp. 328-329.

⁸⁴ K. Chodynicky, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita polska (1370-1632)*, 1934, pp. 107-108.

⁸⁵ G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 156.

⁸⁶ V. Chernov, *Do pitannya pro bolgars'kii vpliv na ustav Yaroslava pro tserkovni sudi*, *NZUAN XVII*, 1928, pp. 25-31 emphasizes the Bulgarian influences on the Statute; K. Fritzler, *Zwei Abhandlungen über altrussisches Recht. Die sogenannte Kirchenordnung Jaroslaws. Ein Denkmal russisch-germanischen Rechts*, 1923—the German influences. See also A. Przywyj, *Die Rechtslage der Kirche im Kiewer Staat auf Grund der fürstlichen Statuten*, 1950 (unavailable to me).

⁸⁷ V. Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov po istorii tserkovnogo prava I*, 1914, p. 85; A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshogo i mladshogo izvodov*, 1950, p. 484; A. Zimin, *Pamyatniki prava Kievskogo gosudarstva (X-XII vv.)*, in S. Yushkov, *Pamyatniki russkogo prava I*, 1952, p. 270. Cf. Ae. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Russorum*, 1936, p. 19.

inorod'ts', *inostran'ts'*, *inozem'ts'*, *chuzhezem'ts'*, etc.⁸⁸) and the passage is generally interpreted in this way. But we must now ask, if this is correct.

The word *yazyk* had, besides its ethnical meaning, also another religious, ecclesiastical connotation. In Slavonic, the word *yazych'nik* stands for 'pagan'.⁸⁹ The relationship between *yazyk* and *yazych'nik* is the same as between *ethnos* and *ethnikos*, or between *gens* and *gentilis*.⁹⁰

As 'nation' *yazyk* also designated a foreign nation; foreign either in descent or in religious creed. And the twofold meaning of this word shows up in ecclesiastical writing very clearly. 'In the Scriptures—writes Sokolov—*yazyk* often stands for "a man belonging to another race" (*inoplemennik*) or "belonging to another creed" (*ino-verets*).'⁹¹ According to Baudouin de Courtenay, 'a reflection of Church opinion comes to the fore in the application of the term *yazyk* to a foreign nation, to people professing another faith or descended from another tribe as pagans and idolators. Hence the words: *yazychestvo* (paganism) and *yazychnik* (pagan).'⁹² Dal' also states that *yazyk*, in the ecclesiastical sense, is on the one hand an ethnically foreign nation, on the other, describes followers of another faith (*inovertsy*), pagans (*yazychniki*).⁹³ Further similar opinions could easily be quoted.⁹⁴ Another fact is of considerable importance, namely that *yazyk* in the plural (*yazytsi*) was in general use to designate pagans.

The Greek equivalent for *inoyazych'nik* is *barbaros*, the barbarian, the Slavonic *varvar*. On this point there is no doubt.⁹⁵ We mean today by a barbarian a rude, wild, cruel, uncultured man. The Greeks used this term when alluding to people living outside the Byzantine Empire, uncultured and, most important of all, ignorant

⁸⁸ P. S(okolov), *Obshchii tserkovno-slavyano-rossiiskii slovar'* I, 1834, p. 1051; P. Lavrovsky, *Korennoe znachenie v nazvaniyakh rodstva u slavyan*, 1867, p. 53; F. Mikloshich, *Kratkii slovar' shesti slavyanskikh yazykov*, 1885, pp. 270-271; V. Dal' *Tolkovy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka* II, 1880 (1935), p. 44, etc.

⁸⁹ *Polnyi pravoslavnyi bogoslovskii entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* II, pp. 2397-2398; P. Chernykh, *Ocherk russkoi istoricheskoi leksikologii. Drevnerusskii period*, 1956, p. 117.

⁹⁰ *Thesaurus linguae latinae* V, p. 923; VI, p. 1869. Similarly—in Hebraic. Cf. E. Sluszkiewicz, *Wszyscy jak jeden mąż*, *PoJ*, 1958, pp. 360-361.

⁹¹ P. S(okolov), *Obshchii tserkovno-slavyano-rossiiskii slovar'* II, p. 1767.

⁹² J. Baudouin de Courtenay, in I. Andreevsky, *Entsiklopedicheskii slovar'* XLI, 1904, p. 530.

⁹³ V. Dal', *Tolkovy slovar' zhivogo velikorusskogo yazyka* IV, pp. 695-696.

⁹⁴ Cf. F. Shimkevich, *Korneslov russkogo yazyka*, 1842, p. 143; A. N. Solov'ev, *Obyasnitel'nyi slovar' malo ponyatnykh tserkovnoslavyanskikh slov, vstrechayushchikhsya v sv. Evangelii, Chasoslove i Psaltiri*, 1888, p. 75; I. Ohienko, *Pam'yatki staroslov'yan-s'koi movi X-XI v.*, 1929, p. 475, and others.

⁹⁵ 'varvarom rekshe inoezychnikom', F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeo-slovenico-graeco-latinum*, 1862-1865, p. 258; V. Kachanovsky, *Slavyanskaya kormchaya, IORYS* II (4), 1897, p. 24.

of the true faith.⁹⁶ Hence *inoyazych'nik* means 'one of another faith', whether he be a pagan⁹⁷ or not, e.g., a Jew⁹⁸ or a Moslem, and in addition a man separated from the Church, one excommunicated, a heretic.⁹⁹ The Metropolitan Ioann II (1080–1089) says that if a Christian does not conform to the precepts and commandments of the Church he should be exhorted and punished, and if he does not obey he should be treated—according to the Slavonic translation—as an *inoyazych'nik* (*yako inoyazychnik i mytar*¹⁰⁰ *imeti*).¹⁰¹ Feodosi Pechersky takes a similar line (*ashche li i o tserkvi neroditi nachnet', da ti budet' yako inoyazychnik' i mytar*).¹⁰²

I have already indicated that *inoyazych'nik* contains the same meaning as *inoplemen'nik*. These terms are synonymous.¹⁰³ *Inoplemen'nik* signifies a man belonging to another tribe,¹⁰⁴ but also one professing a different faith.¹⁰⁵ The sources of the period often use this word for *supostat* or 'the devil',¹⁰⁶ 'the enemy of our [Christian]

⁹⁶ Cf. J. Jüthner, *Hellenen und Barbaren. Aus der Geschichte der Nationalbewusstseins*, 1923 (unavailable to me); B. Sinogowitz, *Die Begriffe Reich, Macht und Herrschaft im byzantinischen Kulturbereich*, *Saec IV*, 1953, p. 452; R. Guerdan, *Vie, grandeurs et misères de Byzance*, 1954, pp. 29–35; N. Baynes, *The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome*, in his *Byzantine Studies and other Essays*, 1955, p. 20; K. Lechner, *Byzanz und die Barbaren*, *Saec VI* (3), 1955, pp. 292–306; *idem*, *Hellenen und Barbaren im Weltbild der Byzantiner. Die alten Bezeichnungen als Ausdruck eines neuen Kulturbewusstseins*, 1957, etc. As to the relations in the West, see K. Christ, *Römer und Barbaren in der hohen Kaiserzeit*, *Saec X*, 1959, pp. 273–288.

⁹⁷ 'Pagany'm zhe inovertsem', I. Eremin, *Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosiya Pecherskogo*, *TODRL V*, 1947, p. 172.

⁹⁸ 'yudeem inoyazychnikom', N. K. Nikol'sky, *Materialy dlya istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti*, *SORYS LXXXII* (4), 1907, p. 124 (but in another copy: yudeem i inoyazychnikom).

⁹⁹ 'otstupl'shei ot pravovernnye very i eretitsi byvshe', V. Kachanovsky, *Slavyanskaya kormchaya*, p. 26; 'Ashche kto poidet na prazdnik' var'varki ili er'tich'sk', *ibid.*, p. 40.

¹⁰⁰ 'Mytar' means collector of taxes, oppressor, cheat, sinner.

¹⁰¹ V. Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov po istorii tserkovnogo prava I*, 1914, p. 117; Ae. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Russorum*, p. 14. Cf. B. Romanov, *Lyudi i nruvy drevnei Rusi (Istoriko-bytovye ocherki XI–XIII vv.)*, 1947, p. 66. See also A. Preobrazhensky, *Tserkovnoe otluchenie (anafema) v svoei istorii i v svoikh osnovomotivakh*, 1909; Vladimir, *O prave tserkovnogo otlucheniya ili anafemetvovaniya*, 1912.

¹⁰² I. Eremin, *Literaturnoe nasledie*, p. 180.

¹⁰³ E.g.: 'posobivyi gospodi krotkomu Davydu pobediti inoplemenniki, i vernomu knyazyu nashemu oruzh'em krestnym svoboditi grad P'skov ot inoyazychnykh rukoyu Aleksandrovoyu.' A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshogo izvodov*, 1950, pp. 296–297. Cf. 'svoboditi grad Pleskov ot inoplemennik ot inoyazychnik rukoyu Aleksandrovoyu.' V. Malyshev, *Zhitie Aleksandra Nevskogo*, *TODRL V*, 1947, p. 191.

¹⁰⁴ A. L'vov, *Iz nablyudenii nad leksikoi staroslavianskikh pamyatnikov*, *UZIS IX*, 1954, p. 170.

¹⁰⁵ I quote here a characteristic passage of 'Nestor's' Chronicle: During the battles of the Rus'ian princes with the Polovtsians 'God . . . looked with wrath on the *inoplemen'niki* and they fell before the Christians. And thus were the *inoplemen'nitsi* vanquished. . . . And God sent an angel in aid to the Rus'ian princes.' D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, 1950, p. 191. If the word *inoplemen'nitsi* is taken as an ethnic designation, then one would have to assume that the wrath of God against the Polovtsians was caused by the fact that they were not of the Rus'ian nation to which God and his angels belonged. But such senseless assumptions disappear when one accepts that the word *inoplemen'nitsi* relates to religion and signifies those who did not believe in God.

¹⁰⁶ There is much evidence that *supostat* signified the *inoplemen'nik* as well as the devil. E.g., 'Zashchitil bo est' siyu blazhenu Vol'gu ot protivnika i supostata d'yavola.' D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 49; 'krestom . . . vernii lyud'e pobezhayut' supostaty protivnyya', *ibid.*, p. 115; 'angel voz' byst' na inoplemenniki i supostaty,' *ibid.*, p. 188;

faith'.¹⁰⁷ *Inoplemen'nik* (as well as *inoyazych'nik*) relates to the religious sphere and designates a non-Christian, i.e., according to the East-Slavonic sources, one not belonging to the Eastern Church.

There is evidence that *inoyazych'nik* was used as the opposite term to 'Christian'. We read in the Message (*pouchenie, poslanie*) of Metropolitan Theognostus (d. 1353): ... '*ne torzheski no bozheshki, ne mir'ski no vyshe mir'ski, ne inoyazycheski no kr[e]styan'ski*'. According to Theognostus, the *inoyazych'niki* are people who have not the *zakon* (*inoyazychnikom zakona ne imushchim*),¹⁰⁸ i.e., who do not know the (true) faith.¹⁰⁹ Or another example—chronicler's entry describing the expedition of the Grand Duke of Moscow against the Novgorodians (1471): *I tak poide na nikh knyaz' veliki ne yako na khristian, no yako na inoyazychnik i na otstupnik pravoslavia*.¹¹⁰ According to many historians, the Novgorodians belonged to the 'Rus'ian nation'. An ethnic interpretation of the word *inoyazych'nik* in this context is quite unacceptable. On the other hand, the religious sense of the term is evident. These observations enable us to understand correctly the above passage of the Statute of Yaroslav.

The prohibition to eat and drink in the company of infidels contained in the Church Statute of Yaroslav was not a State, but a Church ordinance; it did not relate to an ethnic or political matter, but to an ecclesiastical, religious one. It was based on the Epistle of St Paul to the Corinthians, I, 5 (11).

The Church divided people, generally speaking, into two categories: confessors of the faith, i.e., Christians, and non-Christians.¹¹¹ Whether the ones and the others belong to this or that nation, made no difference. All the translations of the Statute introduce, however, this ethnic distinction as is evidenced by the use of such words as: 'foreigners', 'people not of our country', 'not descended from our nation', etc.

The prohibition to eat and drink with infidels occurs also in other

'I tako pobezhneni bysha inoplemen'nitsi i padosha mnogi vrazi, nashi supostati', *ibid.*, p. 191, etc.

¹⁰⁷ ... 'no yako inoplemennika voistinu i very nashei protivnika postaviti'. V. Beneševich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov po istorii tserkovnogo prava I*, 1914, p. 110.

¹⁰⁸ N. K. Nikol'sky, *Materialy dlya istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti*, SORYS LXXXII (4), 1907, p. 124.

¹⁰⁹ The word *zakon* means 'law' (civil law, custom, but also divine law), 'faith', 'the rules of faith', 'religion', 'dogma', 'spiritual and confessional tradition', etc. Cf. I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovarya drevne-russkogo yazyka I*, 1890, pp. 921-922; A. Preobrazhensky, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka I*, 1910-1914, p. 241; B. Unbegaun, *Russe et slaven dans la terminologie juridique*, RES XXXIV, 1957, pp. 130-132.

¹¹⁰ M. Tikhomirov, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa XV v.*, PSRL XXV, 1949, p. 288; *idem*, *Vologodsko-Permskaya letopis'*, *ibid.* XXVI, 1959, p. 236 (and in many other chronicles).

¹¹¹ F. Miklosich, *Die christliche Terminologie der slavischen Sprachen*, 1875, pp. 9-10; cf. P. Skok, *La terminologie chrétienne en slave: l'église, les prêtres et les fidèles*, RES VII, 1927, pp. 177-198.

East Slavonic sources of the period.¹¹² It is noteworthy that in these texts there is no ethnic division and only the religious criteria have decisive significance.

In order to understand the attitude of the Church better, it is worth while to quote the words of Feodosi Pechersky's prayer¹¹³: 'If they are pagans, O Lord, convert them to Christianity and they shall be our brethren' (*Izhe sut pogani, Gospodi, obrati ya na krest'yanstvo, i ti budut' brat'ya nasha*).¹¹⁴ There is here no reservation as to the nationality of these pagans. From the so-called 'Kirik's Queries' (*Voproshanie Kirikovo*), 1130–1156, addressed to Bishop Nifont of Novgorod¹¹⁵ and from the answer of that bishop we learn that at that time the Church was converting some of the Volga Bulgars, the Polovtsians, the Chud',¹¹⁶ and other sources mention still further peoples. All these converts, although not belonging to the 'Rus'ian nation' and being ethnically *inoplemen'niki* and *inoyazykh'niki*, by receiving baptism became 'brothers'¹¹⁷ in the eyes of the Church. With such 'brothers' the Rus'ian Christians could eat, drink, intermarry, etc.¹¹⁸

On the other hand, among the 'Rus'ian nation' there were at that time still many pagans.¹¹⁹ Metropolitan Ioann II (1080–1089) forbade

¹¹² . . . 'nyne zhe pisakh vam s takovm [sluzhashchim kumirom] ni piti ni yasti', P. Vladimirov, *Poucheniya protiv drevne-russkogo yazychestva i narodnykh sueverii*, in A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* III, 1897, p. 225; 's takovymi [who preserved the pagan customs and superstitions] ne yasti ni piti', *ibid.*, p. 229. 'Ashche budet kto nekreshchen, to stvoriti emu molitvu, no ne asti s nim do kr[e]shcheniya ego.' S. Smirnov, *Drevne-russkii dukhovnik. Issledovanie po istorii tserkovnogo byta*, 1914, p. 52. See also *ibid.*, pp. 64, 74, 134, 146, etc.

¹¹³ According to Eremin, this prayer dates from the 8th decade of the 11th century (1072–1074).

¹¹⁴ I. Eremin, *Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosiya Pecherskogo*, *TODRL* V, 1947, p. 184. Similarly: 'Obrati, Gospodi, poganyya v kr[e]stian'stvo, da i te budut bratia nasha, priim'she svyatoe kr[e]shchenie.' *Zhitie svyatogo Stefana, episkopa permskogo, napisannoe Epifaniem Premudrym*, 1897, p. 28; 'obradi, Gospodi, poganykh vo khristianstvo, da i te budut brat'ya nashi, priyavshi svyatoe kreshchenie, i da budet edino stado i edin pastyr'. M. Shakhmatov, *Otnoshenie drevne-russkikh knizhnikov k tataram*, *TSRAO* (IV), I, 1929, pp. 171–172.

¹¹⁵ N. Porfiridov, *Imennye vladychnye pečati Novgoroda*, *SAr*, 1958 (3), pp. 222–223 indicates that Nifont was a Greek.

¹¹⁶ *RIB* VI, No. 2, pp. 21–62. Cf. Ae. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Rusorum*, 1936, pp. 15–16.

¹¹⁷ On the terminology of kinship in Slavonic see F. Filin, *O terminakh rodstva i rodstvennykh otnoshenii v drevnerusskom literaturnom yazyke*, *YM* XI, 1948, pp. 329–346; O. Trubachev, *Istoriya slavyanskikh terminov rodstva i nekotorykh terminov obshchestvennogo stroya*, 1959.

¹¹⁸ 'Poganu ch[e]l[ove]ku stvorivshe molitvu ne yast' s nim, no egda krestivshe ego tozh yasti s nim.' S. Smirnov, *Drevne-russkii dukhovnik*, p. 120. Cf. The Tale of Peter (a converted allegedly in the 13th-century Tartar): 'I tol'mi lyublyashe knyaz' Petra, yako i khleba bez nego ne yast, yako vladytse bratati ikh v tserkvi s knyazem. I prozvalsya Petr bratom knyazyu.' *Skazanie o Petre, tsareviche ordynskom. M. Skripil', Russkie povesti XV–XVI vekov*, 1958, p. 102. Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Vossozhdanie russkoi pis'mennoi traditsii v pervye desyatiletiya tatarskogo iga*, *VIMK*, 1957 (3), p. 4.

¹¹⁹ A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894, p. 51; M. Azbukin, *Ocherk literaturnoi bor'by predstavitelei khristianstva s ostatkami yazychestva v russkom narode*, *RFV* XXXV, 1896; N. Gal'kovsky, *Bor'ba khristianstva s ostatkami yazychestva v drevnei Rusi I–II*, 1913; E. Anichkov, *Yazychestvo i drevnyaya Rus'*, 1914; N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, pp. 93–102; M. Tikhomirov, *Krest'janskije i gorodskie vosstaniya na Rusi XI–XIII vv.*,

Christians to be sold as slaves to Jews and heretics.¹²⁰ And again there is not the slightest indication whether those who were sold should belong or not belong to 'our nation' (as the Statute of Yaroslav is generally interpreted). It is not excluded that some converted groups of non-Slavonic peoples (e.g., the Varangian Rus') might sell or purchase pagan members of the 'Rus-ian (East Slavonic) nation'.¹²¹

'Nestor' describes the pagan customs of the Derevlans, Severians, Radimichians, etc., in a similar way as those of the Polovtsians¹²²; he borrowed the description of these customs from Greek writers, especially from Georgius Monachus (Hamartolos).¹²³ His equal treatment of all pagans, Slavs and non-Slavs alike, sheds much light on the attitude of the Kievan chronicler towards the 'Rus'ian nation', as the Derevlans, Severians and others were bound to be parts of it.

The passage of Yaroslav's Statute, which I wish to examine, should be viewed in conjunction with other articles of the same Statute with which it forms a whole, as they also deal with the contacts between followers of the Eastern Church and non-Christians. I have in mind two articles regarding sexual intercourse. One of them forbids a Christian man to have intercourse with a Moslem or Jewish woman (*s besermenkoyu ili s zhidovkoyu*), the second, and this is specially important for the present considerations, contains the word *ino-yazych'nik*. 'If a Jew or a Moslem or an *ino-yazych'nik* will have intercourse with a Rus'ian woman, the *ino-yazych'nitsi* shall pay to the Metropolitan 50 grivnas as penalty, and the Rus'ian woman shall be confined in a Church house' (*Ashche li zhidovin ili besermenin budet' s ruskoyu, ili inoyazychnik, na inoyazychnitsekh mitropolitu 50 griven, a rusku ponyati w dom tserkovnyi*).

Inoyazych'nik in this text should be translated: a non-Christian, an infidel, and in this most general sense it comprised Jews, Moslems, pagans, heretics, etc. Feodosi Pechersky stated that a Christian in special circumstances was under obligation to give aid to a non-Christian, even if *ti bud zhidovin ili sratsin ili bolgarin ili eretik . . . ili ot oto vsekhn poganykh*.¹²⁴ Again the 'Rus-ian (woman)' is used in the religious sense, i.e., a woman belonging to the Rus'ian Church. That is why she must answer to the ecclesiastical authorities, not to

1955, pp. 10, 76, 119-127; V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, 1956, pp. 147-148; G. Stökl, *Religiös-soziale Bewegungen in der Geschichte Ost- und Südosteuropas*, *OW II*, 1955, pp. 262-264; D. Kazachkova, *Km vprosa za bogomil-skata eres v drevna Rusiya prez XI v.*, *IP XIII*, 1957, pp. 45-78.

¹²⁰ V. Beneshevich, *Sbornik pamyatnikov po istorii tserkovnogo prava I*, 1914, p. 117.

¹²¹ Cf. B. Rybakov, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi I*, 1951, pp. 320-322.

¹²² D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 14-16.

¹²³ Cf. *OR*, p. 41.

¹²⁴ I. Eremin, *Iz istorii drevnerusskoi publitsistiki XI veka*, p. 36; *idem*, *Literaturnoe nasledie*, p. 172; A. Lebedev, *Khristianskaya pomoshch' nuzhdayushchimsya v drevnie vremena khristianstva*, 1905. Cf. '[Christians who preserved the pagan customs] ne khuzh'she sut' zhidov i eretik i bolgar', *izhe v vere i v khr'shchenii sushche*. P. Vladimirov, *Poucheniya protiv drevne-russkogo yazychestva*, p. 227.

the Prince. If one supposes that this text is concerned with ethnic distinctions, such as *zhidovin*, *besermenin*, *ruska*, and that *inoyazych'nik* signifies a man belonging to a different nation, there would appear to be no reason for the Church to impose penalties on either the man or the woman. The fact that such sexual intercourse was an offence against the Church¹²⁵ punishable by the Metropolitan proves that in the Statute of Yaroslav the word *inoyazych'nik* relates to the religious sphere, as it does in many other texts of the period which I have already mentioned.

After these preliminary remarks I pass to the interpretation of the fragment of the statute under discussion. Let us quote it once more: *A s nekreshchenym ili inoyazich'nikom ili ot nashego yazyka nekreshchen budet', ni yasti ni piti s nim, dondezhe krestitsya, a vedaa kto yast' i piet', da budet' mitropolitu v vine*.¹²⁶

In my opinion, the essence of the problem lies in the words: *ili ot nashego yazyka nekreshchen budet'*.¹²⁷ Goetz—all other authors sharing the same view—interprets the passage as follows: 'It is forbidden to eat and drink with people who are not Christians, with foreigners or with people of our country who have not been christened until they are christened. And he who with knowledge so eats and drinks shall be culpable before the metropolitan (i.e., shall be punished by him).' In German: 'Mit ungetauften, entweder (sei es) Fremden, oder von unserem Lande (Sprache), die nicht getauft sind, soll man nicht essen, noch trinken, bis sie getauft sind. Wer wissentlich isst oder trinkt, ist vor dem Metropoliten in Schuld (d.h. wird von ihm bestraft)'.¹²⁸

The verb *krestit'sya* ('be baptized', 'be christened') was used with the preposition *ot* ('by').¹²⁹ I quote some instances. It is said in many texts of the period that Jesus came to the banks of the Jordan 'and was baptized by John' (*i krstitisya emu ot Ioanna*,¹³⁰ *i krestisya . . . ot*

¹²⁵ Cf. I. Gromoglasov, *Opređenje braka v Kormchei i znachenie pri issledovanii voprosa o forme khristianskogo brakozaklyucheniya* I, 1908; L. Pokrovsky, *Grazhdanskie i tserkovnye braki drevnikh khristian*, 1915; see also I. Milovanov, *O prestupleniyakh i nakazaniyakh tserkovnykh*, 1888. All these three treatises were not available to me.

¹²⁶ According to N. Suvorov, *O tserkovnykh nakazaniyakh*, 1876, p. 133, the expression 'mitropolitu v vine' suggests a monetary fine.

¹²⁷ If one desires to attribute an ethnic connotation to the words *yazyk* and *inoyazych'nik* in this passage, then, in order to obtain some understandable meaning, it is necessary to strike out the words *nekreshchen budet'* (which, however, are there), so that the text would read as follows: 'And with one who has not been christened, either a foreigner or one descended from our nation, it is forbidden to eat and drink so long as he is not baptized.'

¹²⁸ L. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, 1905, pp. 122–123.

¹²⁹ Cf. I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlia slovaryia drevne-russkogo yazyka* II, 1902, p. 771.

¹³⁰ V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola v drevnem slavyanorusskom perevode* I, 1920, p. 226.

Ioana),¹³¹ 'to be baptized by him' (*kr'stitisya ot nego*).¹³² Hilarion says about Vladimir: 'by him we have been baptized' (*ot negozhe kreshcheni bykhom*).¹³³ Eminent men came to Pope Stephen 'to be baptized by him' (*krstitisya ot nego*).¹³⁴ 'Many pagans have been baptized by them' (*mnozi yazytsi...kr(e)shcheni bysha ot nikh*)¹³⁵ i.e., by the apostles, and so on.

Therefore, a man *ot nashego yazyka kreshcheni budet'* means: a man will be baptized by our yazyk, i.e., in our Church. Baptism is a religious rite of admission to the Church. To translate the word yazyk as 'language' or 'nation' is unacceptable in this context.¹³⁶

In my opinion, the Statute of Yaroslav indirectly suggests that there were people not baptized in the Eastern ('our') Church. They were the Latins, followers of the Roman Church of the Latin rite with whom the Rus'ian Christians came in contact on their western border¹³⁷ and also at home.¹³⁸ East-Slavonic sources treat the Latins with the utmost contempt.¹³⁹ Thus, it follows from the text of Yaroslav's Statute just analysed that the Eastern Church forbade eating and drinking

¹³¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 72. Cf. '...priide Ioann i togda zhe krestisya ot nego gospod' nash' Iisus Khristos.' N. Kazakova and Ya. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dviizheniya na Rusi XIV - nachala XVI veka*, 1955, p. 414.

¹³² E. Petukhov, *Materialy i zametki iz istorii drevnei russkoi pis'mennosti, IORYS IX (4), 1904*, p. 145; A. Sobolevsky, *Iz oblasti drevnei tserkovno-slavyanskoi propovedi, IORYS XI (4), 1906*, p. 131; N. K. Nikol'sky, *Materialy dlya istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti, SORYS LXXXII (4), 1907*, pp. 34, 50.

¹³³ A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury I*, 1894, p. 59.

¹³⁴ A. Sobolevsky, *Muchenie papy Stefana po russkomu spisku XV v., IORYS X (1), 1905*, pp. 120-121.

¹³⁵ *Zhitie svyatogo Stefana, episkopa permskogo, napisannoe Epifaniem Premudrym*, 1897, p. 10.

¹³⁶ I understand similarly a somewhat different abbreviated text of the same Statute preserved in the *Kormchaya kniga*: 'S nekreshchennym a inoyazychnikom ot nashego yazyka, s nekreshchennymi ni piti ni esti...' (*Kormchaya Rum. Muz. No. 232*), Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi II*, 1857, p. 357. Cf. A. Vostokov, *Opisanie russkikh i slovenskikh rukopisei Rumyantsovskogo Muzeuma*, 1842, p. 296. If we assume that yazyk here signifies a nation and inoyazychn'ik a foreigner, then the text: 'with a foreigner [differing] from our nation' could not be accepted as it would follow that it is permitted to eat and drink with a pagan compatriot (belonging to our nation). If we translate inoyazychn'ik by 'disbeliever', again we would find no sense in reading: 'with a non-Christian and a disbeliever of our nation...', as that would suggest that it is permissible to eat and drink with a disbeliever who is not our compatriot. The text under discussion should read: It is forbidden to eat and drink with someone who has not been christened and an infidel not of our faith (opposed to our faith).

¹³⁷ Chiefly concerned were territories bordering on Poland. Cf. e.g., the letter of the Metropolitan Nicephorus (1104-1121), directed to Yaroslav, son of Svyatopolk, Prince of Volynia, as being the most exposed to sinful contacts with the Latins, 'because the Prince is a neighbour of the Lyakh country and those who inhabit it have received the Latin faith and abandoned the Apostolic Church'. *OR*, p. 98. The same relates to northern lands, especially the Baltic region. Cf. e.g., the attitude towards the catholic 'godless' Germans of the Pskovian chronicles. A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisi I*, 1941, *passim*.

¹³⁸ Feodosi Pechersky, for instance, complained that the Latin Varangians remained in Rus' much to the detriment of the Orthodox Christians: 'ispolnilasya i nasha zemlya zlyya toya very lyudii: ponezhe po vsei zemli Varyazi sut'; velika nuzhda pravovernym khristianom, izhe mezhi tekh zhivushche v edinom meste'. Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi II*, p. 259. Cf. M. Krasnozhenn, *Inovertsy na Rusi I*, 3rd ed., 1903.

¹³⁹ '...a sushchemu v inoi vere ili v latn'stei ili v sratsins'tei ili v armen'stei nes videti im zhizni vechnyya.' I. Eremin, *Iz istorii drevne-russkoi publitsistiki XI v. (Poslanie Feodosiya Pecherskogo k knyazyu Izyaslavu Yaroslavichu o latinyanakh), TODRL II*, 1935, p. 36; '...ili eretik ili latinyanin ili ot oto vsekhn poganykh'...

with the Latins.¹⁴⁰ This conclusion is entirely justified as it is confirmed by many other sources.¹⁴¹

The question arises how later generations understood and observed the rules of Yaroslav's Statute. Some 15th-century epistles of the Rus'ian Church dignitaries deserve attention because they prohibit Orthodox Christians to eat and drink with heretics, chiefly with the so-called *strigol'niki*.¹⁴² This is very important as, from an ethnic point of view, the *strigol'niki*¹⁴³ belonged to the 'Rus'ian nation', since the sect spread in the regions of Novgorod and Pskov.

Rushchinsky states, on the base of an abundant source-material, that many foreigners remained in Moscow in the 16th and 17th centuries. They were, however, completely isolated from the local population. The author emphasizes that this isolation which embraced also eating and drinking, was caused by the religious aversion (*religioznoe otvrashchenie*) of the Muscovites. But if these foreigners changed their creed and accepted Orthodox Christianity, they were at once enthusiastically received by the Rus'ian community.¹⁴⁴ It is

ibid., p. 36; 'Izhe byv [Simon] prezhde Varyag, nyne zhe blagodatiyu khristovoyu khristianin, nauchen byv svyatym ottsem nashim Feodosiem, ostaviv latynskuyu buest' i istinne verovav v Gospoda nashego Isusa Khrista', D. Abramovich, Kiev-Pechers'kii Paterik, PMPDU IV, 1930, p. 5; . . . 'idezhe be zhil poganyi zlyi Dedrik', A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, pp. 49, 245, and so on.

¹⁴⁰ This indicates that the middle part of the Statute, the so-called *Sudebnik*, had to be written after the division of the Churches (1054), i.e., after the death of Yaroslav (d. 1054).

¹⁴¹ . . . 'svoikh docherei ne davati za nikh [to the Latins], ni u nikh poimati, ni bratatsiya, ni pokloniti, ni tselovati ego, ni s nim iz edinago sudna yasti ni piti . . .' Poslanie Feodosiya Pecherskogo. I. Eremin, *Iz istorii*, p. 34; 'V latinskuyu tserkov' ne podobael vkhoditi ni piti s nimi iz edinoi chashi, ni yasti ni ponagiya im dati.' S. Smirnov, *Materialy dlya istorii drevnerusskoi pokayannoi distsipliny*, COID, 1912 (3), p. 123. Many texts have been listed by A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevnerusskikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI-XV vv.)*, 1875. Cf. A. Pavlov, *Kriticheskie opyty po istorii drevneishei greko-russkoi polemiki protiv latinyan*, 1878 (unavailable to me); M. Chel'tsov, *Polemika mezhdru grekami i latynyanami po opresnokakh v XI-XII vv.*, 1879; M. Krasnozhen, *Otnoshenie pravoslavnoi vostochnoi tserkvi k litsam nepravoslavnym*, 1900; S. Runciman, *The Eastern Church*, 1955; M. Syuzymov, 'Razdelenie tserkvei' v 1054 g., *Vol.*, 1956 (8), pp. 44-57, etc.

¹⁴² 'A asche diyavol'skim zapyatiem i zloukhishchreniem do kontsa budut takovii, zovomi strigol'nitsi, ot boga otpadayushche, i blyudite o takovykh, nikako v yast'i i pit'i vernym s temi priobshchatsiya', N. Kazakova and Ya. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniya na Rusi XIV-nachala XVI veka*, 1955, p. 250; 'a mirstii zhe vsi nikako s temi priobshchaite sobe v yast'i i pitii, i da nikako oskvernite sebe s takovymi, dondezhe s pokayaniem i s slezami obratyatsya takovii v blagorazumie istinago khristian'stva', *ibidem*, p. 253; 'i yakozhe ubo prezhe k vam pisakh, i nyne pishu, udalyaite sobe ot tekh v yastii i pitii . . .', *ibid.*, p. 254; 'O sikh zhe, chada, povedayu vam, vsem sushchimi pravoslavnym khristianom, yako da ne priobshchitsya k nim, k otverzhenym eresnikom, niktozhe ni delom, ni slovom, ni yadeniem, ni pit'em . . .', *ibid.*, p. 385; 'I svyaty Ioann Zlatoust glagolet: 'Vzlyublennii, mnogozhdy vam glagolakh o bezbozhnykh eretitsakh, i nyne molyu ne sovokuplyatsya s nimi ni v yadenii, ni vo pitii, ni vo družbe, ni v lyubvi', *ibid.*, p. 426; similarly—pp. 429, 438, 469, 489, 501.

¹⁴³ Cf. N. Kazakova, *Ideologiya strigol'nichestva, pervogo ereticheskogo dvizheniya na Rusi*, TODRL XI, 1955, pp. 103-117; A. Klibanov, *Reformatsionnye dvizheniya v Rossii*, 1960, pp. 118-136, 167-172. See also Ya. Lur'e, *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v russkoi publitsistike kontsa XV-nachala XVI veka*, 1960.

¹⁴⁴ L. Rushchinsky, *Religiozni byt russkikh po svedeniyam inostrannykh pisatelei XVI i XVII vekov*, 1871, pp. 195-236.

evident that in both cases not the ethnic but exclusively the religious factors played a decisive role.

The prohibition to eat and drink with people of another faith which appears in Yaroslav's Statute cannot be limited in time and place—to the 11th century, to Eastern Europe, and even to Christianity. It was a general rule and custom, so characteristic for that epoch. Nikitin (15th century) describing the religious conditions in India, rightly touches on this problem when he writes: 'Faith with faith [*i.e.*, the believers of one faith with the followers of another] does not drink, eat or intermarry,' . . . *a vera s veroyu ni piet', ni yast, ni zhenitsya*.¹⁴⁵ These words can also be taken to reflect the guiding principles of the Church Statute of Yaroslav.

Summing up the present considerations, I reach the conclusion that the Statute under discussion uses the word *yazyk* (*ili ot nashego yazyka nekreshchen budet'*) in an ecclesiastical-religious sense.

B. The Prayer of Hilarion

I now wish to draw attention to the Prayer of Hilarion, Metropolitan of *Rus'* in the middle of the 11th century, or, to be more precise, to one copy of the text. According to the opinion generally accepted, this prayer forms the third part of Hilarion's work, the two others being: 'Discourse on Law and Grace' (*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*) and the 'Eulogy of Kagan Vladimir' (*Pokhvala kaganu Vladimiru*).¹⁴⁶

Many details concerning this prayer and especially its author and text have not been sufficiently investigated. As is well known, Hilarion's work has not been preserved in the original, but only in later copies dating mostly from the 16th century. In all these copies except one (*Sinodal'nyi spisok*) which also dates from the 16th century, this prayer does not figure.¹⁴⁷ I am now not concerned with a detailed investigation whether Hilarion was or was not the author of the prayer. For my inquiry into the meaning of the word *yazyk*, the wording of the text has far greater importance than its authorship. I am not so much interested in the text which is usually considered as correct and quoted everywhere, but rather in another one, which is generally omitted, in my opinion, without good reason. It is to be found in the *Kormchaya* and has been published by

¹⁴⁵ Ya. Lur'e, *Khozhenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina 1466–1472 gg.*, 1958, p. 18.

¹⁴⁶ A list of Hilarion's works or ascribed to him is given by N. K. Nikol'sky, *Materialy dlya povremennogo spiska russkikh pisatelei i ikh sochinenii* (X–XI vv.), 1906, pp. 75–122.

¹⁴⁷ A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894, p. 51. A new edition of Hilarion's work by N. Rozov is in preparation. Cf. D. Likhachev, *Seriya monograficheskikh issledovaniy pamyatnikov drevnerusskoi literatury*, *IANOLY* XIX (3), 1960, p. 241.

Makary,¹⁴⁸ although the editor does not attach sufficient significance to it.

Hilarion's prayer addresses God and implores Him to avert external dangers and calamities at home. Among the numerous humble supplications there is one which concerns God's protection of the prince: 'our orthodox prince . . . protect by *yazyk*' (*blagovernago knyazya nashego . . . yazykom ogradi*).¹⁴⁹ It may be that this text has been neglected because the interpretation of *yazyk* as hitherto accepted prevented the sentence from being understood.

But in the text of Hilarion's prayer which is considered correct, other words occur in this place giving another meaning. Instead of *yazyk* we read *strana*, and what is of still greater consequence, instead of the verb *ograditi*, to enclose, defend, protect, shield,¹⁵⁰ there figures *ogroziti*, to frighten, to menace, to threaten someone.¹⁵¹ The text therefore reads: "Render our rulers terrible to the [foreign] countries"¹⁵² (*vladyke nashi ogrozi stranam*).¹⁵³

In later times the Prayer of Hilarion was, in Muscovite Rus', incorporated in the Church ritual and read at special occasions as 'composed by the Rus'ian Metropolitan Hilarion for the Tsar' and all Orthodoxy' (*tvorenie mitropolita Ilariona russkago za tsarya i za vse pravoslavie*).¹⁵⁴ The power of 16th-century Moscow and its conquests found their counterpart in this prayer. In the words: 'render our rulers terrible to the [foreign] countries [nations]' there is a sense of strength and aggressiveness which is a far cry from the imploring, humble tone of the primary text. That is the reason why I think that the text of the *Kormchaya* is much older and more accurate.¹⁵⁵

According to the religious opinion of the time, faith¹⁵⁶ and its

¹⁴⁸ Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I, 1857, p. 265. *Kormchaya* Rumyants. Muz. No. 233; cf. A. Vostokov, *Opisanie russkikh i slovenskikh rukopisei Rumyantsovskogo Muzeuma*, 1842, p. 202.

¹⁴⁹ Here is the passage of the Prayer which concerns us: 'Allay Thy anger [Oh God], have mercy on Thy people, destroy the hosts [of our enemies], establish peace, hold back [enemy] countries, give to [our] city [country] abundance, shield our orthodox prince . . . by *yazyk* . . .' ('Nu ukrotisya, umiloserdisya na lyudi tvoya; ratnyya prozheni, mir utvr'di, a strany ukroti, grad ugodbi, blagovernago knyazya nashego . . . yazykom ogradi' . . .). *Grad* does not necessarily signify a city, but can refer to a larger area. A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya' i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, 1951, p. 53 interprets *grad* by *volost*.

¹⁵⁰ P. Alekseev, *Tserkovnyi slovar' ili istolkovanie rechenii slavenskikh drevnikh* II, 1794, p. 228; A. N. Solov'ev, *Obyasnitel'nyi slovar' maloponyatnykh tserkovnoslavianskikh slov*, 1888, p. 42; I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy* II, 1902, p. 609.

¹⁵¹ I. Sreznevsky, *op. cit.* I p. 595; II p. 611.

¹⁵² That is how this text is translated by L. Cherepnin, *Vozniknovenie drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* I, 1953, p. 256: 'Gosudarei nashikh sdelaï groznymi narodom.'

¹⁵³ A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki* I, 1894, p. 78.

¹⁵⁴ A. Ponomarev, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

¹⁵⁵ Cf. D. Likhachev, *Ponyatie 'luchshego spiska' v tekstologicheskoi rabote*, *AE* II, 1960, pp. 7-10.

¹⁵⁶ Faith is invincible (. . . 'ukrepivshya oruzh'em' krestnym' i veroyu nepobedimoyu, bozh'eyu pomoshch'yu,' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 140-141), inflexible (. . . 'vsegda tmu otgonyashcha, yavlyayushchasya veroyu neuklon'noy', *ibid.*, p. 94).

symbol, the cross,¹⁵⁷ like prayer and fasting, were spiritual arms capable of giving security and protection to Christians in all adversities.¹⁵⁸

I return to Hilarion's Prayer and its wording: 'protect our orthodox prince . . . by yazyk' (*blagovernago knyazya nashego . . . yazykom ogradi*). Let us compare the expression: *yazykom ograzhden* (protected) with other texts of the sources: *veroyu ograzhden*,¹⁵⁹ *pravoslaviem ograzhden*,¹⁶⁰ *zakonom ograzhden*,¹⁶¹ *krestom ograzhden*,¹⁶² *angely ograzhden*,¹⁶³ etc. It follows from this comparison that *yazyk* belongs here to the same category of religious expressions as *vera* ('faith'), *pravoslavie*, *pravoslavnaya vera* ('orthodox faith'), *zakon* ('faith', 'the rules of faith', 'religion'¹⁶⁴), *krest* ('cross'), *angel* ('angel'). In the text (*yazykom ogradi*) *yazyk* cannot stand for tongue, nor for language, nor for people or nation, as this people, according to the Prayer, is itself awaiting God's mercy and aid, and the sentence would not make sense.

C. The *Tacticon* of Nikon Chernogorets

The *Tacticon* was written in Greek by Nikon 'Chernogorets', a monk of the Black Mountain, near Antioch, a short time after the final separation of the Churches, *i.e.*, after 1054. The Slavonic translation of it was known from the 14th century on.¹⁶⁵ The following passage of the *Tacticon* is of importance for the present considerations: 'The *yazyk* of the Vandals was [*i.e.*, derived] from many heresies, such as: Macedonians, Nestorians, Arians and similar to them' (*yazyk uandar'skyi be . . . ot razlichnykh eresei: makidon'yane, nestoriyane, ariyane i podobni sim*).¹⁶⁶ The enumerated heresies prove

¹⁵⁷ The power of the cross is great. It conquers diabolical forces. It comes to the aid of the Rus' and gives them victory in war ('Ponezhe velika est' sila krestnaya: krestom' bo pobezheni byvayut' sily besov'skyya, krest bo knyazem v branekh posobit', *ibid.*, p. 115; 'no chestnago kresta sila i svyatoi Sof'i vsegda nizlaet' nepravdu imeyushchikh,' A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, p. 83; . . . 'i pobedisha ya pl'skovichi siloyu kresta chestnago,' *ibid.*, p. 80, etc.).

¹⁵⁸ Cf. . . . 'and destroy by your faith those who fight against us' (i pogubi veroyu tvoeyu boryushchikhsya s nami), Makary, *op. cit.*, I, p. 251.

¹⁵⁹ 'I kto budet veroyu ograzhden' . . . , N. Kazakova and Ya. Lur'e, *Antifeodal'nye ereticheskie dvizheniya na Rusi XIV—nachala XVI veka*, 1955, pp. 317, 310.

¹⁶⁰ . . . 'ponezhe ograzheni sut' tekhn zlochestia vashim pravoslaviem' . . . , N. Kazakova and Ya. Lur'e, *op. cit.*, p. 247.

¹⁶¹ . . . 'zakonom zhe see ograzhden' . . . , Kh. Loparev, *Zhitie svyatogo Evdokima Pravednogo*, PDP XCVI, 1893, p. 30.

¹⁶² . . . 'krest'noy siloyu ogradi mya' . . . , A. Sobolevsky, *Materialy i issledovaniya v oblasti slavyanskoi filologii i arkheologii*, SORYS LXXXVIII (3), 1910, p. 42; . . . 'krestom ograzhaemi vernii lyudie' . . . , A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 87.

¹⁶³ . . . 'ogradi mya presvyatymi angely tvoimi' . . . , A. Arkhangel'sky, *Lyubopytnyi pamyatnik russkoi pis'mennosti XV v.*, PDP, 1884, p. 8.

¹⁶⁴ B. Unbegaun, *Russe et slaven dans la terminologie juridique*, RES XXXIV, 1957, pp. 130–132.

¹⁶⁵ Cf. A. Sobolevsky, *Perevodnaya literatura Moskovskoi Rusi XIV–XVII vv.*, 1903, pp. 21, 32; Ac. Herman, *De fontibus iuris ecclesiastici Russorum*, 1936, p. 9.

¹⁶⁶ A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI–XV vv.)*, 1875, p. 289.

that the word *yazyk* in the above text can only be understood as 'faith' or 'religious belief'.

D. Trade Agreements with Hanseatic Cities

Several commercial treaties dating from the 12th to the 14th century concluded by Great Novgorod¹⁶⁷ and Smolensk with Hanseatic cities have come to us and have bearing on the subject under discussion. The Novgorodian Prince, Yaroslav, son of Vladimir, signed (1189–1199) a treaty 'with the envoy Arbud and all German sons, and Goths,¹⁶⁸ and the whole Latin *yazyk* (*i s vsem latin'skym yazykom*)'.¹⁶⁹ Another treaty, of 1229, of Mstislav, Prince of Smolensk, with Riga, Gotland etc. laid down conditions for the understanding 'between Rus' and the Latin *yazyk* (*m'zhyu Rusiyu i m'zhyu Latineskim yazykom*)'.¹⁷⁰ In 1262–3, the Prince of Novgorod, Alexander, concluded an agreement with the envoys of Lübeck, Gotland, etc. and 'with the whole Latin *yazyk* (*i so vsem latin'skym yazykom*)'.¹⁷¹ The expression 'the Latin *yazyk*' with reference to one of the parties to the agreement (*i.e.*, the Hanseatic merchants) also appears in a treaty of 1269 concluded by Yaroslav, Prince of Novgorod (*unde aller Latinscher tungen*)¹⁷² as well as in a document of the Novgorodians of 1301 (*ot svoikh kupech latin'skogo yazyka*).¹⁷³

I have stated in *OR* that in these treaties the word *yazyk* refers to religion, and that *so vsem latin'skym yazykom* should be rendered as: 'with the whole Latin faith', or still more exactly, as: 'with all those who profess the Latin faith.'¹⁷⁴ Vladimirsky-Budanov was of

¹⁶⁷ Cf. L. Goetz, *Deutsch-russische Handelsgeschichte des Mittelalters*, HG, 1922; M. Postan, *The Trade of Medieval Europe: the North*, CEHE II, 1952, pp. 223–232; P. Johansen, *Novgorod und die Hanse. Städtewesen und Bürgertum als geschichtliche Kräfte*, in *Gedächtnisschrift für F. Röhrig*, 1953; I. Shaskol'sky, *Marshrut torgovogo puti iz Nevy v Baltiiskoe more v IX–XIII vv.*, GS III, 1954, pp. 146–159; V. Mavrodin, *Russkoe morekhodstvo na Baltiiskom more v XIII–XVI vv.*, UZLGU, No. 205, 1956. See also A. Lewis, *Northern Seas. Shipping and Commerce in Northern Europe*, A.D. 300–1100, 1958 (unavailable to me); S. Naida, *K voprosu o drevnem morekhodstve novgorodtsev*, in Yu. Bem, *Nauchno-teoreticheskaya konferentsiya, posvyashchennaya 1100-letiyu Novgoroda*, Vol I, 1960 (1), pp. 201–202.

¹⁶⁸ *I.e.*, inhabitants of the isle of Gotland.

¹⁶⁹ L. Goetz, *Deutsch-russische Handelsverträge des Mittelalters*, AHK XXXVII, 1916, pp. 16–17; S. Valk, *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1949, No. 28, pp. 55–56.

¹⁷⁰ L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 231–304; S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazyka I*, 2nd ed., 1952, No. 13, pp. 29–35; cf. V. Geiman, *Pravo i sud, in Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi II*, 1951, pp. 46–48; S. Uspensky, *Yazyk smolenskikh gramot XII–XIV vv.*, in *Filologicheskii sbornik*, 1951, pp. 5–148, 245–251; N. Usachev, *Torgovlya Smolenska s Visbi, Rigoi i severogermanskimi gorodami v XII–XIV vv.*, 1952.

¹⁷¹ L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 72–80; G. Kochin, *Pamyatniki istorii Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, 1935, No. 44, pp. 109–110; S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *op. cit.* I, No. 14, pp. 36–37; S. Valk, *op. cit.*, No. 29, pp. 56–57.

¹⁷² L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 90–166; G. Kochin, *op. cit.*, No. 46, pp. 110–114; S. Valk, *op. cit.*, No. 31, pp. 58–61 (*i vsego latinskogo yazyka*).

¹⁷³ L. Goetz, *op. cit.*, pp. 166–171; G. Kochin, *op. cit.*, No. 47, pp. 114–115; S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *op. cit.* I, No. 22, 49–50; S. Valk, *op. cit.*, No. 34, pp. 63–64.

¹⁷⁴ *OR*, pp. 13–14.

the same opinion when he said that in those treaties the Germans and Goths were 'comprised in the general appellation *Latinskii yazyk* as professing the same Catholic faith.'¹⁷⁵

My opinion was called in question by Vernadsky. When dealing with the above-mentioned agreement of Smolensk with Riga, Gotland, etc. (1229), Vernadsky considered that the Latin *yazyk* could not be taken here in the meaning of the Latin faith and its believers, because the other party to the agreement, the Rus' were an ethnic entity. 'It is obvious that Rus' is here used in ethnic sense, not in the religious one.'¹⁷⁶ What is obvious for Vernadsky, is not obvious for me. In the period in question, the term 'Rus'' has a purely ecclesiastical connotation,¹⁷⁷ consequently the Latin *yazyk* is a notion of the same category.¹⁷⁸

In defending his view that the word *yazyk* in the treaty between Smolensk and the Hanse conveyed an ethnic meaning Vernadsky put forward the following observation: 'The treaty was concluded between two peoples, not between two churches.'¹⁷⁹ He applies to the events present-day criteria forgetting the notions and terminology that were in use in the Middle Ages. In those days, ethnic and religious determinants were indiscriminately applied to establish identity, either separately or at the same time. A few examples will make this clear. In the treaty of 911 between Oleg and Byzantium, which was largely a treaty of commerce, the partners of Rus' are alluded to as 'Greeks' as well as 'Christians'.¹⁸⁰ Also in Igor's agreement with the Byzantine Empire there appear both 'Greeks' and 'Christians'.¹⁸¹ There is a complete analogy between the 'Christians—Greeks' of these documents and the combination *Latinskii yazyk* and *Nem'tsi*, *Nem'chich*, *Nem'chin*, etc. in the treaties with the Hanseatics.

We learn from a chronicler's entry of 1175 that the Rostov-Suzdal' land and its prince, Andrew Bogolyubsky, were visited by Greek, Rus'ian, Latin, Bulgarian, and Jewish merchants.¹⁸² The author

¹⁷⁵ M. Vladimírsky-Budanov, *Khristomatiya po istorii russkogo prava* I, 6th ed., 1908, p. 93.

¹⁷⁶ *Sp.*, 1955, p. 298. Vernadsky does not know the article by L.A., Shto takoe 'Rus' ' smalenskai targovai gramaty 1229 g. ?, *Kryvich*, 1923 (6), pp. 23–24, where the meaning of the term 'Rus' in the treaty of 1229 was correctly interpreted.

¹⁷⁷ See Chapter IV of the present study.

¹⁷⁸ The sources of the period often use the terms 'Rus'ian' and 'Latin' as contrasting expressions of the same kind. E.g., Bishop Serapion (13th century) speaks of famine 'not only in Rus' but also in Latinity' (*ne tokmo v Rusi, no v Latene*). M. Gorlin, Sérapion de Vladimir, prédicateur de Kiev, in his *Études littéraires et historiques*, 1957, p. 116.

¹⁷⁹ *Sp.*, 1955, p. 298.

¹⁸⁰ . . . 'mezhyu Rus'yu i Greki'; 'li rusin li grechenin'; 'mezhyu Gretskeyu zemleyu i Ruskoyu'; 'mezhi khrestiany i Rus'yu'; 'ashche kto ub'et' ili khrest'yanina rusin, ili khrest'yanin rusina'; 'ashche kto ot khrest'yan ili ot Rusi', etc. D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 25–29.

¹⁸¹ . . . 'mezhi Greki i Rus'yu'; 'ashche kto ot Rusi ili ot Grek'; 'da budet' povinen zakonu rusku i grech'sku'; 'Elika khresteyan ot vlasti nashaya plenena privedut' rus' '; 'ashche ub'et' khresteyanin rusina, ili rusin khresteyanina', etc. *ibid.*, pp. 34–39.

¹⁸² *PSRL* II, under the year 1175. Cf. I. Eremin, *Kievskaya letopis' kak pamyatnik literatury*, *TODRL* VII, 1949, p. 85.

describes these merchants by a purely religious terminology: 'the whole of Christianity' (*vsego khrest'yan'stva*) and 'all the pagans' (*vsya pagan*).¹⁸³ In the chronicler's understanding, 'all Christianity' refers to all those merchants who profess the faith preached by the Eastern Church, and therefore the expression is the exact counterpart of 'the whole Latin *yazyk*', as it figures in the treaties of Novgorod and Smolensk with the Hanse.

And one more instance: in 1323 an agreement was reached between Novgorod and the Livonian Order. The representatives of the Order expressly say that they were 'on a mission to Novgorod from all Christianity' (*Kundich do wi dat, dat wi van des menen kerstendomes wegene to Novgarden in botschaft hebbet gewesen*), and that the treaty was agreed 'between the Novgorodians and all Christianity' (*zwischen den Novgarderen und deme menen kerstendome*).¹⁸⁴ Again 'all Christianity' is an exact analogy with 'the whole Latin *yazyk*' in the quoted agreements with the Hanseatics. These texts disprove Vernadsky's thesis most emphatically. Although in those days treaties were concluded 'between two peoples, not between two churches', yet religious terms occur in them indiscriminately.

Vernadsky's interpretation of the word *Latinin* (the Latin) in the above-mentioned chronicler's entry of 1175 is, in my opinion, inadmissible. It is based on the false assumption that in sources not concerning Church affairs religious terms did not occur. When analysing this entry Vernadsky thinks that the word *Latinin* (with reference to the merchants visiting the Rostov-Suzdal' country) should be translated as 'a merchant from the West',¹⁸⁵ thus reducing the sense of the term to a vague geographical indication.¹⁸⁶

¹⁸³ M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, p. 404 remarks: 'It is interesting that the chronicler notes not the nationality of these merchants but their religion. . . .'

¹⁸⁴ S. Valk, *Gramoty Velikogo Novgoroda i Pskova*, No. 37, pp. 65-67.

¹⁸⁵ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 296. In my opinion, *Latinin* is a believer of the Roman Church of the Latin rite. The essence of the distinction lies in his faith, and not in the geographical position of his country. In the sources of the period the expression 'Latin merchants' sometimes does occur (e.g., in the treaty of Smolensk with the Hanse of 1229: 'pred vsemi Latineskimi kuptsi'), but this is only a contracted form for 'merchants of the Latin faith' or 'of the Latin *yazyk*'. This can be seen from the wording of the treaty of 1301 between Novgorod and the Hanse where the following expression is used: 'ot svoikh kupech' latin'skogo yazyka'. In the sources other abbreviations also occur: a Latin country ('v latinskikh stranakh', A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI-XV vv.)*, 1875, p. 340), i.e., a country inhabited by adherents of the Latin faith; a Latin city ('is latyn'skogo grada . . . iz venetsii', A. Popov, *op. cit.*, p. 340), i.e., a city inhabited by Catholics of the Latin rite; Latin merchandise ('Latineskii tovar', in the quoted agreement between Smolensk and the Hanse of 1229), i.e., goods belonging to or produced by members of the Latin Church, and so on.

¹⁸⁶ A similar point of view is taken by M. Cherniavsky in his review of my book: 'For the Russians, clearly, *Latin* in this case [the treaties with the Hanseatics] meant Western European, and the word *Latin* was used frequently in this sense.' *PSQ*, 1955, p. 299. Another observation of the same reviewer is also untenable. According to Cherniavsky, *yazyk* cannot mean faith because in the treaty of 1269, *yazyk-tunge* occurs in the plural (*unde aller Latinscher tungen*). He writes: 'One can only wonder how many Latin faiths he [Paszkievitz] envisages in thirteenth-century Western Europe.' The use of the plural in the text simply indicates that the term *yazyk-tunge* means: the followers of the faith, a point I have made more than once in my book.

The envoys of the Livonian Order to Novgorod speak of 'all Christianity'. In the chronicler's entry of 1175 the merchants visiting Andrew Bogolyubsky are alluded to as 'Christians' and 'pagans'. But if *Latinin* signifies only 'a merchant from the West' and the whole question is reduced to matters of geography, what, one may well ask, is the connotation of 'Christians' and 'pagans' in the above mentioned text? If ideas of a religious connotation are to be deprived of their intrinsic religious meaning, perhaps these terms too are only intended to stand for 'a merchant from the South (North or East)'. Needless to say, such an interpretation could not be taken seriously.¹⁸⁷

Summarizing what has been said, I state that the 'Latin yazyk' in the treaties between Novgorod-Smolensk and the Hanse stood for the Latin faith and those who professed it.

E. The Tale of the Monk Simeon of Suzdal'

The Tale of the monk Simeon of Suzdal' (*Inoka Simeona iereya suzhdaltsa povest'*) belongs to the outstanding works of the 15th century, written in Muscovite Rus'. It is directed against the Union of Florence.¹⁸⁸ Here we read that during the debates between the highest representatives of the two Churches, Mark, Metropolitan of Ephesus, one of the chief opponents to the Union, addressed 'the Pope, the cardinals, the archbishops and all the Latin yazyk' (*k' pape i k gardinalom i artsybiskupom i ko vsemu yazyku latyn'skomu*). He said: 'Hear me . . . Pope of Rome, *uchitel'* of the Latin yazyk' (*slyshi . . . papa rimskii, uchitelyu latynskago yazyka*).¹⁸⁹ Now *uchitel'* means: a teacher, propagator of the faith, a master, etc. The verb *uchiti* signifies: to teach, to spread the faith.¹⁹⁰ The notion of *uchitel'* went both with the mission of spreading Christianity among the nations

¹⁸⁷ The Russian Metropolitan Isidor (15th century) was called in the sources of the period 'a Latin' (*latynyanin*; cf. A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor*, p. 345); similarly — Metropolitan Gregory ('. . . u ego mitropolita Grigor'a Latynina sushcha'. . . , M. Tikhomirov, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa XV veka*, PSRL XXV, 1949, p. 286). Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 308 admits that Isidor was a Greek or Hellenized Slav born in Salonike, and that Gregory was a Bulgarian (cf. *idem*, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age*, 1959, p. 33). Following Vernadsky's reasoning we must conclude that the Greeks or the Southern Slavs belonged to Western Europe and Salonika and Bulgaria lay in the West.

¹⁸⁸ Cf. A. Shcherbina, *Literaturnaya istoriya russkikh skazanii o Florentiiskoi unii*, 1902; J. Gill, *Greeks and Latins in a Common Council. The Council of Florence (1438–1439)*, OCP XXV (3–4), 1959, pp. 265–287. See also I. Grozdova, *Materialy po etnografii narodov Zapadnoi Evropy u russkikh puteshestvennikov do serediny XIX v.*, TIE XXX, 1956, pp. 323–324.

¹⁸⁹ A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI–XV vv.)*, 1875, p. 347. Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Russia at the Dawn of the Modern Age*, 1959, pp. 168–169.

¹⁹⁰ 'Kostyantin zhe . . . ide uchit' bolgar'skago yazyka', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 22; 'prihodisha bolgare i khresteyane, uchashche tya kozhdo vere svoei, *ibid.*, p. 60; 'To kako vy inekh uchite, a sami otverzheni ot Boga i rastocheni?' *ibid.*, p. 60; 'Slyshakhom, yako prikhodili sut' bolgare, uchashche tya priyati veru svoyu', *ibid.*, p. 60; 'Uchashchyu zhe emu v tserkvi', *ibid.*, p. 72; 'Apostolom zhe uchashchem po vseleni verovati Bogu, ikh zhe uchen'e my, gr'tsi, priyakhom, vselenaya veruet' uchen'yu ikh', *ibid.*, p. 73; 'i prinjali latinskoe uchenie', A. Popov, *op. cit.*, p. 109, etc.

not yet converted,¹⁹¹ and with the task of stabilizing and confirming the Christian faith among nations already gained over to it.¹⁹² A metropolitan is *uchitel'* in his see,¹⁹³ an archbishop in his archbishopric,¹⁹⁴ etc. As the text speaks of the Pope, *yazyk* signifies Church and faith (the Pope, head of the Church, propagator of the faith). *Latinskii yazyk* here mentioned after the Pope, the cardinals and archbishops represents the faithful, those who profess the Latin faith.¹⁹⁵

F. The Epistle of Spiridon-Sabbas (*Poslanie Spiridona-Savvy*)

The Epistle originated in the first quarter of the 16th century, probably between 1511 and 1521. The author, Spiridon-Sabbas, writing about the separation of the Churches and the famous controversy relating to the origin of Holy Ghost (*filioque*), asserts that Pope Formosus 'introduced into the Latin *yazyk* a fourth divine person' (*vvede v latinski yazyk chetvertoe litso v bozhestve*).¹⁹⁶ The problem of the three (or four) persons in the Deity is a question of dogma; therefore, the word *yazyk* has in this text the meaning of faith.

The texts analysed above show that in the times we are concerned with, the word *yazyk* had an ecclesiastical and religious connotation in addition to its obvious and already well established meanings, such as 'tongue', 'language', 'people', 'nation', etc. *Yazyk* signifies a metropolitan see as an administrative, territorial unit and as a population group inhabiting that territory, furthermore a church, the faith itself, and its believers. These observations are fully confirmed by the *Povest' vremennykh let*.

A correct understanding of the word *yazyk* leads to the accurate assessment of such conceptions as the Rus'ian *yazyk*, *Rus'*, etc. I have remarked in *OR* that from the end of the 10th century onwards all these terms assume an ecclesiastical and religious meaning. They apply to a population ethnically diverse, though chiefly East Slavonic

¹⁹¹ 'Velikii vselennyya uchitel' Pavel, apostol Khristov', A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisi* I, 1941; 'Tem zhe i sloven'sku yazyku uchitel' est' Pavel', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 23; 'Tem zhe sloven'sku yazyku uchitel' est' Andronik apostol', *ibid.*, p. 23; 'Se prislalasya ko mne Sloven'ska zemlya, prosyashchi uchitelya sobe', *ibid.*, p. 22, etc.

¹⁹² '... tem zhe i nam Rusi uchitel' est' Pavel, ponezhe uchil est' yazyk slovenesk i postavil est' episkopa i namesnika po sebe Andronika sloven'sku yazyku, *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹³ After the expulsion of Metropolitan Isidor, the Grand Duke of Moscow put forward another candidate to the Metropolitan See, and gave the following reason: 'I cannot look upon the holy Church with an *uchitel'*' ('ne mogu zreti svyatyaya tserkvi bez uchitelya'), A. Popov, *op. cit.*, p. 380.

¹⁹⁴ When the Archbishop of Novgorod was nearing death, the Novgorodians asked him: 'Whom, Father, will you bless to take your place as pastor and *uchitel'*' ('kogo, otche, blagoslovish' na svoe mesto pastukha i uchitelya'), A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 323.

¹⁹⁵ B. Goryanov, *Religiozno-polemicheskaya literatura po voprosu ob otnoshenii k latinyanam v Vizantii XIII-XV vv.*, *IV VIII*, 1956 seems to identify *yazyk* with faith ('Massy stoyavshie za antilatinскими группировками, soznawali, chto uniya vlechet za soboi utratu gosподstvuyushchei very, yazyka', p. 142).

¹⁹⁶ R. Dmitrieva, *Skazanie o knyaz'yakh vladimirskikh*, 1955, p. 164 (see also p. 200).

by descent, which inhabited the vast expanses of Eastern Europe, and ecclesiastically was subject to the Kievan metropolitans. *Rus'*, in this broad meaning—I wrote—'religious in character, embraces all the Slavonic and non-Slavonic followers of the faith represented by the metropolitans of Kiev'.¹⁹⁷ Vernadsky quotes these words and expresses his categorical disapproval: 'He [Paszkievich] thus identifies *Rus'* with Christianity or rather with the Kievan diocese of the patriarchate of Constantinople.'¹⁹⁸ I can only answer that indeed I do.

Let me quote the opinions of my critics who deny the ecclesiastical-religious meaning of the term *yazyk*.¹⁹⁹

Space does not permit a detailed examination of the argument of Paszkiewicz based on a semantic examination of the 'Primary Chronicle'. . . . While he exposes the fallacies in the reasoning of other historians, he commits every possible logical fallacy himself; interpreting, for instance, the word *yazyk* (language), he claims that it is synonymous with faith (Cherniavsky).²⁰⁰

Attempting a radical revision of the Russian Primary Chronicle, the historian decided to examine its vocabulary and phraseology and 'to establish a code which would enable us to decipher the obscure passages; but his disdain for the work performed by generations of philologists, along with a cavalier attitude toward linguistic material, claimed to be 'by its very nature largely hypothetical', led to disastrous blunders. . . . His [Paszkievich's] acquaintance with medieval Slavic tongues is meager: the translation of Old Russian words and sentences is altogether inept, sometimes grotesque. Old Russian *jazyk* and the corresponding forms in other Slavic countries designated 'tongue', 'language', 'speech community', 'people'; Russian followed Old Church Slavonic in rendering *ethnos* by *jazyk* and *ethnikos*, 'heathen', by the loan translation *jazychn'ik*. This deluded Paszkiewicz into thinking that *jazyk* meant 'faith' and *rus'skyi jazyk* 'the faith of Rus'. According to him, the name *Rus'* and *Rus'skaja Zemlja*, 'the land of Rus', in its narrow sense designated only 'Kiev with the adjacent territories', but when it is used in the texts to cover a wider area, Paszkiewicz charges this term with a strictly religious meaning, namely, 'all the followers of the Greek Church in eastern Europe, Slavonic and non-Slavonic' and their

Cf. R. Dmitrieva, O nekotorykh istochnikakh 'Poslaniya' Spiridona-Savvy, *TODRL* XIII, 1957, pp. 440-445; N. Vodovozov, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1958, pp. 207-211.

¹⁹⁷ *OR*, p. 92.

¹⁹⁸ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 298.

¹⁹⁹ H. Łowmiański, O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w wieku X-XIV, *KH* LXIV (1), 1957, p. 88 and T. Lehr-Spławiński, Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce, *NP* VII, 1958, p. 243 remark that the ecclesiastical-religious meaning of the term *yazyk* does not appear in the *Materialy* of Sreznevsky. I do not intend to diminish the importance of Sreznevsky's monumental work which was recently stressed by Unbegaun (cf. B. Unbegaun, with the collaboration of J. Simmons, *A Bibliographical Guide to the Russian Language*, 1953, p. 46). But Łowmiański and Lehr-Spławiński do not take into consideration that there are many gaps in Sreznevsky's dictionary. This fact is generally acknowledged. Cf. V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola* II, 1922, pp. 220-239; N. Gudzy, Reviziya podlinnogo 'Slova o polku Igoreve' v issledovanii prof. A. Mazona, *UZMGU* CX, 1946, p. 179; V. Borkovsky, Novye nakhodki berestyanykh gramot, *VY*, 1953 (4), p. 123; V. Malyshev, Neobkhodim slovar' drevnerusskogo yazyka, *Sovetskaya kul'tura*, November 18, 1954, and others. Vasmer's dictionary, unfortunately, adds nothing new to the problem of *yazyk*.

²⁰⁰ M. Cherniavsky, in *PSQ*, 1955, p. 299.

domain. The efforts to corroborate these inventions by quotations from chronicles are a mockery of all philological method and of common sense generally (Jakobson).²⁰¹

His [Paszkievich's] attempts at linguistic exegesis are particularly unfortunate: his claims... that *rusky yazyk* ('the Russian language') meant Russia's Christian religion, and that *ruskaya zemlya* ('the land of Russia') was a purely religious notion, are demonstrably at variance with the evidence of medieval sources (Obolensky).²⁰²

The author [Paszkievich] contends that the term 'Rus' has a geographical meaning, standing for 'land of Rus'... as well as a religious one, 'faith of Rus'. Yet not one of the examples cited by him contains a mention of 'faith of Rus', nor does the word *yazyk* have such a meaning (it may have had the connotation of 'faith' some time in the remote past, but no longer in the 9th century); ever since the 9th century it has meant 'land' or 'people' in all the sources (Riasanovsky).²⁰³

...when Paszkiewicz does use linguistic data he employs them in a strikingly unsatisfactory, not to say ignorant, manner... And yet the key to all the problems treated in Paszkiewicz's book is linguistic. In his analysis of the chronicles he tries to prove that the meaning of the word *Rus'* was twofold after the Scandinavians had arrived in the Kiev area: it stood for the area and for the newcomers; but in the combination *Russkyi jazyk* (Russian people) he feels that it should have referred to the religion or rite of Constantine and Methodius. Thus the expansion of the name outside of Kiev area is ascribed to the religious meaning of the word only (Shevelov).²⁰⁴

Paszkievich's starting point in his discussion of this problem is his analysis of the Slavic word *jazyk*. In modern Russian it means both 'tongue' and 'language'. In Church Slavic it had the connotation of 'people' (corresponding to the Greek *ethnos*). Paszkiewicz believes that the term could also mean 'faith'. He refers to the Slavic words *jazyčnik* ('which signifies a man of false beliefs, a man of different faith, a heathen') and *jazyčestvo* (which 'is the synonym of paganism')... As a matter of fact, *jazyčnik* is merely the Slavic translation of the Greek *ethnikos* in the sense in which it is used in the New Testament, i.e., 'Heathen', 'gentile'. *Jazyčestvo* derives from *jazyčnik*. Contrary to Paszkiewicz, there is no direct connection between *jazyk* and 'faith'. As used in old Russian chronicles and other sources *jazyk* means 'people', never 'faith' (Vernadsky).²⁰⁵

The present debate offers a certain advantage: it is not confined to the sphere of conjecture where one author answers to the hypothesis of the other by a new hypothesis. In such case everything remains suspended in the air. Here the discussion centres on a concrete problem, namely whether *yazyk* and the other words corresponding to the Greek *ethnos*, had or had not, in the period under consideration, beside their meaning of 'language', 'people', 'nation', a special bearing on ecclesiastical and religious matters.

And from this many other questions arise: Are my opponents actually acquainted with the East-Slavonic ecclesiastical literature?

²⁰¹ R. Jakobson, in *AHR*, 1955, pp. 106–107.

²⁰² D. Obolensky, in *EHR*, 1958, p. 469. Obolensky does not quote these sources.

²⁰³ V. Riasanovsky, in *RR*, 1956, p. 135.

²⁰⁴ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, pp. 42–43.

²⁰⁵ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 298.

Are they sufficiently familiar with the canon law documents of the Eastern Church to understand the meaning of the term *ethnos*?²⁰⁶ Are the opinions of Jakobson, Obolensky, Shevelov, Vernadsky and others based on thorough research, or do they represent mere diletantism, put forward in a very categorical tone? In one word, do my critics speak from knowledge or in ignorance of the problem of *yazyk*?

The source-material of the period provides a clear answer.

4. STRANA-ZEMLYA. ROD

Other words, besides *yazyk*, were also used in translations of *ethnos* into Slavonic. One of them was *strana*.²⁰⁷ *Strana* stands for a country, region, State, the population of a country, etc., and consequently in meaning approaches that of *yazyk*. Both these words were frequently interchangeable.²⁰⁸ It must further be remembered that *strana* was synonymous with *zemlya* ('a land', 'people', 'nation', 'State'). Many sources, such as Georgius Monachus in the Slavonic version,²⁰⁹ Hilarion,²¹⁰ the Life of Boris and Gleb,²¹¹ 'Nestor',²¹² the First Chronicle

²⁰⁶ M. Tikhomirov, *Vosozdanie russkoi pis'mennoi traditsii v pervye desyatiletiya tatarskogo iga*, *VIMK*, 1957 (3), p. 5 rightly remarks that, 'unfortunately, studies of famous [Russian] canonists—with A. Pavlov at their head—attract almost no attention by [Soviet] historians'. This remark can well be extended to apply also to the source-material, i.e., the monuments of the canon law of the Eastern Church themselves.

²⁰⁷ K. Nevostruev, *Slovo svyatogo Ippolita ob antikhriste*, 1868, p. 120; Amfilokhii arkhimandrit, *Opisanie Yur'euskogo evangeliya 1118-1128 gg. Voskresenskoï Novoi-Ierusalimskoi biblioteki*, 1877, p. 31; G. Il'insky, *Makedonskii glagolicheskii listok. Otryvok glagolicheskogo teksta Efrema Sirina XI veka*, *PSY* I (6), 1909, p. 29; V. Pogorelov, *Chudovskaya Psaltyr' XI veka. Otryvok Tolkovaniya Feodorita Kirskogo na Psaltyr' v drevne-bolgarskom perevode*, *PSY* III (1), 1910, p. 239; V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola v drevnem slavyanorusskom perevode* III, 1930, pp. 60, 321, and many others. W. Lettenbauer, *Eine lateinische Kanonessammlung in Mähren im 9. Jahrh.*, *OCP* XVIII, 1952, p. 262 makes the remark that in the *Codex Suprasliensis* the Greek *ethnos* was rendered nine times by *strana* and seven times by *yazyk*.

²⁰⁸ W. Vondrák, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., 1912, p. 42; V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1913, pp. 420, 441; A. Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let i ee istochniki* (ed. by M. Priselkov), *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 96; S. Nikiforov, *Staroslavianskii yazyk*, 2nd ed. 1955, pp. 95-96.

²⁰⁹ V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola* I, 1920: 'vsyu Bolgarskuyu plenyakhu zemlyu', p. 530; 'sim zhe do Bolgarskaya strany doshedshem', p. 529; 'i prishedshy v zemlyu Zhidov'skuyu', p. 128; 'i skochi aky pardus... na vstochnyya strany... i ide na Zhidov'skuyu', p. 42; 'zane bo i Suriyu Iyudeiskuyu zemlyu imenovasha', p. 58; 'i Suriyu Iyudeiskaya strana narechena bys', p. 37, etc.

²¹⁰ A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894: Vladimir 'edinoderzhets' byv zemli svoei, pokoriv pod sya okrugnya strany', p. 70; Vladimir 'muzh'stvom zhe i khrabr'stvom proslusha v stranakh mnogikh', p. 70. 'Ne v khude bo i v nevedome zemli vladychestvovasha, no v russkoi...', p. 70, etc.

²¹¹ D. Abramovich, *Zhitiya svyatykh muchenikov Borisa i Gleba i sluzhba im*, *PDRL* II, 1916: 'osta zhe strana Ruskaya v pervei prel'sti idol'skoy', p. 3; 'volodyi vseyu zemleyu Ruskoyu', p. 4; 'siyati v Rus'ske storone velitse', p. 48; 'zemlya Rus'skyya zabrala', p. 49; 'prosveti vsyu stranu Rus'skuyu', p. 169, etc.

²¹² D. Likhachev, *Povest' vremennykh let* I, 1950: 'voevati Bolgar'sku zemlyu', p. 34; 'privedu... na stranu bolgar'sku', p. 52; 'Razgnevasya bog na ottsi nashi, i rastochi ny po stranam'...; Ashche by bog lyubil vas..., to ne byste rastocheni po chyuzhim zemlyam', p. 60, etc.

of Novgorod,²¹³ the Kievan Chronicle,²¹⁴ etc., indicate this. A man coming from a different *strana* (*stran'nik*, *inostran'ts*) had the same meaning as a man from another *zemlya* (*inozem'ts'*, *chuzhezem'ts'*). Stating that *strana* was synonymous with *zemlya*,²¹⁵ Istrin pertinently observes that too much attention should not be paid to the alternation of words which have the same meaning.²¹⁶ In different copies of the same work, such changes often occur. This only shows that the various copyists had a special predilection for certain words. It is possible that in the lifetime of a writer or within the territory where he wrote a certain word was either used more frequently or more readily understood. As has been stressed, both *strana* and *zemlya* were equivalents of the Greek *ethnos*. Therefore, they must also have had the same ecclesiastical and religious connotation as *yazyk*.²¹⁷

Defending the alleged existence in the period under discussion of a 'Russian nation' and of ethnical bonds linking all the Eastern Slavs, Jakobson writes: 'The demands for the unity of the "Russian land" in the princely assemblies of 1097... suffice to contradict Paszkiewicz' bias.'²¹⁸ We must acquaint ourselves with the text of this source in order to be able to judge of the truth of Jakobson's assertions.

We read in the Chronicles of 'Nestor', under the year 1097, the account of a meeting, at Lyubech',²¹⁹ of a group of Rus'ian princes enumerated by name with the object of putting an end to mutual strife and uniting their forces against the Polovtsians. The chronicler reveals the intentions of the organizers of this meeting:

Why do we ruin the Rus'ian *zemlya* by our continued strife against one another? The Polovtsians harass our country in diverse fashions, and rejoice that war is waged among us. Let us rather hereafter be united in spirit and watch over the Rus'ian *zemlya*, and let each of us

²¹³ A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshogo izvodov*, 1950: 'i polni bysha chyuzhii... strany brat'e nashei', p. 69; 'i iny rastocheny ot nikh po chyuzhim zemlyam', p. 84; 'Vremennik, ezhe est' naritsaetsya letopisanie knyazei i zemlya Ruskiya, i kako izbra bog stranu nashu na poslednee vremya', p. 103, etc.

²¹⁴ We read in the Laurentian redaction of the Chronicle (*PSRL* I), under the year 1125, in connection with the death of Vladimir Monomakh: 'ego zhe imene trepetakhu vsya strany i po vsem zemlyam izide slukh ego.' The Hypatian redaction (*PSRL* II) comments on the same fact: 'ego zhe slukh proizide po vsem stranam', etc.

²¹⁵ V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola* II, 1922, pp. 195, 325. Cf. V. Klyueva, *Kratkii slovar' sinonimov russkogo yazyka*, 1956, pp. 214-215.

²¹⁶ V. Istrin, *op. cit.* II, p. 413. V. Jagić, *Entstehungsgeschichte der kirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1913 also produced noteworthy observations on the lexical varieties occurring in Old Slavonic texts in the rendering of Greek words. Cf. K. Khodova, *Iz nablyudenii nad leksikoi drevnerusskogo spiska 'Zhitiya Nifonta' 1219 g.*, *UZIS* IX, 1954, pp. 193, 198. A. Shapiro, *Nekotorye voprosy teorii sinonimov (na materiale russkogo yazyka)*, *DSIY* VIII, 1955, pp. 69-87 declares it to be urgent that a special dictionary of synonyms in East-Slavonic languages should be elaborated.

²¹⁷ Sreznevsky, in his analysis of the words deriving from *strana-zemlya*, remarks that they also refer to religion. E.g., *stran'nik* designates a man of another faith (*inover'ts'*) or a pagan. Cf. I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy* III, pp. 536-538.

²¹⁸ R. Jakobson, in *AHR* LXI (1), 1955, p. 107.

²¹⁹ As to the early past of Lyubech' see B. Rybakov, *Raskopki v Lyubeche v 1957 g.*, *KSDPI* LXXIX, 1960, pp. 27-34.

guard his own domain (*Pochto gubim Rus'skuyu zemlyu, sami na sya kotoru deyshche? A polovtsi zemlyu nashyu nesut' rozno, i radi sut', ozhe mezhyu nami rati. Da none otsele imemsya v edino serdtse, i blyudem Ruskye zemli; kozhdo da derzhit' otchinu svoyu.*

On this convention they took oath to the effect that, if anyone of them should thereafter attack another, all the rest, with the aid of the Holy Cross, would be against the aggressor. 'Thus they all said, "May the Holy Cross and the entire Rus'ian *zemlya* be against him." ' (*Rekosha vsi: Da budet' na n' khrest chestnyi i vsya zemlya Rus'skaya*).

And further on:

The inhabitants of Kiev...sent...the Metropolitan Nicholas to [prince] Vladimir with the plea, 'We beseech you, oh Prince, and your brethren not to ruin the Rus'ian *zemlya* (*kyyane...poslasha...mitropolita Nikolu k Volodimeru, glagolyushche: "Molimsya, knyazhe, tobe i bratoma tvoima, ne mozete pogubiti Rus'skye zemli"*)'. . . . The Metropolitan came into the presence of Vladimir and made known their plea, expressing the prayer of the people of Kiev that he [Vladimir] would make a peace, guard the Rus'ian *zemlya*, and keep up the good fight against the pagans (*...yako tvoriti mir, i blyusti zemle Rus'skie, i bran' imeti s poganyimi*).²²⁰

I have stated in *OR* that what was meant by the term 'the Rus'ian *zemlya* (*Rus'skaya zemlya*) in this period in the narrower, politico-geographical sense was the region of Kiev, Chernihov and Pereiaslavl', and in the broader sense—the territory inhabited by the followers of the Rus'ian Church represented by the Kievan metropolitans. If I have quoted here some passages of the Chronicle, it was in order to show that they are in complete accordance with the above theses.

This account does not contain any data in support of Jakobson's assumption of the existence of any closer ethnic links uniting all the Eastern Slavs (Kiev, Smolensk, Polotsk, Novgorod, etc.).²²¹ The texts refer chiefly to princes of the Middle Dnieper region, *i.e.*, of the Rus'ian *zemlya* in the narrower sense, and their military ventures against the nomads of the steppe, especially the Polovtsians. Beside the immediate danger threatening those princes, the religious factor and the will to defend Christianity against pagans played an important part in their undertakings. It was, therefore, natural that the metropolitans of Kiev often intervened in the internal affairs of the Rurikides in order to reconcile them among themselves and encourage them to fight in defence of the Christians.

Among the princes mentioned under 1097, Vasil'ko of Trembowla

²²⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, under the year 1097. The English translation by S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*.

²²¹ It should be noted that this reference to the princely assemblies of 1097 is the only concrete 'argument' drawn from the sources which Jakobson has been able to adduce in his review.

deserves special attention for his readiness to fight the steppe nomads. The chronicler puts into his mouth a characteristic pronouncement: '[I intend to attack the Polovtsians] that I might either win fame or lay down my head for the Rus'ian *zemlya*' (*da lyubo nalezu sobe slavu, a lyubo golovu svoyu slozhyu za Rus'skuyu zemlyu*).²²² The same aspirations can be seen among e.g., the Berendei who were ready to die 'for the Rus'ian *zemlya*'.²²³ Among those who participated in the battle on Kulikovo Pole against the Tartars (1380), there were two sons of Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania. According to the famous poem, *Zadonshchina* ('Deeds beyond the Don'), one of them, Dimitri, says to the other: 'Brother Andrew, we shall not spare our lives for the Rus'ian *zemlya* and the Christian faith' (*Brate Andrei, ne po-shchadim zhivota svoego za zemlyu za Ruskuyu i za veru krest'yan'skuyu*).²²⁴

Commentaries alleging that these people were Rus'ian 'ardent patriots' (*goryachie patrioty*) are not admissible as, in both cases, the men concerned did not belong to the 'Rus'ian nation' as they were not Eastern Slavs. There is no doubt that the sons of Algirdas were Lithuanians, and the Berendei were a tribe of Turkish origin. But both were converted and remained Christians. In the texts quoted above *rus'skaya zemlya* means the faith represented and spread by the Rus'ian metropolitans of Greek nationality. This significance of the term *zemlya* is in complete accordance with the Greek *ethnos*. The followers of the Rus'ian Church were prepared to sacrifice their lives in defence of their faith. From this point of view there is no difference between the Rurikides (e.g., Vasil'ko of Trembowla), the Berendei, and the Lithuanians.

According to *Zadonshchina*, people who took part in the battle at Kulikovo Pole against the Tartars fought 'for the Rus'ian *zemlya* and the Christian faith', 'for the Holy Church, for the Rus'ian *zemlya* and the Christian faith', etc. All these terms are synonymous. Cherepnin rightly observes: 'The religious ideology is felt . . . in the *Zadon-*

²²² D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 176.

²²³ PSRL I, p. 345 (under the year 1155). Cf. B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 350. That Christianity spread among the steppe peoples, such as the Pechenegs, Polovtsians, Berendei and others is evidenced by their Christian names (Gleb, George, etc.). The extent of this development should not be exaggerated. Cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, pp. 338-339, 346, 447, 475-476; I. Budovits, Vladimir Monomakh i ego voennaya doktrina, *IZ XXII*, 1947, p. 93.

²²⁴ V. Adrianova-Peretts, *Zadonshchina. Tekst i primechaniya*, *TODRL V*, 1947, p. 200. At first sight, this Rus'ian 'patriotism' on the part of the Lithuanians might well excite some astonishment, were it not for the fact that both sons of Algirdas were followers of the Rus'ian Church. The author of the *Zadonshchina* praises the heroic Lithuanians and shows no trace of national prejudice in referring to them. *OR*, p. 352. M. Tikhomirov, *Kulikovskaya bitva 1380 g.*, *VoI*, 1955 (8), p. 15, attributing to the terms *Rus'* and *Rus'skaya zemlya* an ethnic meaning, considers that the role of the Lithuanians in the battle of Kulikovo Pole described by the *Zadonshchina*, is the result of a 'deliberate falsification of reality'. Thus, we are again faced by an instance of the tendency so frequent in Russian historiography to 'correct', i.e., rather to distort the text of the source.

shchina. . . The notion of the Rus'ian *zemlya* is connected with the idea of the 'Christian faith'.²²⁵

The same conclusions must be drawn from the well-known *Slovo o pogibeli ruskyya zemli* ('The Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian *Zemlya*'), written in the 13th century.²²⁶ The author of the *Slovo* describes the riches and beauty of the Rus'ian land, and then adds: 'Thou aboundest in everything, Oh Rus'ian *zemlya*, Oh Orthodox Christian faith' (*Vsego esi ispol'nena zemlya ruskaya, o pravaver'naya vera khristiyan'skaya*).²²⁷ He identifies the conception of the Rus'ian *zemlya* with the Rus'ian Christianity. That is why the author of the *Slovo* enumerates, as the neighbours of the Rus'ian land, the peoples following different creeds, both Latins—such as the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles and Germans—and pagans, such as the Yatvingians, Lithuanians, Mordva, Burtas, etc.²²⁸

The Greek *ethnos*, rendered by *yazyk*, *zemlya-strana*, was also translated into Slavonic as *rod* (*genus, generatio*).²²⁹ I need not go into the ethnic meaning of this word which indicates community of descent and bonds of blood²³⁰ because here no doubt whatever can arise. But *rod* also had a religious connotation. *Inorod'ts'* is not only *inoplemen'nik*, a person descended from another race, but also *inoyazychn'nik*,²³¹ a man belonging to another faith. In the East-Slavonic sources of the period we often encounter expressions, such as: 'Christian *rod*' (*rod khr'stiyan'skii*)²³² which signifies the members

²²⁵ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, p. 76. On the literature concerning the *Zadonshchina* see A. Nazarevsky, 'Zadonshchina' v issledovaniyakh poslednego desyatietya, *TODRL XII*, 1956, pp. 546-575.

²²⁶ I share the opinion of I. Eremin, in I. Eremin and D. Likhachev, *Khudozhestvennaya proza Kievskoi Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, 1957, p. 351 that the *Slovo* was written after 1238 and before 1246.

²²⁷ N. Gudzy, *Khrestomatiya po drevnei russkoi literature XI-XVII vv.*, 5th ed., 1952, pp. 154-155; I. Eremin, *op. cit.*; M. Gorlin, *Le Dit de la ruine de la terre russe*, in his *Études littéraires et historiques*, 1957, p. 99.

²²⁸ Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 2nd ed., 1956, pp. 422-423; A. Solov'ev, *Zametki k 'Slovu o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli'*, *TODRL XV*, 1958, pp. 80-81. See also: N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literature*, 6th ed., 1956, pp. 188-192; *idem*, O 'Slove o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli', *TODRL XII*, 1956, pp. 527-545; W. Philipp, Über das Verhältnis des 'Slovo o pogibeli russkoj zemli' zum 'Žitie Aleksandra Nevskogo', *FOG V*, 1957, pp. 7-37; Yu. Begunov, Sledy 'Slova o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli' v Stepennoi knige, *TODRL XV*, 1958, pp. 116-130, and others.

²²⁹ P. Lavrovsky, *Korennoe znachenie v nazvaniyakh rodstva u slavyan*, 1867, p. 53; W. Lettenbauer, *Eine lateinische Kanonessammlung*, 1952, p. 262.

²³⁰ Cf. O. Trubachev, K etimologii nekotorykh drevneishikh slavyanskikh terminov rodstva, *VY*, 1957 (2), pp. 86-95.

²³¹ P. Lavrovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

²³² 'D'yavol . . . tshchashesya pogubiti rod khrest'an'skii'. D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, 1950, p. 59; . . . 'yako na khrest'yan'stve rode strakh', *ibidem*, p. 146; . . . 'mnogo rodu khrest'yan'ska', *ibid.*, p. 147, etc. 'Ne khotya zhe d'yavol dobra rodu krest'yan'sku'. A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshogo i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, p. 60, . . . 'prizri Gospod' milostivnym okom na rod khrest'yan'skii', The Ermolin Chronicle, *PSRL XXIII*, 1910, p. 126. M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongol'skogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti*, 1926, pp. 93-95 remarks that the word *rod* was used in East-Slavonic sources 'to signify a whole people, sometimes even more than that, all Christians'.

of the Eastern Church, or 'Latin rod' (*latyn'skii rod*)²³³ alluding to followers of the Latin Church. Baldwin, Count of Flanders, who after the conquest of Constantinople by the Crusaders, became the founder of the Latin Empire (1204–1261) and first emperor, was in East-Slavonic opinion 'of the Latin rod' (*postavisha tsesarya svoego, rodom Latinina, imenem Kondoflarenta*)²³⁴. The Rus'ian Metropolitan Isidor who played an important role in accomplishing the Union of Florence between the Eastern and Western Church was also 'of the Latin rod' (*rodom latynyanin*)²³⁵ because he acceded to the Latin faith (*vmesto bozhestvenago zakona latyn'skuyu veru prinyal esi*).²³⁷ As for descent, Isidor, born in Salonika, was a Greek or a Hellenized Slav.

5. POVEST' VREMENNYKH LET ('The Tale of Bygone Years').

It has been stated above that three great Byzantine canonists, Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon, used *ethnos* (the Slavonic *yazyk, zemlya-strana, rod*) in the sense of an ecclesiastical metropolitan province. 'Nestor' is in accord with them. The chronicler, without being a canonist, was eminently conversant with Church affairs and ecclesiastical language, and, in addition, he was a man of the same period. All four lived and wrote in the 12th century. I do not hesitate to say that it would have been strange if terms and expressions formed in Byzantium over a long time had not left their imprint on the *Povest'*. There is general agreement that 'Nestor' was well acquainted with the Greek religious and historical literature.²³⁸

Many authors writing on the Chronicle hold it, quite justly, in very high esteem.²³⁹ Attention is usually drawn to the wealth of information contained in that work, based on the abundant sources preserved in writing²⁴⁰ or in oral tradition.²⁴¹ Moreover, the chronic-

²³³ ... 'i vsi lyakhove i ves' latyn'skii rod'. A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latynian (XI–XV vv.)*, 1875, p. 374; ... 'i vskhote tsarstvovati nad vsemi latyn'skimi rodovyi', *ibid.*, p. 386, etc.

²³⁴ *Kondoflarend or Ikondof Oflandr, i.e., conto di Flandria, comte de Flandre*; cf. N. Meshchersky, *Drevnerusskaya povest' o vzyatii Tsar'grada fryagami v 1204 g.*, *TODRL X*, 1954, p. 131; *idem*, *Drevnerusskaya povest' o vzyatii Tsar'grada fryagami kak istochnik po istorii Vizantii*, *VV IX*, 1956, p. 182.

²³⁵ A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, p. 245; cf. p. 49.

²³⁶ A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor*, p. 345.

²³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 372.

²³⁸ V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevnerusskoi literatury*, 1922, *passim*; A. Shakhmatov, 'Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki (ed. by M. Priselkov), *TODRL IV*, 1940, pp. 38–79.

²³⁹ D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi i ikh kul'turno-istoricheskoe znachenie*, 1947, p. 169; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 416–422.

²⁴⁰ See works of Istrin and Shakhmatov quoted above. M. Priselkov, in his preface to Shakhmatov's treatise, p. 10; *OR*, pp. 4–5; N. Meshchersky, *K voprosu ob istochnikakh 'Povesti vremennykh let'*, *TODRL XIII*, 1957, pp. 57–65, and many others.

²⁴¹ M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI–XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 41–42; D. Likhachev, *Vozniknovenie russkoi literatury*, 1952, pp. 34–35; N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 6th ed., 1956, pp. 71–75; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, pp. 43–45.

ler's knowledge of Eastern Europe's geography is pointed out,²⁴² also his understanding of the importance of archaeological remains for the reconstruction of a country's past.²⁴³ It would seem, therefore, that in view of such positive opinions of 'Nestor's' work, his reports should be accepted without question and considered incontestable. In fact, the situation presents itself very differently. The trustworthiness of the chronicler is stressed²⁴⁴; he is sometimes regarded more as a moralist than a politician.²⁴⁵ But one meets also with quite contrary opinions: the *Povest'* is judged to be impregnated with political feeling and conspicuous for its marked partiality.²⁴⁶ Many different tendencies are ascribed to 'Nestor': Grecophile²⁴⁷ and Grecophobe,²⁴⁸ Normanist²⁴⁹ and Anti-Normanist.²⁵⁰ 'Nestor' is regarded as a great Rus'ian 'patriot' (in a national sense),²⁵¹ but also as a man who never showed any inclination for such patriotism.²⁵² Some affirm that the chronicler expressed and defended the interests of the whole Rus'ian nation²⁵³ and, at the same time, that he did not show any concern for social questions and hardly perceived the existence of lower classes, especially peasants.²⁵⁴ His work is supposed to embrace and describe the whole of Rus' (that is—according to those who share this opinion—the whole of the Eastern Slavs) and, conversely, the *Povest'* is often treated as a 'Ukrainian Chronicle',²⁵⁵ while its author is regarded as

²⁴² B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 419; I. Shaskol'sky, *Marshrut trgovogo puti iz Nivy v Baltiiskoe more v IX–XIII vv.*, GS III, 1954, p. 147.

²⁴³ A. Spitsyn, *Arkheologiya v temakh nachal'noi russkoi istorii*, in *Sbornik statei, posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1922, pp. 1–12 (unavailable to me); M. Karger, *Kharakteristike drevnerusskogo letopistsa*, *TODRL* XI, 1955, pp. 59–71.

²⁴⁴ K. Guslisty, *Kul'tura drevnei Rusi*, in *Istoriya Ukrainskoi SSR* (by several hands) I, 1956, p. 85. It should be pointed out that in the 4th edition of Grekov's book *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1944, pp. 343–344 one reads: 'To us it [the *Povest'*] is a source, unique in kind, giving not always a complete, but nevertheless . . . a true and consistent account of events. . . .' On the other hand, in the 5th edition (1953, p. 418) the word 'true' has been deleted and replaced by 'not devoid of partiality'. In Grekov's *Izbrannye trudy* II, 1959, pp. 334, 515 both these contradictory opinions of 'Nestor's' reliability are given side by side.

²⁴⁵ I. Eremin, *Povest' vremennykh let*, 1947, pp. 19–20.

²⁴⁶ A. Shakhmatov, *Povest' vremennykh let*, *LZAK*, 1916, p. XVI; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 15. Cf. *OR*, pp. 3–4.

²⁴⁷ N. Nikol'sky, *Povest' vremennykh let kak istochnik dlya istorii nachal'nogo perioda russkoi pis'mennosti i kul'tury*, *SRYS*, 1930; cf. G. Il'insky, in his review of Nikol'sky's book, *BS* II, 1930, pp. 432–436.

²⁴⁸ D. Likhachev, *Russkie letopisi*, pp. 159–160.

²⁴⁹ M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya*, p. 39; E. Georgiev, *Slavyanskaya pis'mennost' do Kirilla i Mefodiy*, 1952, p. 50.

²⁵⁰ F. Braun, *Das historische Russland im nordischen Schrifttum des X. bis XIV. Jahrhunderts*, in *Festschrift Eugen Mogk zum 70 Geburtstag*, 1924, p. 159.

²⁵¹ D. Likhachev, *Literatura*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, pp. 178–179; N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1956, pp. 52–55; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, 1957, pp. 35–36, 40.

²⁵² W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, *JGO*, 1940, pp. 25–26.

²⁵³ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 422.

²⁵⁴ S. Kasperczak, *Struktura klasowa społeczeństwa ruskiego w Powieści Dorocznej*, *ZNUM*, No. 3, 1956, pp. 29, 48; D. Likhachev, *Chelovek v literature drevnei Rusi*, 1958, pp. 28–32.

²⁵⁵ N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, *PSSS* I, 1951, p. 17.

a 'chauvinist' of the Polyanian tribe,²⁵⁶ or a Polyanian 'nationalist'.²⁵⁷ At one time it was extensively demonstrated, especially in the older literature on the subject, that 'Nestor' was a propagator of ecclesiastical ideas, today the opinion prevails that the Chronicle does not reflect any Church ideology.²⁵⁸ Grekov thinks that 'Nestor' was a good observer of life, remained in close contact with people who made history and learned from them a lot.²⁵⁹ Likhachev, on the other hand, maintains that the chronicler shows no sense of reality and his ideals have no connection with life.²⁶⁰ It is assumed that the *Povest'* was written and rewritten by several people,²⁶¹ and again that it is the work of one man.²⁶² Some think it impossible to determine from what moment on the author has been a witness of the events described,²⁶³ but also the precise date of his birth is sometimes being fixed.²⁶⁴ Similar observations could be quoted indefinitely. Regarding all those contradictory views, especially of the *Povest'* reliability, I have remarked: 'So many tendencies have been attributed to "Nestor" that one possibility was overlooked: namely that he endeavoured to record the truth as he saw it.'²⁶⁵

These contradictions, so characteristic of the literature on the subject, result from the method adopted by modern authors. It is accepted that the Chronicle shows serious imperfections. It is assumed that 'Nestor' forgot to mention certain matters and therefore should be reminded of them; that he left many gaps in his reports which should be filled; that he was unable to think logically and thus 'obviously' was liable to inconsistencies which must be pointed out; that he often had false information and this should be corrected. An analysis of the Chronicle's text based upon such foundations is bound to result in fundamentally different interpretations and comments as regards the work which we are discussing.²⁶⁶

²⁵⁶ A. Pogodin, *Der Bericht der russischen Chronik über die Gründung des russischen Staates*, ZOG, 1931, pp. 213-214.

²⁵⁷ V. Istrin, *Moravskaya istoriya slavyan i istoriya polyano-rusi kak predpolagaemye istochniki nachal'noi russkoi letopisi*, BS IV, 1932, pp. 39-40.

²⁵⁸ M. Tikhomirov, M. Alpatov, A. Sidorov, *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR I*, 1955, p. 54.

²⁵⁹ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 421; cf. V. Adrianova-Peretts, *O realisticheskikh tendentsiyakh v drevnerusskoi literature (XI-XV vv.)*, TODRL XVI, 1960, pp. 11-12.

²⁶⁰ D. Likhachev, *Izobrazhenie lyudei v letopisi XII-XIII vv.*, TODRL X, 1954, pp. 7-43.

²⁶¹ This problem is extensively discussed by D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, 1950, pp. 36-132, who also gives a list of works on the subject.

²⁶² A. Vaillant, *La chronique de Kiev et son auteur*, PKJIF XX (3-4), 1954, pp. 169-183. Cf. G. Stökl, *Russische Geschichte von der Entstehung des Kiever Reiches bis zum Ende der Wirren (862-1613)*, JGO VI (2), 1958, p. 252.

²⁶³ V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevnerusskoi literatury*, p. 147.

²⁶⁴ M. Braichevsky, *Pershii istorik skhidnoslov'yans'kikh narodiv*, VUAN XXVII, 1956, pp. 51-53.

²⁶⁵ OR, p. 135.

²⁶⁶ B. Larin, *O rabote nad novymi slovaryami*, VLU, No. 20 (4), 1960, p. 155 announces that a dictionary of 'Nestor's' Chronicle is in preparation (since 1959). In my opinion, this publication is much too late. The course of studies should be reversed: scholars should be acquainted with the vocabulary of the *Povest'* before writing their works. Then, many misunderstandings and elementary errors could be avoided.

I share the opinion of Cherepnin that all East-Slavonic written sources, said to have been in existence previously to 'Nestor' which he was supposed to have included in his Chronicle, belong to the sphere of hypothesis. Of real value to us can only be the text of which we dispose.²⁶⁷

The present study is not concerned with the *Povest'* as a whole and does not pretend to fill the gaps in the existing historiography on the subject. My deliberations will be reduced to the analysis of certain fragments of the *Povest'*. This analysis will have fulfilled its purpose if it helps to reduce the number of erroneous comments relating to 'Nestor'. An erroneous comment on some passage of the Chronicle is, in my opinion, such a one which finds contradiction in other parts of the work. The fewer the inconsistencies and obscurities to be found, the better and more precise will have been the method of analysis applied to the text.

I start from the assumption that the *Povest'* is a work of great value, that its reports merit to be trusted. If this thesis is to be questioned, arbitrary assertions are certainly insufficient. Definite, factual proof must be provided. It is not enough to advance fantastic hypotheses and from those draw conclusions which undermine the reliability of 'Nestor'.

The *Povest'*—I wrote—is incorporated in many chronicles, from the 14th to the 17th century. If 'Nestor's' work was so often recopied, it was obviously considered by subsequent generations to possess a special value. The disparaging treatment of the Kiev Chronicle by modern historians contrasts sharply with the opinions of those who lived nearer in time to 'Nestor'. . . . It is certainly curious that the men who recopied 'Nestor's' work were not disturbed by the alleged obscurities and inconsistencies about which so much has been written by modern historians, and that they did not make any comments or additions of their own. It is obvious that, in their opinion, the text was clear and intelligible, and they were better placed than we are to form an opinion on the subject.²⁶⁸

The present inquiry primarily calls for a careful examination of those passages in the *Povest'* in which the words *yazyk* and *zemlya* appear in conjunction with Rus' (the Rus'ian *yazyk*, the Rus'ian *zemlya*) or with the Slavs (the Slavonic *yazyk*). Before this is undertaken, however, it is necessary to establish the meaning of the word *nachal'nik* (with its feminine form: *nachal'nitsa*).

²⁶⁷ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, p. 30. Cf. S. Bugoslavsky, *Povest' vremennykh let* (spiski, redaktsii, pervonachal'nyi tekst), in N. Gudzy, *Starinnaya russkaya povest'*, 1941, pp. 8-9, 13.

²⁶⁸ OR, pp. 4-5. A. Brückner, *Dogmat normański, KH*, 1906, p. 668 expresses a similar opinion: '[It is a noteworthy] fact that nobody has ever protested against Nestor's narrative . . . Evidently, it was accepted not as an arbitrary conjecture [of the chronicler] . . . , but as the sole, universal and valid tradition. The absolute silence of all Rus' is rather a confirmation of the Nestorian tradition, not a denial.'

A. *Nachal'nik* (*nachal'nitsa*)

In *OR* the thesis was advanced that the author of the *Povest'* understood by the term 'Rus' Eastern Christendom headed by the Metropolitan of Kiev. 'But—I observed—such an idea of Rus' could have taken shape only after Vladimir the Great's baptism, that is after 988.'²⁶⁹ The meaning of the word *nachal'nik* throws light on this subject.

Jakobson, in keeping with his customary inaccuracy, renders it as 'leader'.²⁷⁰ The error which he continually commits is that he arbitrarily clings to one meaning of a given word without taking into account any other significance which it may possess. Yet, the sense of a word can only be established on the basis of the context in which it occurs. That is why Jakobson's translation may be called formally correct, but in reality quite wrong. *Nachal'nik* and *nachal'nitsa* have another meaning beside that of 'leader', namely that of founder, creator, the person from whom something originated or made a beginning. The word *nachal'nik* is cognate with *nachatok*, *nachalo* ('beginning'). Sreznevsky rightly remarked that *nachal'nik* is nothing else but *nachinatel'*, and *nachal'nitsa* means *nachinatel'nitsa*.²⁷¹ Likhachev's translation of 'Nestor' is correct and he renders *nachal'nik* as the 'prime cause'²⁷² or the 'originator'.²⁷³

For the present examination, it is especially important what 'Nestor' has to say of the conversion of Ol'ga and what the author of the so-called *Sluzhba svyatomu Vladimiru* (13th or 14th century) states regarding that of Vladimir.²⁷⁴ We read in the *Povest'*:

²⁶⁹ *OR*, p. 40; see also p. 81. The present author accepts the year 988 as merely the approximate date of Vladimir's conversion. A review of various opinions on this topic is given by I. Budovnit, *K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi*, *VIRA* III, 1956, p. 414.

²⁷⁰ R. Jakobson, *The Kernel of Comparative Slavic Literature*, *HSS* I, 1953, p. 46. He follows the translation by S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 87.

²⁷¹ I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy* II, 1902, pp. 348–351. Similarly: *Slovar' tserkovno-slavianskogo i russkogo yazyka, sostavlennyy vtorym otdeleniem Imper. Akad. Nauk* I, 1867, p. 880 (*nachal'nik*=*vinovnik chego libo*); S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazyka*, 2nd ed., 1952, p. 372 (*nachal'nik*=*nachinatel'*, *ustroitel'*); N. Meshchersky, *Istoriya iudeiskoi voyny Iosifa Flaviya v drevnerusskom perevode*, 1958, p. 547 (*nachal'nitsa*=*prichina, initsiator*).

²⁷² 'Nachalnik bo byashe kumirotvoren'yu Serukh'. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 64; the Russian translation: 'Pervym zhe stal delat' kumiry Serukh', *ibid.*, p. 262.

²⁷³ . . . 'ezhe skazhyu, ne slukhom bo slyshav, no sam o sem' nachalnik', *ibid.*, p. 138; the translation: 'i rasskazhu ne po naslyshke, a kak zachinatel' etogo [dela]', *ibid.*, p. 339.

²⁷⁴ Further evidence may be advanced which unequivocally proves the meaning of the word *nachal'nik*. Thus, for instance, in the *Life of Stephen of Perm*, Jesus is called '*nachalnik of the faith and [its] creator*' (*nachalnik vere i svershitel'*). *Zhitie svyatogo Stefana, episkopa permskogo, napisannoe Epifaniem Premudrym*, 1897, p. 14. *Sv'rshitel'* (*sovershitel'*) means *sozdatel'* ('creator', 'founder'). Similarly, the *Kievan Paterikon* calls the famous monk Anthony '*nachalnik of the Rus'ian monks*'. D. Abramovich, *Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik*, *PMPDU* IV, 1930, p. 124. Anthony was 'the founder of the Kievan Crypt monastery', G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 309; 'who founded the monastery', M. Heppell, *The 'Vita Antonii', a Lost Source of the 'Paterikon' of the Monastery of Caves*, *BS* XIII, 1952–1953, p. 46.

Thus we say to her [Ol'ga]: Rejoice in the Rus'ian knowledge of God, beginning [!] of our reconciliation with Him. She was the first [!] from Rus' to enter the kingdom of God; she is praised by the Rus'ian son as the *nachalnitsa* [!]. . . .²⁷⁵ (*My zhe rtsem k nei: raduisya, ruskoe poznan'e k Bogu, nachatok primiren'yu bykhom. Si pervoe vnide v tsarstvo nebesnoe ot Rusi, siyu bo khvalyat rustie synove aki nachalnitsu . . .*).²⁷⁶

In connection with Vladimir's conversion, several passages in the *Sluzhba* allude to him as the *nachal'nik*. Here are some of the most characteristic: the originator of our faith (*nashego vernago nachalnika*), our originator, the defender of the faith (*raduisya nachalnitse nash'*, *raduisya vere zabralo*), the originator of piety and propagator of the faith (*nachalnika blagochest'yu i prapovednika vere*). According to the author of the *Sluzhba*, Vladimir by his baptism (*tvoim' kreshcheniem'*) became the father of Rus' (*ottsa ruskago*), the father of Rus'ian sons (*i dostoino vzglasite, synove rustii, k vashemu ottsy Volodimeru*), the father of all Rus' (*otets' vseya Rusi*), the originator of all Rus' (*vsya Rus' . . . imeet' tya nachal'nika*).²⁷⁷

Many sources indicate that Rus' existed before Vladimir's baptism, but now, *i.e.*, after his conversion, there came into being a new concept of Rus', the origin of which was assignable to Vladimir (and Ol'ga), which he created, founded, begot. This new concept of Rus' had quite a different meaning to that which hitherto had been current.²⁷⁸ As it was bound up with the baptism of Ol'ga and Vladimir, the religious implication of the term 'Rus'' became unmistakable.

B. Yazyk in the *Povest' vremennykh let*

The word *yazyk* often appears in the pages of the *Povest'*. Apart from such meanings as 'tongue' or 'language', 'people' or 'nation', there seems good reason to believe that it is sometimes used in the Chronicle in yet another sense. The extant interpretations of certain of its passages—*e.g.*, the description of the northern tribes of Eastern Europe²⁷⁹ or the entry dealing with the Greco-Rus'ian treaty (911)²⁸⁰

²⁷⁵ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 246 rightly translates the word *nachalnitsa* by *nachinatel'nitsa*.

²⁷⁶ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 49.

²⁷⁷ Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I, 1857, pp. 250–252.

²⁷⁸ With the rise of a new notion of Rus' there also develops a new terminology for the designation of those who professed the new faith. They are called 'Rus'ian sons' (*rustie synove*), D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 49 (while Vladimir was 'the father of Rus''); 'Rus'ian people' (*rus'stii lyud'e*), *ibid.*, pp. 90, 185, etc.; 'Christian people' (*lyudi khrest'yan'skyya*), *ibid.*, pp. 83, 94, 103, etc.; 'faithful people' (*vernii lyud'e*), *ibid.*, pp. 94, 102, 140, etc. They are also called 'new people' (*novyya lyudi*), *ibid.*, pp. 81, 82, 83, 85, etc., although in the ethnic sense of a 'people' or 'nation', they were by no means new.

²⁷⁹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13. This text is analysed in the latter part of the present chapter.

²⁸⁰ In this treaty the Rus' swore they would observe the terms of the agreement concluded with the Greeks 'according to the laws [rules] and customs of our *yazyk*' ('po zakonu i po pokonu yazyka nashego', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 29). In this passage the word *yazyk* is generally translated by 'nation'. Cf. A. Zimin, *Pamyatniki*

—are open to objections and doubts. But there are two passages in the *Povest'* where *yazyk* is certainly not used in any of the meanings universally ascribed to it. Special attention is therefore directed to these parts of the Chronicle.

'Nestor' writes:

There was one Slavonic *yazyk* including the Slavs who called along the Danube and were subjugated by the Hungarians, as well as the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs [Poles], and the Polyanians, the last of whom are now called Rus'. It was for these peoples that books were first translated in Moravia, and this writing was called Slavonic. This writing exists in Rus' and among the Danubian Bulgarians (*Be edin yazyk slovenesk: sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi, ikh zhe priyasha ugri, i morava, i chesi, i lyakhove, i polyane, yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus'.* *Sim bo pervoe prelozheny knigi, morave,*²⁸¹ *yazhe prozvasya gramota sloven'skaya, yazhe gramota est' v Rusi i v bolgarekh dunaiskikh*).²⁸²

It is generally accepted that the word *yazyk* should be translated here by 'language', 'people', 'nation'.²⁸³ But the 'Slavonic language' is inadmissible as it would follow that of all the Eastern Slavs only the Polyanians spoke Slavonic while the Derevljians, Dregovichians, Severians, etc. did not use that idiom. An ethnic interpretation of the passage ('nation', 'people') leads to the same contradiction as the linguistic one. If we assign to the term 'Slavonic *yazyk*' the meaning of nationality, the conclusion is reached that in the second half of the 9th century the Polyanians of Kiev were ethnically more closely related to the Western and Southern Slavs²⁸⁴ than to any of the East-Slavonic tribes. In such a case, it would be impossible to speak of

prava Kievskogo gosudarstva X–XII vv., in S. Yushkov (ed.), *Pamyatniki russkogo prava* I, 1952, p. 14; I. Sventsitsky, *Slovníkovii sklad dogovoriv Rusi z grekami, VSŹa* IV, 1955, p. 6. In my opinion, such a translation is not accurate. *Zakon*, as used above, not only means 'law', but also 'faith', 'religious precept', etc. Hence the text can also be understood to mean: 'according to the precept . . . of our faith'. An oath is more connected with religious belief than with national tradition. Pagans swore by their gods, Christians by God, by the Cross, by the Gospel. 'Nestor' hands down much valuable material on this point. Cf. '... a Olga vodivshe na rotu, i muzhi ego po Ruskomu zakonu klyashasya . . . Perunom, bogom svoim, i Volosom, skot'em bogom', *Povest'*, p. 25; '... i izvestiti po vere i po zakonu nashemu', *ibid.*, p. 26; '... da rote khodit' svoeyu veroyu', *ibid.*, p. 27; '... da na rotu idut' nashi khresteyane Rusi po vere ikh', *ibid.*, p. 36; '... da na rotu khodit' po svoei vere', *ibid.*, p. 38, etc.

²⁸¹ *Morave* can be taken in a double sense: 'for the Moravians' or 'in Moravia'. *Morave* is an abbreviated form of *v Morave*. Here are some examples: 'A Mefodi osta v Morave', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 22, but 'Igoriya ostaviv Kieve' (p. 23) instead of 'v Kieve'. Similarly we read: 'prishedshyu v . . . Kiev' (p. 13); 'knyazha v Kieve' (pp. 20, 29); 'posadi . . . v Kieve' (p. 49); 'v Novegorode' (pp. 54, 56, 83); 'iti v Kyev' (p. 100); 'sedyashchyu emu v Pereyaslavli' (p. 142); 'v Murome togda sushchyu' (p. 168), etc. But one finds as well: 'posadi . . . Polot'ske, . . . Turove . . . Rostove' (p. 83); 'sushchyu Novegorode' (p. 88); 'sede Kyeve' (pp. 90, 96, 98, 109, 132); 'nacha knyazhiti Kyeve' (pp. 95, 97); 'prestavisya . . . Novegorode' (p. 108); 'sushchyu Tmutorokani' (p. 111), etc. The analysis of the whole of this passage supports the second alternative, namely: 'in Moravia'.

²⁸² D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁸³ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 218; L. Cherepnin, *Vozniknovenie drevnerusskoi narodnosti, in Ocherki istorii SSSR (IX–XV vv.)* I, 1953, p. 258; R. Jakobson, *Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church, HSS* II, 1954, p. 43.

²⁸⁴ M. Shakhmatov, *Slavyanskaya ideya u drevnerusskikh knizhnikov, in Sbornik prací I. sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze, 1932*, p. 383 regards the fragment of the

the Rus'ian nation of which the self-same Polyanians are thought to have been the stem.

Those authors who favour the ethnic and linguistic interpretation of the word *yazyk* in the context of the passage under examination advance a wide range of the most diverse hypotheses in attempt to provide what they consider to be valid explanations of the sense and meaning of 'Nestor's' text. Nikol'sky considered that 'Nestor' disposed of a source which chronicled the history of the Polyanians (and only of the Polyanians!), and therefore, introducing it into his work, disregarded all the other East Slavonic tribes.²⁸⁵ If this explanation is to be even tentatively accepted, it is reasonable to inquire into the authorship, content and period of this hypothetical source. But absolutely no evidence of this kind has ever been provided and this hypothesis must therefore be left as an assumption which merits no closer attention.

Lehr-Splawiński and Łowmiański's suppositions are even more improbable. Both assume that 'Nestor', in the text under examination, mentioned only the Polyanians merely because he gave them as an example and that he actually had all the East-Slavonic peoples in mind.²⁸⁶ If this thesis were to be made defensible, the authors would have had to demonstrate that 'Nestor' more than once cited the name of the Polyanians (or of any other East-Slavonic tribe) when he had many other tribes in mind; in this case it would also have had to be explained why the Polyanians were to represent all the East-Slavonic peoples. Actually, there is not a single instance in the *Povest'* where 'Nestor' ever did so: hence, nothing in the text of the work justifies making such a surmise. In fact, 'Nestor's' text is in plain opposition to it since it gives many lists of East-Slavonic tribes (amongst whom the Polyanians are also included) in conjunction with, and also independently of, one another. Furthermore, the text of the *Povest'* provides no support for the surmise that the Polyanians dominated over the other East-Slavonic peoples and could impose their name upon them in a generic supra-tribal sense.²⁸⁷

Povest' under consideration as symptomatic of 'the national unity of all Slavs' and the expression of a 'panslavonic patriotism'. P. Zhitetsky, *O perevodakh evangeliya na malorusskii yazyk*, *IORYS* X (4), 1905, p. 1 also attributes to 'Nestor' Slavophil political tendencies.

²⁸⁵ Cf. I. Budovnits, *Ob istoricheskikh postroeniyakh* M. D. Priselkova, *IZ* XXXV, 1950, p. 218.

²⁸⁶ H. Łowmiański, *O znaczeniu nazwy 'Rus' w wieku X-XIV*, *KH* LXIV (1), 1957, pp. 89-91; T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce*, *NP* VII, 1958, pp. 243-245.

²⁸⁷ Such a method of interpretation of the written sources as that applied by Łowmiański and Lehr-Splawiński, would produce the most arbitrary—not to say, fantastic—renderings. For example, when a prince undertook an expedition against a tribe we should—according to it—be justified in asserting that this military action was in reality undertaken against a number of tribes of which one only was mentioned as an instance. Again, when a source reports that a dying ruler left a son mentioned by name, we are entitled to assume that in fact he left many sons, though only one of them was cited by way of illustration, etc.

To avoid such inconsistencies, Rybakov puts forward yet another hypothesis. According to him, there existed, earlier than the 6th century, a strong confederation of many East Slavonic peoples under the hegemony of the Polyanians. 'How large was the Polyanian confederation it is difficult to assess. . . . In the west this confederation may have extended to the Polyanians of the Vistula.'²⁸⁸ Now it must be observed in the first place, that the Polanians (who were a Polish tribe) did not live on the Vistula, but on the Warta, a tributary of the Odra. Rybakov thinks that when 'Nestor', in the given passage, mentions only the Polyanians, he had in mind also many East-Slavonic tribes who were subject to them. But as historical sources know nothing of such a confederation, the author assigned it to times so distant as to prevent the written sources disproving his thesis. Between the alleged supra-tribal State of the Polyanians and the days of 'Nestor', Rybakov inserts a lapse of no less than 600 or more years, an operation which presents no undue difficulty to an archaeologist, accustomed to dealing with hundreds or thousands of years. It is superfluous to point out what reflections such proceedings arouse in the mind of a historian accustomed to scrupulously ponder every date before he writes it down.

The quoted text of 'Nestor's' Chronicle refers to a time limited by two facts: the mission of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius to Moravia and the conquest of the Danubian Slavs by the Hungarians. The dates of these events can be easily established, and we have no reason, no right, arbitrarily to transfer the facts alluded to in the text to an entirely different period.

Resuming, I now come to the conclusion that if solely ethnic or linguistic connotations are ascribed to the expression 'the Slavonic *yazyk*', 'Nestor's' text remains inexplicable. Clarity can be attained only if an ecclesiastical meaning of *yazyk* is conceded.

The passage under discussion should be interpreted as follows: There was one Slavonic metropolitan province (*Be edin yazyk slovenesk*), i.e., Church province of the Cyrillo-Methodian rite. This is followed by an enumeration of the territories comprised in this province and of the population resident in those lands and united by a community of faith. They were: the Danubian Slavs, the Moravians, Czechs, Poles and Polyanians (*sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi . . . i morava, i chesi, i lyakhove, i polyane*). That the Slavonic rite spread among the Danubian Slavs, in Moravia and Bohemia needs no proof as there is no doubt about this. Numerous sources show that it existed also in Poland,²⁸⁹ and there are many indications that this also applies to Kiev.²⁹⁰ If the chronicler mentions only the

²⁸⁸ B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy. K voprosu ob obrazovanii yadra drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina, SAr XVII*, 1953, pp. 46-48.

²⁸⁹ See K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland, OCA CLXI*, 1961.

²⁹⁰ The last fact will be discussed in detail in the present chapter.

Polyanians and not the other East-Slavonic tribes about which he speaks on many other occasions, this is because in the first phase of the development of the Slavonic *yazyk* which he describes in the analysed passage, Slavonic Christianity had adherents only among the Polyanians.²⁹¹

In the last part of the passage under discussion, 'Nestor' deals with the beginnings of the Slavonic alphabet and script intended to serve the peoples previously enumerated (*Sim bo pervoe prelozheny knigi*,²⁹² *morave, yazhe prozvasya gramota sloven'skaya*). We learn from the account that the books translated into Slavonic were: the Acts, the Gospels, the Psalter, etc.

When the chronicler speaks of script and books this does not mean that he is interested only in linguistic matters. There is no doubt that in his narrative the author of the *Povest'* was chiefly actuated by religious considerations. The holy books were for him a means of strengthening and developing the faith: they helped people to understand the principles of Christ's teaching²⁹³; they gave them

²⁹¹ In my opinion, 'Nestor' clearly indicates that when he distinguishes between the Polyanians and all the other Eastern Slavs, he had religious relations in mind. He says: 'These men were wise and prudent; they were called Polyanians' ('byakhu muzhi mudri i smysleni, naritsakhusya polyane'). D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13. S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 54. And further on: 'The Polyanians retained the mild and peaceful customs of their ancestors' ('Polyane bo svoikh otets' obychai imut' krotok i tikh'), *ibid.*, p. 14. On the other hand, the Derevlans, Severians, Radimichians, etc. 'lived in bestial fashion' ('zhiviyakhu zverin'skim obrazom'), *ibid.*, p. 15. The adjectives describing the Polyanians (*mudryi, smyslenyi, krotok, tikh*) also have significance, especially if we compare other passages of the *Povest'*. Here are some examples: Ol'ga, wife of Igor', known to have embraced Christianity, is *smyslena*, *ibid.*, p. 44, *be mudreishi usekh chelovek*, *ibid.*, p. 75. Vladimir himself is *mudr i smyslen*, p. 59; Feodosi Pechersky—*krotkyi, smerenyi*, p. 107; metropolitan John—*smeren zhe i krotok*, p. 137, etc. All these adjectives undoubtedly express Christian ideals. M. Kosven, *Iz istorii rannei russkoi etnografii* (XII–XVI vv.), *SE*, 1952 (4), pp. 128–129; *idem*, *Materialy k istorii rannei russkoi etnografii* (XII–XVII vv.), *TIE XXX*, 1956, p. 31, on the basis of the passages quoted above, attributes to 'Nestor' wide ethnographical knowledge. P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, p. 247 ascribes this contrasting of customs by the chronicler to his political tendencies. B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU* 1955 (4–5), p. 70; *idem*, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 22 asserts that in the eyes of 'Nestor' the Polyanians were 'the people chosen for the foundation of the State'. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 230 is much more accurate when he states that the chronicler compared the Polyanians with the Jews, as God's chosen people. In this interpretation the religious element is quite evident. A. Shakhmatov, Istrin, Gudzy and others remarked with good reason that the customs of the Derevlans, Severians, Radimichians, etc. are treated in the *Povest'* as pagan, and that these descriptions of pagan customs are drawn by 'Nestor' from Greek writers, primarily from Georgius Monachus (Hamartolos). And when the chronicler contrasted the Polyanians with the other tribes who had remained pagan, it is obvious that he was concerned with their religious affiliation.

Although it may rightly be stated that the Polyanians, contrary to all the other Eastern Slavs, were Christians (of the Slavonic rite), there is no ground for exaggeration by maintaining that the new creed had made enormous progress on the Dnieper. Only small groups of the population were converted while the mass of the Polyanian tribe clung to their ancient pagan beliefs. Christianity spread very slowly in all the countries of Europe; it could not be otherwise. My thesis is, therefore, not invalidated by later mentions of Vladimir's extirpating pagan beliefs among the Polyanians.

²⁹² Cf. T. Sreznevsky, *Materialy I*, 1893, pp. 1391–1395.

²⁹³ 'Zemlya nasha kreshchena, i nest' u nas uchitelya, izhe by ny nakazal, i pouchal nas, i protolkoval svyatyya knigi... I poslete ny uchitelya, izhe ny mogut' skazati knizhnaya slovesa i razum ikh', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 21–22.

'wisdom'²⁹⁴ and brought benefit to their souls.²⁹⁵ 'Who often reads the books has intercourse with God and with holy men.'²⁹⁶ In short, it follows from the relevant passages that without the Slavonic script and Slavonic books there would have been no Slavonic *yazyk*, i.e., no Slavonic Christianity, although a Slavonic *yazyk*, in the sense of Slavonic speech and people, would still have existed.

But, in the text under examination, 'Nestor' also deals with the state of the Slavonic *yazyk* (or rite) at a later phase, namely, in his own time. Writing of the Polyanians at the Dnieper, whom he numbers among the believers in this *yazyk*, he adds: 'who are now called Rus' ' (*yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus'*). It follows from this statement that at the time when the Polyanians professed Slavonic Christianity together with the Poles, Moravians, Czechs, etc., i.e., at the end of the 9th and during a part of the 10th century, they were not yet called Rus'. If this were not so, the chronicler would have called them Rus' when dealing with the earlier period. This observation is fully concordant with the content of the word *nachal'nik*. Since in the eyes of later generations, the beginnings of the 'new' Rus' dated from the conversion of Ol'ga and of Vladimir, 'Nestor' would not have described the Polyanians as being 'Rus' ' when chronicling the times prior to Ol'ga and Vladimir.

One other matter merits attention. Recounting the origins of Slavonic writing devised for the followers of the Cyrillo-Methodian rite, the chronicler adds at the end of the passage: 'this writing is now current in Rus' and among the Danubian Bulgarians' (*yazhe gramota est' v Rusi i v bolgarekh dunaiskikh*).²⁹⁷ 'Nestor' thus indirectly indicated that the Slavonic *gramota* did not exist in his time among the Moravians, Czechs and Poles. It is manifest that in the ethnic sense these peoples continued to be Slavonic, but by the period in question had received the Latin rite and thus abandoned the Slavonic *gramota* hence, too, the Slavonic *yazyk*.

When the author of the *Povest'* states that the Polyanians later assumed the name of Rus' and that the Slavonic language remained in the liturgy of the Rus'ian Church, his intention was to show, in accordance with the facts, that in the days of Vladimir and his suc-

²⁹⁴ 'Velika bo byvaet' polza ot uchen'ya knizhnogo; knigami bo kazhemi i uchimi esmy puti pokayan'yu, mudrost' bo obretaem i vzderzhan'e ot sloves knizhnykh', *ibid.*, p. 102.

²⁹⁵ 'Ashche bo poishcheshi v knigakh mudrosti prilezhno, to obryashcheshi veliku polzu dushi svoei', *ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁹⁶ 'Izhe bo knigi chasto chtet', to beseduet' s bogom', ili svyatymi muzhi', *ibid.*, p. 103.

²⁹⁷ The Czech chronicler, Cosmas, contemporary of 'Nestor', also states that at his time (cf. *OR*, p. 19) the Slavonic rite survived among the Danubian Bulgarians and in Rus'. This follows from his text in which he records that the Bishop of Prague was to be a priest 'non secundum ritus aut sectam Bulgarie gentis vel Ruzie aut Slavonice lingue', but that this office should be conferred upon 'clericum Latinis adprime literis eruditum'. B. Bretholz, *Die Chronik der Böhmen des Cosmas von Prag*, *MGH*, Script., Nova Series II, 1923, p. 43. Cf. *OR*, pp. 19, 20, 41, 393.

cessors the Metropolitan See of Kiev was regarded by contemporaries as the continuation of the Slavonic Metropolitan See of Methodius.

We can now proceed to an analysis of another passage in the *Povest'* in which *yazyk* is again used in the sense of a Metropolitan See as in the previous one.

'Nestor' says: 'The Slavonic *yazyk* and that of Rus' is one [and the same]' (*A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyyi odno est'*).²⁹⁸ It has hitherto been generally accepted that the word *yazyk* in this sentence signifies 'language' or 'people', and that the text states that the Slavonic and Rus'ian speech was one, hence that the Slavonic and Rus'ian nations were identical.²⁹⁹ The translations of the above passage, although in a sense formally correct, are nevertheless utterly wrong. As stated above, I consider any interpretation of 'Nestor's' text to be erroneous if it clashes with other passages in the *Povest'* as well as with other sources of the period. On the other hand, a commentary can be accepted if it demonstrates the full accord of the given text of the chronicler with the rest of his work and with the narratives of other authors.

In this connection, yet another more general observation needs to be made. It has been widely accepted that when the author of a text uses a given word in one sense, it must never be assumed that he may also use it in another sense—even if the other meaning was certainly known to him. Yet this approach finds no support in the available texts. As an instance, I quote a passage from the Slavonic translation of the monk Nikon's *Tacticon* about the Vandals. In the first sentence the Vandals are mentioned as the people who destroyed Rome; the second relates to their religious creed. The word *yazyk* is here applied in a double sense: . . . *razrushisha rim i iskorenisha rimlyany yazyk vandar'skyi [vandal'skii], be zhe yazyk toi ot razlichnykh eresei: makidon'yane, nestoriyane, ariyane i podobni sim*—and further on: *i ottole usazheny bysha v rime razlichnyya eresi*. . .³⁰⁰

Erroneous interpretations of the passage in 'Nestor's' text in which he affirms the identity of the Slavonic and the Rus'ian *yazyk*, have given rise to equally mistaken conclusions, both among the supporters and the opponents of the theory of the Norse origin of the Rus'. For Schlözer, the relevant passage in the *Povest'* is 'a stupid insertion' of later copyists; for Lomonosov, it provided indubitable

²⁹⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 23.

²⁹⁹ 'But the Slavs and the Russes are one people', S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 63; 'And the Slavic people and the Russian are one and the same', R. Jakobson, *Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church*, HSS II, 1954, p. 42; 'Or la nation slave et la nation russe est une', L. Leger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, 1884, p. 21; 'Dies slavische und russische Volk aber ist eins', D. Gerhardt, *Das Land ohne Apostel und seine Apostel*, SV VI, 1954, p. 125, etc.

³⁰⁰ A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI-XV vv.)*, 1875, p. 289.

proof of the Slavonic character of the Rus'. The most recent interpretations of the passage are marked by the same inadequately critical analysis of the text.³⁰¹ Unfortunately, the progress of knowledge does not always advance with the course of time.

The thesis of the identity of Slavonic speech with Rus'ian is quite untenable. Constantine Pophyrogenitus (middle of the 10th century) differentiated between the two languages when he listed the names of the Dnieper cataracts in the Slavonic and in the Rus'ian versions. As shown in Chapter I,³⁰² there is not a single source which supports the assumption that the Slavonic language was called the Rus'ian one and considered so to be in the times of 'Nestor' and his predecessors. In fact, the text of the *Povest'*, from beginning to end, affords no grounds for identifying the two languages and, moreover, in agreement with all the other contemporary sources,³⁰³ rules out the possibility of considering the Rus' to have been Slavs. The validity of this observation becomes all the more evident when a lengthier passage in the *Povest'* is analysed—the one containing the above sentence about the Slavonic and the Rus'ian yazyks.

Here is the Slavonic text from the *Povest'*:

*Tem zhe sloven'sku yazyku uchitel' est' Andronik apostol. V Moravy bo khodil i apostol Pavel uchil tu; tu bo est' Ilyurik, ego zhe dokhodil apostol Pavel; tu bo besha slovene pervoe. Tem zhe i sloven'sku yazyku uchitel' est' Pavel, ot nego zhe yazyka i my esmo Rus', tem zhe i nam Rusi uchitel' est' Pavel, ponezhe uchil est' yazyk slovenesk i postavil est' episkopa i namesnika po sebe Andronika sloven'sku yazyku. A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est', ot varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu, a pervoe besha slovene; ashche i polyane zvakhushya, no sloven'skaa rech' be. Polyami zhe prozvani byshi, zane v poli sedyakhu, a yazyk slovenski edin.*³⁰⁴

In this text, as in all that 'Nestor' wrote under the year 898, it clearly follows that the term *yazyk* implies three elements: an ethnic, a linguistic and a religious one. In accord with ancient traditions, there arose the concept of 'nation' which comprised not only the origin of a given people but also its language and its own religious beliefs—its deities. In the present case, even those scholars who insist

³⁰¹ B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy. K. voprosu ob obrazovanii yadra drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, p. 29 writes: 'We can accept the extent of the Rus'ian territory in a broad sense to have been the whole of the tribal territories of all East-Slavonic tribes, basing our assumption on the chronicler's thesis that "the Slavonic language and that of Rus' is one".' L. Cherepnin, *Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV.*, in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii. Sbornik statei*, 1958, p. 42 alluding to the quoted text of 'Nestor', thinks that the *Povest'* 'takes the Slavonic basis of the Russian language as a sign of the Russian nation's unity'. Similar opinions are expressed by Grekov, Mavrodin, Tikhomirov and others. According to G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 233, when the text of a source is controversial 'one has, in the first place, carefully to study the wording of the text itself'. But he evidently has failed to make a careful study of the meaning of the word *yazyk*.

³⁰² See also *OR*, pp. 19–21.

³⁰³ Cf. Chapter III of the present study.

³⁰⁴ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 23.

that the author of a source-work uses a given word invariably only in one sense, cannot deny that in the *Povest'* under the above date (as also in other entries) the word *yazyk* is used in a dual meaning: an ethnic ('people', 'nation')³⁰⁵ and a linguistic one ('tongue', 'language', 'speech').³⁰⁶ My investigations have led me to conclude there was also a third meaning, namely, an ecclesiastical one.³⁰⁷

'Nestor' fully realized the triple content of the word *yazyk* and, depending on the context, used it in one or the other of its three senses. His entry under the year 898 is nothing but an account of the beginnings of Christianity among the Slavs; as such, it contains both historical elements (Constantine and Methodius) and legendary ones (Paul and Andronicus). The subject is therefore purely ecclesiastical-religious.

Throughout the narrative, the chronicler gives proof of two valuable qualities: consistency in depicting events, and the desire to present a given matter as clearly as possible. Reading 'Nestor's' exceedingly interesting report, one is struck by a most characteristic feature: nothing that he writes after the words: *A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyyi odno est'* is connected with the subject, i.e., with the development of Christianity among the Slavs. It was for this reason that various hypotheses were advanced in order to support the surmise that the concluding passage of the text was not written by 'Nestor', but was interpolated by some later copyist. Yet, all such conjectures must be dismissed as untenable.

For this passage clearly demonstrates how consistent 'Nestor' was and how well he remembered what he had handed down to posterity upon another page. This concluding passage is really only a recapitulation, a supplementary exposition of what he had written previously. It yields five items of information: (1) the author ignores all the other East-Slavonic tribes and restricts himself solely to the Polyanians—as he had done in a previous entry³⁰⁸; (2) he remarks once again that the Polyanians were Slavs³⁰⁹; (3) he again stresses that the Polyanians assumed the appellation of the Rus', used during the chronicler's own time³¹⁰; (4) this appellation derived from the Varangians³¹¹; (5) the Slavonic tribal names were topographical, not ethnic, in origin³¹²; they were deduced from the characteristic features of the

³⁰⁵ 'Kostyantyn . . . ide uchit bolgar'skago yazyka', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 22.

³⁰⁶ 'Ne razumeem bo ni grech'sku yazyku, ni latyn'sku', *ibid.*, p. 22; 'u nego synove razumivi yazyku sloven'sku', p. 22; 'I radi bysha sloveni, yako slyshisha vilich'ya bozh'ya svoim' yazykom', p. 22; 'i prelozhi vsya knigi ispoln' ot grech'ska yazyka v slovenesk', p. 23.

³⁰⁷ 'Be edin yazyk slovenesk . . .', p. 21.

³⁰⁸ Cf. 'Be edin yazyk slovenesk: sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi, . . . i morava, i chesi, i lyakhove, i polyane . . .', p. 21.

³⁰⁹ 'Polyanom . . . sushchim ot roda sloven'ska . . .', p. 14.

³¹⁰ . . . 'polyane, yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus', p. 21.

³¹¹ 'I idosha za more k varyagom, k rusi. Sitse bo sya zvakhu t'i varyazi rus', p. 18; 'I ot tekhn varyag prozvasya Ruskaya zemlya', p. 18.

³¹² . . . 'i prozvashasya imeny svoimi, gde sedshe na kotorom meste', p. 11.

tribal territories³¹³ or based on the names of the rivers upon whose banks these tribes lived.³¹⁴

Why has 'Nestor' repeated all this information?

The explanation is provided by the crucial sentence: 'The Slavonic *yazyk* and the Rus'ian is one' (*A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est*). There is no reason to doubt that 'Nestor' realized this sentence could be variously understood, depending on which meaning of *yazyk* was accepted by the reader. And, what he wrote immediately after this passage was nothing else but an essential commentary to it, requiring repetition as a means of emphasizing certain basic facts. The chronicler gives a supplementary explanation to head off his reader from drawing a false conclusion, *viz.*, that of identifying the Slavs with the Rus' in the ethnic and linguistic sense. To make matters clearer, 'Nestor' introduces the word *rech'* ('speech') into this supplementary passage, a word which has none of the ambiguity of *yazyk*. In my opinion, this concluding passage here analysed together with the preceding sentence indicates two fundamental facts: the Slavonic *yazyk* and the Rus'ian are one and the same, but the Slavonic *rech'* and the Rus'ian are quite different.

This is fully borne out by the text under examination: it states that the appellation 'Rus'' derived from the Varangians (*ot varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu*), whom 'Nestor' distinguished from the Slavs in several passages in his Chronicle. Concerning this distinction, modern historians no longer question the validity of the chronicler's attitude. Again, quite correctly the author of the *Povest'* classified the Varangians as Norsemen, and thus indirectly admitted that their language was not a Slavonic one. 'Nestor' stated that the population of the Kiev region was Slavonic and that, regardless of whether these people called themselves Polyanians (the chronicler stresses this appellation had a topographic connotation, not an ethnic one) or Rus' (here he affirms this name was considered a new and alien one for the Slavs), the population continued to speak Slavonic (*no sloven'skaa rech' be*).

Some historians, striving to make their hypotheses more credible, assume that the passage in question depicts a phase in the relations between the Polyanian Slavs and the Varangian Rus' at a time when the latter had already become completely Slavonicized. Then, as a corollary of such reasoning—contrary to every probability—it is affirmed that this process of Slavonicization not only took place extremely rapidly but began already in the very distant past. Yet, this hypothesis finds absolutely no support in the sources of the period. We know from Constantine Porphyrogenitus that in his time (middle

³¹³ E.g. 'i narekoshasya . . . drevlyane, zane sedosha v lesekh', p. 11.

³¹⁴ 'Yako prishedshe sedosha na retse imyanem Marava, i prozvashasya morava', p. 11; 'i narekoshasya polochane, rech'ki radi, yazhe vtechet' v Dvinu, imyanem Polota', p. 11; 'buzhane, zane sedosha po Bugu', p. 13.

of the 10th century), the language of the Rus' was clearly distinguished from that of the Slavs (the names of the Dnieper cataracts). It is universally known that linguistic changes are exceedingly slow processes—they do not occur, as it were, from one day to another. 'Nestor', so scrupulous and precise in his reports, might have written that the Rus' ceased to speak Rus'ian and began to use the Slavonic tongue, but he would never have stated that the two languages were identical. Hence the thesis of the rapid Slavonicization of the Varangian Rus', unsupported as it is by anything in the sources, remains untenable.

The same may be said of another opinion, so often encountered in the literature on the subject, namely, that the Rus' were one of the East-Slavonic tribes. This conjecture is based on the linguistic interpretation of the above sentence from the *Povest'* in the sense that there was a language—*yazyk* which was synonymously known as Slavonic or as Rus'ian. Such an interpretation at first sight seems very simple and obvious, but a closer examination of the passage in question shows that the matter cannot be so simply disposed of.

It may be asked: Why did 'Nestor' in the relevant text, writing of the first Christian missions to the Slavs and of the apostle Paul's share in this venture,³¹⁵ mention that Rus' originates from the Slavonic *yazyk*? Apparently, the chronicler ascribed particular significance to this fact since he devoted several sentences to it. If it be accepted (as is generally the case) that *yazyk* signifies 'language' or 'people' in this passage and that the Rus' were an East-Slavonic tribe, the above text becomes incomprehensible. First of all, in this case its content is unrelated to the subject dealt with in the context, since 'Nestor' was concerned here solely with religious matters (the rise and development of Christianity among the Slavs), and not with ethnic ones (the alleged Slavonic provenance of the Rus'). There seems no reason for inserting an ethnic observation in this place. If the Rus'—as was once universally accepted—were Slavs, and Paul was the apostle of the Slavs, it automatically follows that he was also the apostle of the Rus'. But why then should 'Nestor' have taken such pains to write about this apparently self-evident matter? Further, why should the chronicler in this passage, and that in such specific manner, write solely of the Rus' to the omission of many other East Slavonic tribes?

In my opinion, the text in question is logically closely bound up with another passage in the *Povest'*, likewise under 898, which has already been analysed. It enumerates the peoples who belonged to the one common Slavonic *yazyk* (*Be edin yazyk slovenesk*) and mentions the Danubian Slavs, the Moravians, Czechs, Lyakhs (Poles), and the Polyanians, the last-named 'now being called Rus' ' (*i polyane*,

³¹⁵ Cf. K. Onasch, *Der Apostel Paulus und die Slavenmission*, ZK LXIX, 1958.

yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus').³¹⁶ Hence, 'Nestor' gives us to understand that there was a time when the Polyanians belonged to the Slavonic *yazyk* but the Rus' did not. When enumerating the East-Slavonic tribes in several passages, the chronicler never mentions the Rus' among them. Moreover, he makes it clear that the Rus' borrowed some specific Slavonic traditions from the Polyanians, and only from the Polyanians. 'Nestor' knows that the name 'Rus'' passed from the Varangians also to the Novgorodian Slavs,³¹⁷ and yet he makes no allusion to the latter while consistently citing only the Polyanians in his narrative under the year 898. His mentions of the apostle Paul, Andronicus, Constantine and Methodius coupled with an account of their missionary activities indicate the nature of this tradition. It was the Christian faith as propagated among the Slavs.

'Nestor', in the text under examination, enters the sphere of the ecclesiastical organization of Slavonic Christendom. He speaks of the Bishopric (Metropolis) of Methodius which, according to the chronicler, sprang from the earlier Bishopric of Andronicus³¹⁸ created by the apostle Paul (*Pavel . . . postavil est' episkopa i namesnika po sebe Andronika sloven'sku yazyku*).³¹⁹ In my opinion, 'Nestor' here calls Slavonic Christendom and its ecclesiastical organization 'the Slavonic *yazyk*'. He uses the word *yazyk* in the same sense as *ethnos* was understood by the great Byzantine canonists of the 12th century—Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon.

Since the author of the *Povest'* identifies 'the Slavonic *yazyk*' with 'the Rus'ian *yazyk*', he obviously ascribes the same meaning to both phrases. According to the chronicler, 'the Rus'ian *yazyk*' signifies Rus'ian Christendom: to quote his own words, 'the Rus'ian knowledge of God' (*ruskoe poznan'e k Bogu*)³²⁰—and in the ecclesiastical, organizational sense, the Rus'ian Church, i.e., the Rus'ian (Kievan) Metropolitan See (*mitropol'ya rus'skaya*).³²¹ From an examination of the meaning of the word *nachal'nik* (*nachal'nitsa*) I came to the conclusion that the rise of the 'new' Rus'—so widely different from the earlier ethnic and political appellation of the Rus'-Varangians—was bound up with the conversion of Ol'ga and, especially, of Vladimir.

³¹⁶ There is no need to speak of Nasonov's hypothesis, according to which the last words of the passage did not exist in the original text but were erroneously introduced into the *Povest'* by a later compiler. A. Nasonov, *Nachal'nye etapy kievskogo letopisaniya v svyazi s razvitiem drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, *PI VII*, 1959, p. 454.

³¹⁷ 'I ot tekh varyag prozvasya Ruskaya zemlya, novugorod'tsi, ti sut' lyud'e nougorod'tsi ot roda varyazh'ska, prezhe bo besha sloveni', *Povest'* I, p. 18.

³¹⁸ . . . 'postavi Mefod'ya episkopa . . . na stole svyatogo Ondronika' . . . ; . . . 'episkopu Mefod'yu, nastol'niku Andronikovu', *ibid.*, pp. 22–23.

³¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 23. The words: *episkop sloven'sku yazyku* should be compared with the oldest Slavonic translation of the 34th 'Apostolic' canon, dealing with the bishops of each *ethnos*: *isiku komusdo*. W. Lettenbauer, *Eine lateinische Kanonessammlung in Mähren im 9. Jahrhundert*, *OCP XVIII*, 1952, p. 248.

³²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 49.

³²¹ *Ibid.*, p. 102.

The question arises: Why were there changes in the terminology so that in the course of time the term 'Slavonic *yazyk*' was replaced by 'Rus'ian *yazyk*'? There were several reasons for this, two of them being of special importance. The Greek Church, strengthening gradually its position on the Dnieper, preserved the Slavonic language in the liturgy, because in its missionary activities it had to deal mostly with the Slavs and with a century-old tradition connected with the rite of Constantine (Cyril) and Methodius. But in its attempts at expansion, the Church did not wish to confine itself solely to the conversion of the Slavs. The term 'Rus'' answered these aspirations better, as it could embrace not only the Slavs, but also different ethnic elements which had been or were to be conquered by the Rus'-Varangians.³²²

There was, however, another factor involved: after the Latin Church had been definitely established in Moravia, Bohemia and Poland, the old name was not consistent with the new state of affairs. Some Slavs no longer belonged to the Slavonic *yazyk* (faith, rite, Church), and they were the very ones who, so far, had been its mainstay. The new name for the faith and Church had to fit the new realities and had to be linked with Kiev and the political entity established on the banks of the Dnieper.

After these preliminary remarks, the translation of the relevant passage in 'Nestor's' text, quoted above in Slavonic, can now be given as follows:

That is why the apostle Andronicus is the teacher of the Slavonic people.³²³ He travelled among the Moravians, and the apostle Paul taught there likewise. For in that region is Illyricum, whither Paul first repaired and where the Slavs originally lived. Thus, Paul is the preacher of the Slavonic faith [*i.e.*, of Slavonic Christendom],³²⁴ and we, the Rus',³²⁵ are also of this faith.³²⁶ Therefore, Paul is also the teacher of us, the Rus', since he preached to the Slavonic people,³²⁷ and appointed Andronicus as bishop and successor to himself in the Slavonic Church. And the Slavonic Church [*i.e.*, the Slavonic Metropolitan See] and the Rus'ian [Kievan Metropolitan See] are one [and the same]. [They, *i.e.*, the Polyanians] took the name of Rus' from the Varangians, but

³²² 'Nestor' clearly states that the concept of Rus' was larger than the concept of 'the Slavs'. The Slavs were 'in Rus' ' ('Se bo . . . slovensk yazyk v Rusi', *ibid.*, p. 13) and not *vice versa*.

³²³ But this sentence can also be translated: '... is the preacher of the Slavonic faith', *i.e.*, of the Christian faith in Slavonic. See the following footnote.

³²⁴ This sentence, as the one before, can also be translated: '... is the teacher of the Slavonic people'. The expression: *sloven'sku yazyku uchitel'* deserves special attention. For the use of the dative by 'Nestor': *uchitel'*, *uchiti yazyku*, cf. *uchiti vere* (D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 60), *uchiti gramote* (I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy* III, p. 1340). See also the word *propoved'nik* 'preacher', 'propagator', a synonym for *uchitel'*: *propoved'nik vere* (Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I, 1857, p. 250).

³²⁵ That is, the Rus'ian Christians.

³²⁶ In this connection, *yazyk* cannot signify 'people' since such an interpretation would clash with 'Nestor's' whole line of reasoning.

³²⁷ In another version instead of *uchil est' yazyk slovensk* we have *yazyku sloven'sku*. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 185 ('is the preacher of the Slavonic faith').

originally [they] were Slavs. Although they called themselves Polyanians, [their] speech was Slavonic. They were called Polyanians because [they] lived in the fields. The Slavonic language was one.

The foregoing translation is in agreement with the statement of Constantine Porphyrogenitus that Slavonic and Rus'ian were quite different languages, as also with the interpretation of *ethnos* (*yazyk*) by Aristenes, Zonaras and Balsamon, and with all the other contemporary sources uniformly differentiating between the Rus' and the Slavs. Still more important, this translation is in complete harmony with all that 'Nestor' wrote about the Rus' and the Slavs. We have to choose between two alternatives: either we accept in the relevant passages the interpretation of the word *yazyk* solely in the linguistic and ethnic senses (as has been the universal practice heretofore) and hence conclude that these passages in the *Povest'* are unreliable, quite obscure and teeming with glaring inconsistencies; or we ascribe a third meaning to the word *yazyk*—an ecclesiastical, religious one—which makes it possible to accept the chronicler's narrative as a testimony of unusual value depicting the reality handed down to us by that author most precisely and clearly. If the second eventuality is accepted, all previous translations of the *Povest'* and commentaries based upon them must be categorically rejected.

G. Zemlya in the Povest' vremennykh let

It has already been shown that the Greek word *ethnos* was rendered in Slavonic as *yazyk* and as *zemlya*. Quotations from East-Slavonic texts of the relevant period have been presented and these unequivocally show that the expression 'the Rus'ian *zemlya*' (*Rus'skaya zemlya*) signified the Rus'ian Church, the Rus'ian Metropolis, Rus'ian Christendom. In this respect, 'Nestor' is fully in accord with these texts. Thus, for instance, the chronicler states that Ol'ga was 'the precursor of the Christian *zemlya*' (*predtekushchiya krest'yan'stei zemli*),³²⁸ i.e., the precursor of the Christian faith. There can be no doubt—as witness the further parts of the narrative—that the author had in mind Rus'ian Christendom, initiated by her conversion.³²⁹

This ecclesiastical-religious element appears no less clearly in another passage of the Chronicle which has been variously interpreted and is still the subject of controversy. 'Nestor's' work begins with the words which are usually used as its title: *Se povesti vremenykh let, otkudu est' poshla ruskaya zemlya, kto v Kieve nacha pervoe knyazhiti, i otkudu ruskaya zemlya stala est'*.³³⁰ In the translation of Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor this text reads as follows: 'These are

³²⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 49.

³²⁹ 'My zhe rtsem k nei: raduisya, ruskoe poznan'e k bogu, nachatok primiren'yu bykhom. Si pervoe vnide v tsarstvo nebesnoe ot Rusi, siyu bo khvalyat rustie synove aki nachalnitsyu', *ibid.*, p. 49.

³³⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the land of Rus', the first princes of Kiev, and from what source the land of Rus' had its beginning.³³¹ This text is composed of three parts and deals with three quite different matters. Each of them finds its development and explanation in the text of the Chronicle itself.

Nikol'sky surmises that this title originated at the beginning of the 12th century and did not refer to the whole Chronicle, but only to its introduction.³³² It is the middle part of the title—*kto v Kieve nacha pervoe knyazhiti*—that is the easiest to understand (the legend of Kii, his brothers and his sister, some details about the tribe of the Polyanians). If Kiev is distinguished here from the 'Rus'ian *zemlya*' this is, I think, because the author wished to depict its past in the days before the Norse Varangians. The third part—*otkudu ruskaya zemlya stala est'*—refers to the Varangian period (Askol'd, Dir, Oleg). One is justified in assuming that the third part relates to the origin of the Rus'ian State organization and that this is the meaning of the term the 'Rus'ian *zemlya*' here.³³³

But it seems that the term *zemlya* must have had another meaning beside that of a 'State' (*gosudarstvo*) as it occurs twice in our text. There is no reason for supposing that the chronicler wanted to say the same thing twice over.³³⁴ I am confirmed in my conviction by the characteristic fact that 'Nestor' on one occasion attributes to the Rus' a northern provenance (Novgorod³³⁵), and on another, having identified them with the Slavonic *yazyk*,³³⁶ suggests that they originated at the Danube. In connection with this last instance, he mentions the

³³¹ S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 51. The French translation reads: 'Voici les récits des années passées; (ils nous disent) où commençait la terre russe, qui fut le premier prince de Kiev et comment la terre russe s'est constituée', M. Gyóni, *Les Volochs des Annales primitives de Kiev*, *ESR* II (1), 1949, p. 57; cf. L. Léger, *Chronique dite de Nestor*, 1884, p. 1 ('Comment s'est formée la Russie; qui régna le premier à Kiev, et où la Russie a pris son commencement'). The Russian translation is: 'Vot povesti minuvshikh let, otkuda poshla russkaya zemlya, kto v Kieve stal pervym knyazhit' i kak vznikla russkaya zemlya', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 205; 'Ot kakogo kornya proizoshel russkii narod, kto byl osnovatelem Kievskogo knyazheniya i kogda obrazovalos' Russkoe gosudarstvo', B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 21; *idem*, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955 (4-5), p. 70. From the above quotations it can be seen that the various translators of this text differ one from the other. See also B. Grekov, *Knyaz' i pravdashchaya znat' v Kievskoi Rusi*, *UZLGU XXXII* (2), 1939, pp. 13-14.

³³² N. Nikol'sky, 'Povest' vremennykh let' kak istochnik dlya istorii nachal'nogo perioda russkoi pis'mennosti i kul'tury, *SRYS* II (1), 1930, p. 40. In my view, not only the undated part of the *Povest'* should be included in this introduction but also the oldest one, which is dated.

³³³ *OR*, pp. 22-23. Cf. N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, *PSSS I*, 1951, p. 17; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 285-286.

³³⁴ Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 71-72 also thinks that in the above text 'the Rus'ian *zemlya*' means something else every time.

³³⁵ This gains great prominence also in the title of the First Novgorodian Chronicle ('Vremennik, ezhe est' naristaetsya letopisanie knyazei i zemlya Ruskiya, i kako izbra bog stranu nashu na poslednee vremya, i grady pochasha byvati po mestom, prezhe Novgorodchikaya volost' i potom Kyevskaya' . . . , A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 103).

³³⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 23.

Danubian Slavs, the Moravians, Czechs and Poles, and links these peoples with the Polyanians of Kiev.³³⁷ This he did not do out of interest in ethnic questions.³³⁸ Some of these peoples disappear from the pages of the Chronicle although ethnic relations underwent no change. But the Moravians, Czechs, etc., abandoned the Slavonic *yazyk*, i.e., the Cyrillo-Methodian rite, and the Slavonic *gramota*, and, therefore, ceased to interest the chronicler.

The present considerations lead to the conclusion that the Rus'ian *zemlya* figures in the first part of the title of the *Povest'*—*otkudu est' poshla ruskaya zemlya*—as the Rus'ian Metropolitan See of Kiev, which in the opinion of the chronicler was the continuation of the Slavonic Metropolitan See of Methodius.³³⁹ Thus, the text under discussion should be translated as follows: 'These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the Rus'ian Church (i.e., of the Rus'ian Metropolitan See), the first princes of Kiev, and from what source the Rus'ian State had its beginning.'

6. BEGINNINGS OF CHRISTIANITY IN EASTERN EUROPE

Analysing the meaning of the expressions *yazyk* and *zemlya*, I have time and again been obliged to touch on various ecclesiastical-religious topics. The origins of Christianity in Eastern Europe undoubtedly constitute a separate subject complete in itself. The present considerations, however, include a number of observations which support all my analysis of the various meanings of the words *yazyk* and *zemlya*. It is for this reason that they have been inserted here as indirect and supplementary evidence.

Tikhomirov believes the introductory part of the *Povest'* was written by a layman and that its original form was devoid of any

³³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³³⁸ Enumerating a long list of West- and East-Slavonic tribes, who are supposed to have migrated from the Danube, 'Nestor' gives us to understand that he writes about these matters on account of the Slavonic script and the books which became the foundation of Slavonic Christianity. 'I tako razidesya sloven'skii yazyk, tem zhe i gramota prozvasya sloven'skaya', *Povest'* I, p. 11. A. Shakhmatov, 'Povest' vremennykh let' i ee istochniki (ed. by M. Priselkov), *TODRL* IV, 1940, p. 29 affirms that the appearance in the text of the last words is 'rather unforeseen'. But if we take into consideration the religious background of the information conveyed, it appears to be not only well founded but indeed necessary.

³³⁹ Actually, the title of the Chronicle should read: *Se povesti vremennykh let, otkudu est' poshla Sloven'skaya zemlya* ('These are the narratives of bygone years regarding the origin of the Slavonic *zemlya*'). The question arises: Since 'Rus'' in the ecclesiastical sense arose later than ethnic and political Rus', why did 'Nestor' give it priority both in the title of his work and in the arrangement of the source-material at his disposal? It is possible that, himself a member of a monastic order, he attributed greater importance to the affairs of the Church than to those of the State—particularly as this State was weakening in his time while the influence and significance of the Church were markedly growing. It seems to me, however, that some other reasons were decisive here. 'Nestor' was entitled to write as he did because he identified the Slavonic *yazyk-zemlya* with the Rus'ian one ('A Sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est''). The rite of Cyril and Methodius was practised on the Dnieper before the Rus'ian State was founded in Kiev. 'Nestor' was well acquainted with this fact.

ecclesiastical influences.³⁴⁰ He presents, however, no arguments to substantiate his opinion and it would seem in fact that quite the contrary happened. It must be stressed in this connection that already in the title of the *Povest'* pride of place is given to the 'Rus'ian zemlya' in the meaning of the Rus'ian Metropolis and of Rus'ian Christendom. 'Nestor' understood this Christendom in the sense of the Slavonic rite, and it was for this reason that he wrote so much—solely in this one place—about the all-Slavonic communion. Dealing with the earliest history of Kiev, the chronicler was interested not so much in its political role as in its ecclesiastical one. Thus, he even reports St Andrew as having foretold that a great religious centre would arise in Kiev (*na sikh gorakh vosiyaet' blagodat' bozh'ya; imat' grad velik byti i tserkvi mnogi bog vzdvignuti imat'*).³⁴¹ Further, the chronicler puts into the mouth of Oleg a prophecy according to which Kiev was to become 'the mother of Rus'ian cities' (*Se budi mati gradom rus'skim*).³⁴² Yakubinsky quite correctly remarks that these words amount to a textual translation of the Greek *metropolis* and that they announce 'the foundation in Kiev of a Metropolitan See, with a Metropolitan at its head'.³⁴³ Yet another entry in the *Povest'* supports my observations: that concerning the provenance of the Slavs—hence also of the Rus'—from the Danube region.

This problem is bound up with the legend of the three brothers (the primogenitors of the three nations)—Czech, Lech³⁴⁴ and Rus, the sons of Pan, ruler of Pannonia. The three brothers were said to have left Pannonia on the Danube. This legend first appeared in later-day Polish sources, the Chronicle of Poland Major³⁴⁵ and

³⁴⁰ M. Tikhomirov, *Gorodskaya pis'mennost' v drevnei Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, *TODRL* IX, 1953, p. 63.

³⁴¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 12. The legend of the apostle St Andrew as recounted by 'Nestor' likewise mentions the later-day role of Novgorod but ascribes no aureole of sanctity to this city.

³⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 20.

³⁴³ L. Yakubinsky, *Istoriya drevnerusskogo yazyk*, 1953, p. 335. Cf. *Skazaniya rus-skogo naroda, sobrannye I. Sakharovym* II, 1849, p. 58.

³⁴⁴ The Poles figure also in the sources of the period under another name, in Latin, *Lechitae*. The Polish chronicler, Master Vincent who writes at the end of the 12th and the beginning of the 13th century, traces the descent of the *Lechitae* from the legendary Lech.

³⁴⁵ The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*) of the 13th century (cf. K. Jasiński, *W kwestii autorstwa Kroniki Wielkopolskiej*, *SZ* I, 1957, pp. 219-231) says: 'Ex his itaque Pannoniis tres fratres, filii Pan, principis Pannoniorum, nati fuere, quorum primogenitus Lech, alter Rus, tertius Czech nomina habuerunt. Et hi tres haec tria regna, Lechitarum, Ruthenorum et Czechorum qui et Bohemi, ex se et ex sua gente multiplicati possederunt, in praesenti possident, ac in posterum possidebunt'. . . , *MPH* II, 1872, p. 468. The Czech sources know only two brothers, Czech and Lech. The Chronicle of Pulkava, dating from the second half of the 14th century, connects the Poles with Rus' but in a very vague way ('Frater autem seu consors eius [of Czech] nomine Lech, qui secum venerat, transivit Alpes nivium, que dividunt Boemiam et Poloniam. Et cum vidisset planiciem maximam usque fines maris tendentem, ibi se locavit et eam de suo genere populavit. Sciendum enim est, quod in lingua Slovanica campi plani pole nuncupantur. Et inde nominatur Polonia, quasi campestris planicies. Preterea quidam de suo genere transiverunt Rusiam . . . ,

Długossius.³⁴⁶ According to them, Pannonia was the original homeland of all the Slavs.³⁴⁷

'Nestor' makes no allusion to the three brothers by name or otherwise, but basically repeats the story recounted by the legend. There is no doubt that the narratives of the Western and the Eastern Slavonic sources are based on this same tradition. We read in the *Povest'*:

Over a long period the Slavs settled beside the Danube, where the Hungarian and Bulgarian lands now lie. From among these Slavs, parties scattered throughout the country and were known by appropriate names, according to the places where they settled. Thus some came and settled by the river Morava, and were named Moravians, while others were called Czechs³⁴⁸ (*Po mnozkeh zhe vremyanekh seli sut' sloveni po Dunaevi, gde est' nyne Ugor'ska zemlya i Bolgar'ska. I ot tekh sloven razidoshasya po zemle i prozvashasya imeny svoimi, gde sedshe na kotorom meste. Yako prishedshe sedosha na retse imyanem Marava, i prozvashasya morava a družii chesi narekoshasya*).

Then follows the description of the Polish and (East) Slavonic tribes.³⁴⁹

Thus, in agreement with the legend though independently of it, 'Nestor' makes three noteworthy statements: (1) that the original homeland of the Slavs was Pannonia³⁵⁰; (2) that the Slavs migrated

totamque terram Rusie impleverunt, et eandem similiter coluerunt,' *FRB* V, 1893, p. 5). The Chronicle of Dalimil of the first half of the 14th century uses the word 'lech' but not as a proper noun ('V téj zemi bieše lech, jemužto jmě bieše Čech', *FRB* III, 1882, p. 6).

³⁴⁶ Długossius (15th century) repeats with but minor changes what the Chronicle of Poland Major hands down regarding Lech, Rus and Czech.

³⁴⁷ 'Scribitur enim in vetustissimis codicibus, quod Pannonia sit mater et origo omnium slavonicarum nationum', The Chronicle of Poland Major, *MPH* II, p. 468. Cf. B. Kürbisówna, *Kształtowanie się pojęć geograficznych o Słowiańszczyźnie w polskich kronikach przeddługoszkowych*, *SA* IV, 1954, pp. 273-277; T. Lehr-Spławiński, W. Kuraskiewicz and F. Sławski, *Przegląd i charakterystyka języków słowiańskich*, 1954 pp. 18-19. See also B. Kürbisówna, *Dziejopisarstwo wielkopolskie XIII-XIV w.*, 1959. Długossius writes on Pannonia: ... 'Pannoniam, primam et veterem Slavorum sedem, parentem et alumnam, quae nunc Hungaria... sortita est vocabulum', *Joannis Długossii... Opera omnia* X, 1873, p. 5. Cf. K. Pieradzka, *Genealogia biblijna i rodowód Słowian w pierwszej księdze 'Annales' Jana Długosza*, *NP* VIII, 1958, pp. 92-94, 112-113. Of recent years, studies on Długossius have achieved great progress. A. Strzelecka, *Długosz w świetle nowych badań*, *NP* VIII, 1958, pp. 497-504 lists the latest literature on the subject. See also K. Pieradzka and W. Semkowicz-Zarembina, *Komunikat o reedycji Annales Poloniae Jana Długosza*, *KH* LXVI, 1959, pp. 851-854.

³⁴⁸ S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 53.

³⁴⁹ '... sloveni ... dunaikiya ... prishedshe sedosha na Visle, i prozvashasya lyakhove, a ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyahove družii lutichi, ini mazovshane, ini pomoryane. Tako zhe i ti slovene prishedshe i sedosha po Dnepru i narekoshasya polyane, a družii drevlyane ...; a družii ... narekoshasya dregovichi; inii ... narekoshasya polochane ... Sloveni zhe sedosha okolo ezera Ilmerya i prozvashasya svoim imyanem ... A družii ... narekoshasya sever', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 11. Cf. *OR*, p. 38.

³⁵⁰ 'Nestor' does not mention Danubian Pannonia by name, but he clearly though indirectly indicates it when writing of the land of the Slavs on the Danube, their migration from it, and of the conquest of this country by the Hungarians ('ugri ... sedosha s sloveny, pokorivshe ya pod sya, i ottole prozvasya zemlya Ugor'ska'; ... 'sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi, ikh zhe priyasha ugri' ... *Povest'* I, p. 21). According to the chronicler, the Slavs migrated from that Danubian land to Moravia (*ibid.*, p. 11), consequently he does not consider the latter to have been the original homeland of the Slavs.

from the Danube region, and (3) that the Slavonic tribes were divided into three parts: one can be called the Moravian-Czech group,³⁵¹ the second the Polish group, and the third—the 'Slavonic' (i.e., East Slavonic). Hence these three groups can be identified by the symbolic names of Czech, Lech and the later Rus. I emphasize 'later' because the chronicler used the appellations: '(Moravo-) Czechs' and 'Lyakhs' in this narrative but—and this is most significant—made no use yet of the term 'Rus'. Mentioning the Polyanians, the Derevlans, the Dregovichians, etc., he describes them solely by the generic name of 'Slavs' (*Slovene*). In this, he is quite right, for the ecclesiastical concept of Rus' began to take shape only after the baptism of Ol'ga and Vladimir.

The report that the Slavs originated on the Danube did not arise from ethnic or national traditions—as is universally though erroneously assumed³⁵²—but from purely ecclesiastical ones.³⁵³ It has often been pointed out in the present study that the concept of a nation during the times under examination implied not only ethnic elements but also religious ones. In the given case, the latter appear quite clearly. It is well known what an important role Slavonic Pannonia played in the history of the rite of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius.³⁵⁴ 'Nestor' knew that it was in that country that Methodius had been consecrated as bishop (*Posem zhe Kotsel knyaz' postavi Mefod'ya episkopa v Panii*).³⁵⁵ The Slavonic Church was a Moravian-Pannonian one during the initial phase of its organization.³⁵⁶ Since

³⁵¹ Several other tribes also belong to this group ('A se ti zhe sloveni: khrovate belii i sereb' i khorutane', *Povest'*, p. 11).

³⁵² Some authors see in this narrative the reflection of the views of later generations as regards the most ancient history of the Czechs, the Poles and the Rus'. A Florovsky, *Legenda o Chekhe, Lekhe i Ruse v istorii slavyanskikh izuchenii*, in *Sbornik prací I. sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze 1929, 1932*, p. 53 believes that the above tale possesses great significance 'for the history of Slavonic consciousness in general'. E. Georgiev, *Slavyanskaya pis'mennost' do Kirilla i Mefodiya*, 1952, p. 51 states that in this tale there are 'features of the dim past, i.e., that the Rus' in olden times considered themselves to be relatives and a branch of the Slavs'.

³⁵³ D. Gerhardt, *Das Land ohne Apostel und seine Apostel*, *SV VI*, 1954, p. 125 is of the same opinion.

³⁵⁴ Various views on the descent of the Slavonic population of Pannonia are expressed in the literature on the subject. K. Piuk, *Zur Frage der Slaven in Pannonien im 9. Jahrhundert*, *WSJ I*, 1950, p. 130 believes the language of the Pannonian Slavs to have been transitional link between the languages of the Western and the Southern Slavs. On the other hand, S. Kniezsa, *Die Sprache der alten Slaven Transdanubiens*, *SSASH I* (1-3), 1955, p. 44 classifies the Pannonian Slavs as belonging to the southern group. The problem of the Pannonian Slavs has recently been discussed by D. Simonyi, *Die Kontinuitätsfrage und das Erscheinen der Slaven in Pannonien*, *SSASH I* (4), 1955, pp. 333-361. A bibliography of recent works concerning Hungaro-Slavonic relations is given by E. Niederhauser, *Geschichtswissenschaftliche Arbeiten in Ungarn über die Beziehungen zu den slavischen Völkern zwischen 1945-1955*, *SSASH II*, 1956, pp. 437-441; I. Golenishchev-Kutuzov, *Slavyanovedenie v Vengrii IANOLY XVI*, 1957 (6), pp. 520-534. The literature on the relations between the Hungarians and the Eastern Slavs is listed by I. Pereni, *Vzaimootnosheniya mezhdru vengrami i vostochnoslavjanskimi plemenami*, *SSASH II*, 1956, pp. 1-29.

³⁵⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 22-23.

³⁵⁶ Cf. R. Jakobson, *Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church*, *HSS II*, 1954, pp. 39-73. It can be supposed that Staré Město (Velehrad) was the Metropolitan See of Methodius as also the capital of the rulers of Moravia. The

the faith originated in Pannonia (and Moravia) and this faith was to spread among many Slavonic peoples, these peoples themselves—according to contemporary belief—must also have come from this land.

'Nestor' returns to the subject under examination when he reports the later phase of development of the Slavonic rite. He does so in the well-known passage dealing with relations between Vladimir and his western neighbours: 'He [Vladimir] lived at peace with the neighbouring princes, Bolesław of Poland, Stephen of Hungary, and Odalrich of Bohemia, and there was peace and love among them' (*... i be zhiyya s knyazi okolnimi mirom', s Boleslavom Lyad'skym', i s Stefanom Ugr'skym', i s Andrikhom' Chesh'skym'. I be mir mezhyu imi i lyuby*).³⁵⁷

These four countries—the inclusion of Hungary was necessary as it included Pannonia—symbolize the above-mentioned legend of Pan and his three sons, Czech, Lech and Rus. In the eyes of later generations, these three became brothers, because they were brethren bound by the ties of *lyuby*—the love in Christ.³⁵⁸ It is indeed difficult

most recent archaeological excavations point to this important role of South-Eastern Moravia. M. Paulova, *Vizantinovedenie v Chekhoslovatskoi respublike za poslednie gody*, VV XII, 1957, pp. 291–303 lists the abundant literature devoted to this subject (studies by J. Böhm, J. Cibulka, J. Eisner, V. Hochmanová, V. Hrubý, J. Pavelčík, J. Pošmourný, J. Poulik, etc.). For the early history of Moravia, see O. Odložilík, *From Velehrad to Olomouc*, HSS II, 1954, pp. 75–90. Cf. J. Kirschbaum, *La Grande-Moravie et son héritage culturel*, ESEE II (2), 1957, pp. 69–80.

³⁵⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 86. It is noteworthy that Vladimir's oldest son bore the name of Svyatopolk, the famous ruler of Moravia. Svyatopolk was married to a Polish princess, the daughter of Bolesław the Great, and sought support in Poland for his ambitious plans. This Svyatopolk, upon being defeated in 1019, made his way through Poland to Bohemia. Another of Vladimir's sons, Svyatoslav sought refuge in Hungary (1015). It would seem that their father had prepared for these princes ways and means of which they were able to take advantage in times of difficulty.

³⁵⁸ *Lyuby, lyubov' (caritas, dilectio)*, love of God and of mankind, was one of the prime Christian virtues. As applied in East-Slavonic sources, this term often (though not invariably) expresses this concept. E.g., 'The light-bringing heavenly love has exalted you' ('Vzysila bo est' vayu svetnosnaya lyuby nebesnaya', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 94); 'Such was the brotherly love and such the continence in this monastery' ('tako bo byashe lyuby v brat'i toi i vzderzhan'e veliko', *ibid.*, p. 125); 'For love is above all things, even as John said, "God is love. He who dwelleth in love, dwelleth in God, and God dwelleth in him. Love is thus perfected that we may have dignity on the day of judgment, in order that as he is, so we may also be in this world. There is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear, since fear hath torment, and he who is afraid is not perfect in love. If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, it is a lie. How can he who hateth his brother whom he seeth love God whom he seeth not? We have this commandment from him, that he who loveth God shall love his brother also." For all is perfected in love. Through love sins are washed away, out of love the Lord descended to earth and was crucified for us sinners. . . . Out of love this Prince shed his blood for his brother, thus fulfilling the Lord's commandment' ('Lyuby bo est' vyshe vsego. Yako zhe Ioan glagolet': "Bog lyuby est', prebyvayai v lyubvi, v boze prebyvaet", i bog v nem' prebyvaet'. O sem' svershaetsya lyuby, da dostoyan'e imam v den' sudnyi, da yako zhe on est', i my esmy v mire sem'. Boyazni nest' v lyubvi, no svershena lyuby von izmeshchet' boyazn', yako boyazn' muchen'e imat'. "Boyai zhe sya nest' svershen v lyubvi. Ashche kto rechet': lyub'lyu boga, a brata svoego nenavizhyu, lozh' est'. Ne lyubyai bo brata svoego, ego zhe vidit', boga, ego zhe ne vidit', kako mozhet' lyubiti? Siyu zapoved' imam ot nego, da lyubyai boga lyubit' brata svoego'. V lyubvi bo vse svershaetsya. Lyubve radi i gresi raspyayutsya. Lyubve bo radi snide gospod' na

to justify 'Nestor's' report of it from purely political reasons.³⁵⁹ On the other hand, there are none-the-less, no grounds for questioning its credibility.³⁶⁰ It is not fortuitous that the *Povest'* brackets together the four countries, but characterizes the ties which linked the Kiev of those times with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary. Thus, the tale of the three brothers, which arose at the turn of the 10th and 11th centuries³⁶¹ and was repeated by Polish 13th–15th-century sources,³⁶² is—despite its legendary nature—not devoid of significance for the history of Slavonic Christendom in Central and Eastern Europe.

zemlyu i raspyatsya za ny greshnyya... Lyubve radi muchenitsi prol'yasha krovi svoya. Lyubve zhe radi sii knyaz' prol'ya krov' svoyu za brata svoego, svershaya zapoved' gospodnyu', *ibid.*, pp. 134–135), etc. See S. Cross and C. Sherbowith-Wetzor, *op. cit.*

³⁵⁹ This passage has hitherto been interpreted solely in a political sense, *i.e.*, it was understood to signify that Vladimir had concluded some alliance with the three Western countries. It was even surmised that the four rulers met in conclave. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 350 aptly remarks that the reigns of these rulers coincided, however, only during a very short period, namely, during the last years of Vladimir's life (1012–1015). It is difficult to imagine that a Polish-Rus'ian *rapprochement* occurred at that time, if only because it was then—as we know from Thietmar's Chronicle—that relations between the two countries were distinctly strained.

³⁶⁰ It may be supposed that Vladimir's agreements with the Western countries were not arrived at simultaneously (though it must be admitted that, by covering various facts in a single entry, the above-quoted text does suggest coequality). This opinion is based on the Chronicle of the Patriarch Nikon which mentions Papal, Czech, Polish and Hungarian missions to Kiev and the return of Rus'ian missions from the West (A.D. 986, 988, 991, 992, 994, 1000, 1001, etc.). Each of these countries separately and independently maintained relations with Vladimir. The Patriarch Nikon Chronicle is of the 16th century, but it contains a considerable amount of information concerning the 10th and 11th centuries, not to be found anywhere else, and undoubtedly drawn from earlier sources which were lost. The antagonism between Moscow and the Latin West was so strong in the 16th century that it is impossible to imagine any chronicler inventing information of this kind. As for Rus'ian missions to the West in the 10th century, some of these are confirmed by German sources. It is noteworthy that in some of the entries of the Nikon Chronicle regarding exchanges of missions, the word *lyubov'* ('love') appears as the guiding idea of relations between the various rulers (*e.g.*, 'priidosha posly ot Andrikha Chezhsago, s lyuboviyu, k Volodimeru v Kiev', *PSRL* IX, 1862, p. 64). Since even the Pope was reported as being actuated in his dealings with Vladimir by 'love' ('priidosha k Volodimeru posly iz Rima ot papy, s lyuboviyu i s chestiyyu', *ibid.*, p. 64), it is certain this was love in Christ.

³⁶¹ W. Nehring, *Über die Namen für Polen und Lechen*, *ASP* III, 1878, pp. 463–479 suggests that the legend of the three brothers arose after the disciples of Methodius were thrust out of the main centres of the Slavonic rite. A. Budilovich, *Obshcheslavianskii yazyk* II, 1892, p. 98 is of the same opinion. This view is undoubtedly correct but, formulated as it is perhaps in over-general terms, can be expressed with greater precision. Rus was made a brother of Czech and Lech at a time when the term 'Rus'—apart from its ethnic (the Norse Varangians) and political content (Novgorod, Kiev)—acquired an ecclesiastical meaning. The beginnings of this new Rus' are bound up with the conversion of Ol'ga—she was its *nachal'nitsa*—and particularly with the conversion of Vladimir, the *nachal'nik* of this Rus'. They are also connected with the rise of the Rus'ian (Kievan) Metropolitan See, regarded as the continuator of Methodius' Slavonic Metropolitan. On the other hand, it can hardly be supposed that the legend could have arisen after the separation of the Churches (1054), since Poland and Bohemia, having adhered to the Latin rite, would not have accepted Rus as their brother.

³⁶² The Chronicle of Poland Major clearly indicates that the story of the three brothers was preserved in writing. 'Scribitur enim in vetustissimis codicibus, quod...' *MPH*, p. 468. These old texts, undoubtedly Slavonic, must have been lost.

There remained in the East a feeling of close neighbourliness³⁶³ and fraternity with the three countries mentioned—a feeling which could not easily be dispelled or eradicated from memory.³⁶⁴ The *Povest'* provides eloquent testimony to this.

It cannot be denied that the entry on Vladimir's cooperation with his western neighbours is exceedingly short and laconic. However, 'Nestor' dealt with this problem at much greater length in other passages of his work. The fact remains that Vladimir was not the initiator of these ties with the West if only because they had existed before his time: they were merely passed on to him by previous generations. This conclusion follows automatically from all that 'Nestor' writes on the subject. And, be it remembered, 'Nestor' wrote much. He presented the Western and the Eastern Slavs as having migrated from the Danube region, from territories which served as the cradle of the Slavonic Christian faith. He linked this faith with the missionary activities of Constantine and Methodius. He indicated which peoples were the first to accept this *yazyk*: of the Eastern Slavs, he mentioned only the Polyanians. Finally, he strongly emphasized that the Rus'ian Church, the Rus'ian *yazyk*, was the direct continuation of Slavonic Christianity and was not only indissolubly bound up but actually identical with it.

With such an approach, the author of the *Povest'* could not restrict his observations solely to the land of the Polyanians, but also had to take into consideration other East-Slavonic tribes amongst whom the Rus'ian *yazyk* began in time to spread. This second phase in the development of Christendom is dealt with in the following passage of the Chronicle: 'This only is the Slavonic *yazyk* in Rus' (*Se bo tokmo slovenesk yazyk v Rusi*): the Polyanians, the Derevlans, the Novgorodians, the Polochians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians. . . .'³⁶⁵

The above is one of those passages in the Chronicle's introductory part in which the various tribes settled in Eastern Europe are enumerated. The *Povest'* gives several other tribal lists³⁶⁶ but not two of them mention all the same tribes. The tribal lists handed down to us by 'Nestor' have been treated with undue disrespect in the litera-

³⁶³ It is noteworthy that both in the earlier and in later East-Slavonic sources, there are many mentions of Poland, Bohemia and Hungary as the close neighbours of Rus'. Cf. A. Solov'ev, *Zametki k 'Slovu o pogibeli Russkyya zemli'*, *TODRL* XV, 1958, p. 80. It seems likely, however, that geographical proximity was not the only consideration, especially as it would have been rather far-fetched to call Rus' and Bohemia neighbours in the physical sense.

³⁶⁴ A. Sobolevsky, *Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei*, *IIAN*, 1914 (2), p. 98 points out that, after the final separation of the Churches, the propaganda campaign in Rus' against the Latins (hence also against Poland and Bohemia) was conducted by the Greeks within the ranks of the Rus'ian clergy and not by the Slavs.

³⁶⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13.

³⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 11, 13, 14, 15, 18, 21, etc.

ture on the subject. Lehr-Spławiński considers them inconsistent;³⁶⁷ Łowmiański finds them incomplete;³⁶⁸ Rybakov thinks they have lost their original form and were distorted in later times.³⁶⁹

In the introductory part—writes Vernadsky—the compiler of the *Book* deals in a general way with the aboriginal Slavic tribes including the Russian. However, no comprehensive survey of these tribes is offered; several lists of tribes are quoted separately of which none is identical with any other.³⁷⁰ It seems probable therefore that the compiler of the *Book* had at his disposal a number of sources which he did not succeed in digesting.³⁷¹

The negative attitude of these authors to the relevant passage in 'Nestor's' arises from an inadequate study of the chronicler's wording (*yazyk, sloven'skyi yazyk, ruskyyi yazyk, Rus'*, etc.) and hence from misinterpretations of the texts. Each of these authors firmly upholds his own theory and considers it axiomatic that *yazyk-ethnos* can signify nothing but 'language' or 'people', 'nation'. In actual fact, if the several Slavonic words analysed in this chapter are interpreted solely in the ethnic or linguistic sense, 'Nestor's' text seems in many cases incomprehensible, contradictory and even nonsensical.

This is the case with the passage quoted above.

Various authors consider that the tribes which are not mentioned by the chronicler in this text 'are implicitly included' (why some tribes should be implicitly included and others not, nobody has ever explained), and that the passage in question should be interpreted as embracing all the Eastern Slavs. This supposed implication leads to yet another supposition: that the ethnic concept of 'Eastern Slavs' and of 'Rus' were identical in content. The commentaries of Mavrodin,³⁷² Tret'yakov³⁷³ and others serve as examples of this surmise. All these authors refer to the relevant passage on Slavonic tribes 'in Rus'' and add to these the Croats, Ulichians, Tivertsians, etc., although these peoples are not mentioned in the given text.

'Nestor's' custom when first mentioning a tribe was at once to indicate the territory it inhabited; he did not repeat such an indication.³⁷⁴ It would be of interest to examine the tribal lists from this point of view. When the chronicler reports that the Polyanians, the

³⁶⁷ T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce*, *NP* VII, 1958, pp. 241–242.

³⁶⁸ H. Łowmiański, *O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w wieku X–XIV*, *KH* LXIV, 1957, p. 92.

³⁶⁹ B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955 (4–5), p. 67.

³⁷⁰ What Vernadsky considers here to be a deficiency is, in my opinion, an advantage of the *Povest'*. The chronicler enumerates tribes but applies diverse criteria as the need arises (descent, development and strength of internal organization, religion, geographical factor, etc.; cf. *OR*, pp. 37–49), and for these reasons the lists were not and could not be identical.

³⁷¹ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 308.

³⁷² V. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus'*, 1946, p. 70.

³⁷³ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, pp. 217–218.

³⁷⁴ With the exception of the Polochians whose territory was mentioned twice, D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 11, 13.

Derevlans, the Dregovichians, the Severians, the Polochians and the Novgorod Slavs migrated from the Danubian region,³⁷⁵ it can be stated with absolute certainty that the original text of the source did not enumerate the Buzhians, Ulichians, Tivertsians, Vyatichians, Radimichians, Krivichians, etc. These peoples make their appearance later in the *Povest'*, and there the author provides immediately his geographical comments. Clearly, 'Nestor' knew he had not written of them previously. Let us proceed to the list of the seven Slavonic tribes which were 'in Rus': 'the Polyanians, the Derevlans, the Novgorodians, the Polochians, the Dregovichians, the Severians, and the Buzhians [so were the last-named called] because they were settled along the river Bug' (*polyane, derevlyane, nougorod'tsi, polochane, dregovich, sever, buzhan zane sedosha po Bugu*).³⁷⁶

The chronicler cites here only the habitation of the Buzhians; the territories of the other tribes are not given because he had done so previously.³⁷⁷ 'Nestor' does not include in this passage the Krivichians although he had mentioned them barely a few lines above³⁷⁸ (the Bishopric of Smolensk was erected after 'Nestor's' death). There can be no doubt likewise that the Ulichians, Tivertsians, Radimichians, Vyatichians, etc., did not figure in this list. The chronicler speaks of them later³⁷⁹ and simultaneously indicates their territories: again, he remembered he had not written about them before. Historians state that, though 'Nestor' enumerated only seven Slavonic tribes 'in Rus', actually all the East-Slavonic peoples should be included. However, the text of the source not only does not support such a surmise but even clearly rules it out.

Likhachev renders the passage under discussion as follows: 'Here are only those who speak Slavonic in Rus' (*Vot kto tol'ko govorit poslavyanski na Rusi*),³⁸⁰ and then lists the above-named tribes. This version is undoubtedly acceptable if the word *yazyk* is understood to mean 'language'. The only trouble is the fundamental one that the text does not then make sense. The crux of the matter lies in the word 'only' (*tokmo*). Since the chronicler used it, the only reason could be that he wished to emphasize that the other tribes were not 'in Rus'. Rybakov realizes this but evades the difficulty in very simple fashion: he omits the word in his translation.³⁸¹

If we accept Likhachev's translation and state that in the given passage the chronicler enumerated seven Slavonic-speaking tribes and only (*tokmo*) seven, it would follow that there were no other tribes in Rus' speaking Slavonic. But such a conclusion is obviously

³⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 11.

³⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 13.

³⁷⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 209.

³⁸¹ B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, p. 70 ('Vot te iz slavyanskikh narodov, kotorye vkhodiat v sostav Rusi').

wrong, and for this reason Likhachev's translation must be described as formally correct but factually erroneous.

The view is current in Russian historiography that the Eastern Slavs consisted of about fourteen tribes (the estimates of the various authors are for the most part between thirteen and fifteen). It is not necessary to decide here whether this figure is correct or not. I am only interested in the quoted passage of 'Nestor' in which the author enumerated only seven tribes and disregarded the others although he knew of them. Half of the East-Slavonic tribes are not mentioned by 'Nestor' as living in Rus'. This undeniable fact is nevertheless of great importance, despite the far-fetched efforts of some authors to dismiss it as being of no account.³⁸³

'Nestor's' text has already been interpreted in *OR*.³⁸³ Łowmiański has strongly opposed this interpretation. He believes the relevant passage cannot be properly understood without taking into account what 'Nestor' wrote immediately before and after it: in other words, a longer passage from the *Povest'* should be analysed.³⁸⁴ But even when this is done, my interpretation is in no wise weakened or laid open to doubt. On the contrary, this extension of the text enhances the credibility of the interpretation.

The fragment of the Chronicle enumerating seven Slavonic tribes 'in Rus' is preceded by mention of three peoples settled on the Oka, each of which had its own *yazyk* (*muroma yazyk svoi, i cheremisi svoi yazyk, mordva svoi yazyk*). Immediately after our passage dealing with seven Slavonic tribes, 'Nestor' states: 'And these are other *yazytsi* who pay tribute to Rus' (*A se sut' inii yazytsi, izhe dan' dayut' Rusi*). He then lists fourteen northern peoples (of the Balt and Ugro-Finnish descent) and once again stresses: 'These are those who have their *yazyk*' (*si sut' svoi yazyk imushche*). Łowmiański interprets the term *yazyk* in both passages—preceding and following our text—as language. And then he adds: ... 'hence the source [the *Povest'*] interests itself in the question of the language (speech) of

³⁸³ Lehr-Spławiński belongs to their number. He writes that the chronicler 'did not mention here the Croats, Tivertsians and Ulichians, but they are mentioned in the *Povest'* only in general terms and occasionally.' This author's argumentation fails to convince as 'Nestor' mentions the Buzhians only in the passage under examination; there would seem all the more reason to include the other three peoples as he wrote more about them than about the Buzhians. No comment is required regarding other, equally unacceptable, comments made by Lehr-Spławiński, such for instance as his statement that the appellation 'Polochians' should be understood also to embrace the Krivichians and that of the 'Buzhians' also the Dulebians. My views on these matters have already been presented in *OR*, pp. 54, 60–64, 436–441. The following remark of Lehr-Spławiński is characteristic for his reasoning: 'There is hence an actual gap [?] left here [in the relevant passage of the *Povest'*] by the omission of the Radimichians and Vyatichians; but recalling the many various other inconsistencies [?] of the chronicler when enumerating divers tribes and principalities, over-much significance should not be ascribed [?] to this case'. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce*, *NP* VII, 1958, p. 242.

³⁸³ *OR*, pp. 17–18, 49.

³⁸⁴ H. Łowmiański, 'O znaczeniu nazwy "Ruś" w wieku X–XIV', *KH* LXIV (1), 1957, pp. 88–89.

the peoples enumerated,³⁸⁵ and therefore p. 2 [the passage dealing with the Slavonic tribes "in Rus' "] should be understood along the same lines when it observes that all the Rus'ian tribes speak Slavonic'.

This comment must be, however, rejected for its striking general improbability. Moreover, it is based on an obvious distortion of 'Nestor's' text. It is known that the author of the *Povest'* was a cleric connected with the Kievan Crypt Monastery and, being a monk, must have been interested more in religious than in linguistic matters. Were Łowmiański's line of reasoning to be accepted, it would be necessary to regard 'Nestor' (or his informants) as an unusually erudite linguist, a specialist in twenty-one tongues (for he mentions as many tribes in the given passage) and that to the extent of having a specialized knowledge of various linguistic groups: Slavonic, Ugro-Finnish and Balt. If, according to Łowmiański, each of these peoples had its own language, 'Nestor' would have had to be acquainted with all these languages and been able to compare them in order to establish the differences between them so as to warn his readers against the possibility of cognate tribes using a common language. This would imply that 'Nestor' (or his informants) had in his linguistic studies covered enormous territories, from the Bug a tributary of the Vistula (the Buzhians) and Kiev (the Polyanians) as far as the Ural Mountains (the Permians), the Arctic Sea (the Pechera) and the wide Baltic littoral (the Yam', the Chud', the Kors', etc.).

The improbability of this hypothesis becomes all the more striking when we pass to certain details. Let us take under consideration the mention concerning the three cognate Ugro-Finnish tribes settled on the Oka. According to Łowmiański, this text should be translated as follows: 'The Muroma speaking their language, and the Cheremis' speaking their language, and the Mordva speaking their language.' To make a proper analysis of this passage, it is necessary to compare it with another fragment of the *Povest'*, wherein the author deals with linguistic matters in relation to the Slavs. 'Nestor' states: 'They called themselves Polyanians but [their] language was Slavonic (*polyane zvakhysya, no sloven'skaa rech' be*),³⁸⁶ and immediately afterwards he adds: 'The Slavonic language [is] one [common]' (*a yazyk slovenski edin*). The author of the *Povest'* never states: 'the Polyanians speak their language, and the Severians their language, and the Derevlans their language', though he must have known the linguistic differentiations between these tribes much better than in the case of the Oka peoples.

³⁸⁵ See also V. Senkevich—Gudkova, *Otazhenie fol'klora narodov Severa v 'Povesti vremennykh let'*, *TODRL* XVI, 1960, pp. 411–414.

³⁸⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 23. Cf. Likhachev's translation: 'khot' i polyanami nazyvalis', no rech' [ikh] byla slavyanskoi', *ibid.*, p. 219.

Łowmiański commits a cardinal error when, analysing the above passage on seven Slavonic tribes 'in Rus' ', he affirms: 'All the Rus'ian tribes speak Slavonic.' Not all of them, for 'Nestor' did not enumerate half of the East-Slavonic tribes in the text under discussion.

The fragment of the *Povest'* examined begins with an enumeration of three tribes settled on the Oka, and includes a description of the religious relations in Eastern Europe. The following translation makes this clear: 'The Muroma have their faith [their religious creeds], the Cheremis—their faith, the Mordva—their faith (*muroma yazyk svoi, i cheremisi svoi yazyk, mordva svoi yazyk*). And only this Slavonic people is in the Rus'ian Church.³⁸⁷ *Se bo tokmo slovenesk yazyk v Rusi*).' A list of seven tribes then follows. 'And these are different pagans (*A se sut' inii yazytsi*) who pay tribute to Rus' '. 'Nestor' continues and lists many tribes stressing that 'they have their faith [their religious creeds]' (*si sut' svoi yazyk imushche*).

Several arguments can be advanced in support of this translation. First of all and specially important is the fact that the above version is in complete accord with all that 'Nestor' wrote in his work. The turbidity, gaps and inconsistencies which appear time after time when the text of the source is interpreted solely from the linguistic and ethnic point of view disappear completely when the ecclesiastical-religious criterion is also applied. In an analysis of the above passage, it is necessary likewise to examine another fragment of the *Povest'*, which fully bears out the present observations. Listing the peoples which migrated from the Danube region, the cradle of Slavonic Christianity (the Slavonic *yazyk*), 'Nestor' enumerates several East-Slavonic tribes: the Polyanians, the Derevlans, the Dregovichians, the Polochians, the Novgorod Slavs and the Severians.³⁸⁸ These constitute exactly the same tribes as those mentioned in the passage discussed above. In other words, the chronicler excluded the same East-Slavonic tribes in both passages. Just as the word 'only' (*tokmo*) has decisive significance for the text previously analysed, the final sentence of the extract now under consideration merits particular attention: 'And so the Slavonic people parted³⁸⁹ and that is why the *gramota* was named Slavonic' (*I tako razidesya sloven'skii yazyk, tem zhe i gramota prozvasya sloven'skaya*).³⁹⁰

It is generally affirmed that the concluding words could not have

³⁸⁷ *Rus'* is identical with *ruskyi yazyk* and *Ruskaya zemlya*. It means the Rus'ian faith (i.e., according to the characteristic expression of 'Nestor', *ruskoe poznan'e k bogu*, *Povest'* I, p. 49), Rus'ian Christendom, the Rus'ian Church and its faithful (*rustie synove*). In this sense, Ol'ga was the *nachal'nitsa Rusi* and Vladimir the *nachal'nik Rusi*. It follows from the whole of the above passage that the chronicler distinguished between the various pagan—Slavonic and non-Slavonic—peoples and the seven enumerated tribes who by their community of creed formed the closest unity he could conceive.

³⁸⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 11.

³⁸⁹ This sentence may also be translated: 'And so the Slavonic faith [Christianity] spread.'

³⁹⁰ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

appeared in the original text of the *Povest'* because, according to many authors, they seem interpolated and allegedly bear no relation to the text as a whole. My opinion is, however, quite the contrary: these words throw light on the text and are therefore essential. It has already been shown by me that 'Nestor's' narrative dealing with the Danubian region (Pannonia) as the original homeland of the Slavs has an ecclesiastical connotation. Since, according to 'Nestor', six tribes migrated from that territory, the remaining East-Slavonic tribes did not leave it and could presumably be of some other provenance for that reason. But the author of the *Povest'*, wishing to guard the reader against such a presumption, adds the concluding sentence which explains the sense of the whole passage. For 'Nestor', the *gramota sloven'skaya*, the Slavonic script, the holy books in Slavonic had essential significance since they were the basis of the faith, as the chronicler understood the matter. Only those East-Slavonic tribes, amongst whom this *gramota* was in time to spread the true faith, migrated from the Danube region.

Both these passages from the *Povest'*—the one dealing with the six East-Slavonic tribes who migrated from the Danube area, and the other referring to the seven tribes which were 'in Rus'—basically deal with the same subject, *i.e.*, the development of Slavonic Christendom in Eastern Europe. The texts differ in the following respects: the first does not yet apply to the concept of Rus' bearing an ecclesiastical-religious significance; the second applies it with this meaning and, moreover, adds the Buzhians to the previously enumerated tribes. It would seem that the second text depicts a rather later phase in the development of the faith, for there can be no doubt that the *ruskyi yazyk* was the continuation of the *sloven'skyi yazyk*—the latter, naturally having much older traditions behind it. It follows from 'Nestor's' description of events in the 10th century that the Buzhians were conquered by the Rurikides later (981) than the six tribes mentioned in both passages. Attention is drawn to the fact that in both fragments the chronicler's approach to the development of Christianity in Eastern Europe is based on the tribal territories involved. And rightly so. He brings this out in further entries, stating that tribal organizations played an important role during the period when the *Povest'* was being compiled; this role must have been an even more important one when the organization of the Church was still in process of formation.

It is not possible to determine precisely the dates when the various bishoprics subjected to the Kievan Metropolis were established on the Slavonic territories. Golubinsky³⁹¹ and Goetz³⁹² consider that at the time of Vladimir and Yaroslav there existed Bishoprics in Nov-

³⁹¹ E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi I* (1), COID, 1901 (198), p. 338.

³⁹² L. Goetz, *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland*, 1908, pp. 20-21.

gorod, Polotsk, Chernihov, Turov on the Pripet',³⁹³ Belgorad on the Irpeń,³⁹⁴ and Vladimir in Volynia. Adding the Metropolis of Kiev (with two bishoprics situated in the Kiev region,³⁹⁵) we find that the episcopal sees correspond to the territories of the seven tribes—the Novgorodian Slavs, the Polochians, the Severians, the Dregovichians, the Derevlans, the Buzhians, and the Polyanians—who, according to 'Nestor', were 'in Rus', that is to say, constituted the faithful of the Rus'ian Church.

In my opinion, 'Nestor' has been over-hastily charged with a haphazard and chaotic approach in the drawing up of his tribal lists. He had his reasons for including some peoples and for excluding others from these lists. It is undeniable that the bishoprics on the territories of the omitted tribes were established only after 'Nestor's' death.³⁹⁶ Hence, he faithfully depicted the reality around him and correctly indicated the chief centres of Rus'ian Christendom in his time.³⁹⁷

While I consider the *Povest'* to be trustworthy and believe that every word in it merits the fullest attention, I do not go to the other extreme of denying that it does contain misleading or inaccurate passages. Such deficiencies or faults are, however, unexpectedly rare. On the other hand, doubt is constantly being cast on the credibility of the *Povest'* by modern authors at every turn, and the text is ceaselessly 'corrected' in the most arbitrary fashion. Thus, the more critically this literature is studied, the greater respect is aroused for 'Nestor's' work.

An exhaustive examination of the beginnings of Christianity in

³⁹³ M. Priselkov, *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X-XII vv.*, 1913, pp. 332-349 supposes that the Bishopric of Turov was established as late as c. 1120; his argument is, however, hypothetical and, in my opinion, far from convincing. In any case, since 'Nestor' twice includes the Dregovichians among the converted Slavonic tribes, it seems likely that the Bishopric of Turov was established earlier than Priselkov suggests. Cf. A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, p. 183.

³⁹⁴ Cf. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 346; A. Kirpichnikov, *K istorii drevnego Belgoroda v X-XI vv.*, *KSDPI* LXXIII, 1959, pp. 21-32.

³⁹⁵ E. Golubinsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 685-689 is right when he asserts that the Bishoprics of Yur'ev and Pereyaslavl' had no tribal and political significance. He is of the opinion that they had only the character of auxiliaries to the Metropolis of Kiev. But the existence of the two bishoprics can also be differently explained: namely, that they were devoted to the conversion of the steppe nomads.

³⁹⁶ When 'Nestor' was writing there were certainly no bishoprics in Smolensk (founded in 1137), Halicz (erected in 1165), Ryazan' (1207), etc.

³⁹⁷ N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 106 supposes that the lands of the bishoprics founded after 'Nestor's' time were drawn from the territories of the older, neighbouring bishoprics, e.g., the Haliczian from the Vladimirian one, the Ryazanian from the Chernihovian, and so on. This surmise, however, finds no support in the sources. It can be concluded that Christianity developed less vigorously in the tribal areas where bishoprics were erected in later times; it was for this reason that more concrete forms for the organization of the Church were so long delayed in those parts. The supposition that the first bishoprics embraced the neighbouring lands of other tribes evokes doubts. Thus, for example, the land of the Krivichians prior to the erection of the Bishopric of Smolensk was under the ecclesiastical authority not of the Bishopric of Polotsk (as geographical proximity might lead us to expect) but of that of Pereyaslavl', far to the south.

Eastern Europe is beyond the scope of the present investigation. It will suffice to concentrate on the terminology used by 'Nestor' (*yazyk*, *slovenesk yazyk*, *rus'skyi yazyk*, *Rus'*, etc.), and the above topic will be considered only insofar as the wording in the *Povest'* is bound up with it. For this reason, no detailed analysis of the abundant literature on the subject³⁹⁸ will be made here, apart from the fact that the conflicting opinions expressed by this literature are still too far from reconciliation. It can even be said that the diversity of views among the relevant authors is sufficient proof that, in the present phase of research, the source-material has yet to be properly worked through and elucidated—that attention must primarily be devoted to it. The fundamental point at issue is whether the conclusions drawn by me from 'Nestor's' narrative on the basis of the Chronicle's wording, specific for the epoch, are supported or invalidated by other sources of that period.

It follows from the texts of the *Povest'* commented on here that Christianity had gained a foothold on the Dnieper before Vladimir accepted baptism, though this act undoubtedly consolidated the position of the new faith and assured the success of its further development. Another conclusion which imposes itself is that this earliest Christianity followed the rite of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, as also that, though initially called the Slavonic creed, it became known as the Rus'ian creed after the conversion of Ol'ga and still more so after the baptism of Vladimir. This switch in nomenclature does not signify a change in rite; whether called Slavonic or Rus'ian, it was one and the same creed. It can, therefore, safely be stated that Ol'ga and Vladimir embraced the Christian faith according to the Slavonic rite.

The Slavonic *yazyk* was an intermediate formation between Rome and Constantinople. Its ritual was neither Roman nor Byzantine, and differed from both. It was, as it were, a Byzantine-Roman blend with Slavonic elements. Vašica defines it as a ritual symbiosis; he calls it the liturgy of St Peter, and considers it as a third form differentiated from the Roman and the Greek liturgy.³⁹⁹ According

³⁹⁸ Many of the relevant works have been quoted in *OR*. As regards the latest publications, see P. Isaiv, *Zvidki Rus'-Ukraina priinyala khristianstvo*, 1952; I. Nagaev's'ky, *Kirilo-Metodiiv's'ke khristiyanstvo v Rusi-Ukraini*, *AOBM* II (1), 1954, pp. 1-174; O. Angelus, *Kristendomens införande i Ryssland och rysk tradition*, *ST* XLII, 1955, pp. 282-291; F. Dvornik, *The Slavs, their Early History and Civilization*, 1956, pp. 225-228; K. Onasch, *Der cyrillo-methodianische Gedanke in der Kirchengeschichte des Mittelalters*, *WZ* VI (1), 1956, pp. 27-40; K. Rose, *Grund und Quellort des russischen Geisteslebens*, 1956; M. Syuzyumov, 'Razdelenie tserkvei' v 1054 g. *VoI*, 1956 (8), pp. 44-57; M. Lacko, in *OCP* XXIII (1-2), 1957, pp. 218-222; N. Gudzy, *U istokov velikoi slavyanskoi literatury*, *RL*, 1958 (3), p. 40, and others.

³⁹⁹ J. Vašica, *Slovanská liturgie sv. Petra*, *BS* VIII, 1939-1946, pp. 1-54; S. Smržik, *The Glagolitic or Roman-Slavonic Liturgy*, 1959 (Series Cyrillomethodiana II); cf. M. Lacko, *De recentibus investigationibus epochae cyrillo-methodianae*, *Ant* V, 1959, pp. 125-126. See the edition of the liturgy by M. Codrington, *The Liturgy of St Peter, Liturgiegeschichtliche Quellen und Forschungen*, 1936; J. Hanssen, *La liturgie romano-byzantine de Saint Pierre*, *OCP* IV, 1938, pp. 235-259; V, 1939, pp. 103-150.

to Umiński, the Slavonic rite was Roman juridically, Slavonic in language, and liturgically a Byzantine-Roman-Slavonic amalgam.⁴⁰⁰

Ties with Constantinople and Rome, so characteristic a feature of the activities of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius, were likewise evident in the reign of Ol'ga and Vladimir. It is known that Ol'ga journeyed to Constantinople in 957,⁴⁰¹ but historians are not in agreement whether she visited that city a second time⁴⁰²; the sources have not handed down a concordant narrative in this respect, and many authors believe she did not repeat her journey. It is likewise debatable whether she received baptism in the capital of Byzantium⁴⁰³ or whether she arrived there already a Christian.⁴⁰⁴ Finally, the sources do not indicate whether her conversion was a matter of common knowledge in Rus', or whether it was kept secret.⁴⁰⁵

The special veneration for St Peter in the Old-Slavonic sources is emphasized by F. Grivec, *Na sem Petrě, Slo IV-V*, 1955, pp. 24-46, and D. Gerhardt, *Das Petrus-Bekenntnis in der Slavenmission, B XXIV*, (1954) 1955, pp. 533-544. According to many authors, this veneration was introduced in Pannonia and Moravia by the Irish missions. Cf. J. Cibulka, *Velkomoravský kostel v Modré u Velehradu a začátky křesťanství na Moravě*, 1958; J. Stauber, *Influences irlandaises dans la christianisation des Slaves-polabes et des Polonais, ESEE III*, 1958-1959, pp. 143-153, 227-239; Z. Dittrich, *The Beginning of Christianization in Great Moravia, SEER XXXIX*, 1960, p. 169; F. Dvorník, *The Role of Bohemia and St Adalbert in the Spread of Christianity in Poland, PR V* (4), 1960, pp. 15-28.

⁴⁰⁰ J. Umiński, *Obrazek słowiański w Polsce IX-X w. i zagadnienie drugiej metropolii polskiej w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego, RHKUL IV* (4), 1953, p. 5.

⁴⁰¹ The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus testifies that Ol'ga sojourned in his capital in 957. 'Nestor' writes of Ol'ga's journey and of her baptism in Byzantium under the year 955.

⁴⁰² M. Priselkov, *Očerki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X-XII vv.*, 1913, pp. 3-4 supposes that Ol'ga made the journey twice (in 955 and in 957), a view shared by N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi II*, 1951, pp. 83, though he assumes the dates were 957 and 959.

⁴⁰³ Ol'ga's baptism in Constantinople is affirmed by Skylitzes-Cedrenus and by the continuator of the Latin Chronicle of Regino. The former states that Ol'ga received baptism in Constantinople during the patriarchate of Theophylactus (Patriarch until February, 956). Yet Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*De Ceremoniis Aulae Byzantinae*) relates that Ol'ga was in his capital in September 957. The Continuation of Regino contains an account considered reliable by some scholars (most recently, F. Dvorník, *The Slavs: their Early History and Civilization*, 1956, pp. 200-201). It is noteworthy that Ol'ga on her baptism assumed the name of Helen, that of the reigning Empress in Constantinople.

⁴⁰⁴ There are several arguments which back up this opinion. The Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, who received Ol'ga and hands down interesting details regarding her stay in his capital, does not mention that she was baptised there. Some authors strive to explain away this significant silence, but their arguments are too far-fetched to carry conviction. The *Pamyat' i pokhvala knyazyu Vladimiru* (the *Pamyat'* is ascribed to the monk Yakov. Many authors suppose that it was probably written in the 11th century. According to S. Bugoslavsky, *K literaturnoi istorii 'Pamyati i pokhvaly knyazyu Vladimiru', IORYS XXIX*, 1925, pp. 140-141, the compilation known under the name of *Pamyat'* was written in the 13th century by several persons. Bugoslavsky does not exclude the possibility that the basis of this compilation was some old text written by an unknown monk) reports that Ol'ga died in 959 after having been a Christian for fifteen years: this would date her conversion at 954 or 955. D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, pp. 306-308 considers that Ol'ga accepted Christianity in 955 (probably in Kiev) and was already a Christian when she visited Constantinople. G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 272 is of the same opinion.

⁴⁰⁵ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* II, p. 316.

Maintaining that Ol'ga was a Christian according to the Slavonic rite⁴⁰⁶—Picchio shares my opinion⁴⁰⁷—I have pointed out that she gave her son the Slavonic name of Svyatoslav, although he remained all his life a typical Varangian and a pagan. Faithful to the tradition of Constantine and Methodius, she showed understanding for the idea of universal Christian unity. That is why she sought to establish contact with the West, and with the Church of Rome. There is nothing more characteristic than her embassy (959–960) to the German King, Otto I, requesting him to send missionaries to Kiev. As a result of this, Adalbert, a monk of the monastery of St Maximian at Trier, went to Rus', but his mission failed. A later tradition likewise supports the view that Ol'ga was a Christian of the Slavonic rite.⁴⁰⁸

The divergency of opinions on the baptism of Ol'ga is not essential. She may have been baptized in Constantinople, yet have confessed to the Slavonic rite of Christianity. In fact, that is how 'Nestor' presents the matter. According to him, Ol'ga was baptized in Constantinople and, by virtue of her conversion—as he states in another passage of the *Povest'*—became the foundress (*nachalnitsa*) of Rus', of the Rus'ian *yazyk* regarded by him as being the same thing as the Slavonic *yazyk* (rite). The Kiev *Paterikon* gives a similar indication: it calls Leontius, Bishop of Rostov—a Greek by nationality and religion—'the third citizen of the Rus'ian world' (*i se tretii grazhdanin byst' Ruskago mira*).⁴⁰⁹ The Metropolitans of Kiev were in that epoch nearly all Greeks and belonged to Rus' in the same sense as Leontius.

The available information on the conversion of Vladimir is as uncertain as that on Ol'ga's. The sources disagree as regards the place⁴¹⁰ and the date of his baptism.⁴¹¹ But one thing is certain:

⁴⁰⁶ OR, p. 43.

⁴⁰⁷ R. Picchio, in *RSl* V, 1957, p. 254. A general appraisal of Ol'ga's reign is given by N. Polonska-Wasvlenko, *The Princess Olha—First Christian Ruler of Ukraine*, c. 945–c. 964, *UQ* II (4), 1955, pp. 3–11.

⁴⁰⁸ J. Stredowsky, *Sacra Moraviae Historia*, 1710, p. 523.

⁴⁰⁹ D. Abramovich, *Kievo-Pechers'kii Paterik*, *PMPDU* IV, 1930, p. 102.

⁴¹⁰ According to the *Pamyat' i pokhvala knyazyu Vladimiru*, Vladimir was baptized in Kiev in 987, but the *Povest'* (the so-called Korsun' legend) states he was christened at Korsun' (Cherson) in the Crimea, in 989. The details given by 'Nestor' (Vladimir's expedition against Korsun', his capture of that city, and his marriage to Anna, sister of the Emperor) find confirmation in Byzantine sources. The principal ones in this connection are: Leo Diaconus, who writes that the Rus' captured Cherson, whilst Skylitzes-Cedrenus and Zonaras mention the marriage. But, strikingly enough, none of the Byzantine writers speak of the conversion of Rus', though Vladimir's marriage to Anna must have preceded his baptism—a fact confirmed by Yakya of Antioch, the Arab historian. 'Nestor' denies that Vladimir was baptized in Kiev or in Vasilev (near Kiev), and thus indirectly demonstrates that such a tradition had been current.

⁴¹¹ I. Budovnits, *K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi*, *VIRA* III, 1956, p. 414 lists the opinions of various authors on the date of Vladimir's conversion (ranging from 987 to 989). As to the most recent literature concerning the date and place of Vladimir's baptism, see A. Gieysztor, *Z zagadnień historii kultury staroruskiej: składniki rodzime i obce*, in *Studia Historica, w 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, 1958, pp. 80–81; A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, pp. 105–121; L. Müller, *Die Christianisierung Russlands als Forschungsproblem*, *RdC*, 1960, pp. 94–95; M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo russkoi istoriografii*, *VoI*, 1960 (5), pp. 41–56 (also in French, *idem*, *Les débuts de l'historiographie russe*, *RdC*, 1960, pp. 13–15).

Vladimir followed the example of his grandmother (Ol'ga-Helen) for his baptismal name was Vasili, the same as that of Basil II, the reigning Emperor of Byzantium. It is likewise certain that Vladimir was under no compulsion to accept Christianity. If Basil II appealed to the Rus'ian prince for help against Bardas Phocas (who had revolted) and received that help; if Vladimir took Korsun' and, later, voluntarily surrendered it to the Greeks, it is obvious that Constantinople and Kiev dealt with each other on terms of equality.⁴¹³ Such a situation left Vladimir complete liberty in matters of faith. Hence, there was nothing to hinder Vladimir in maintaining the Slavonic rite in his realm, the more so since this creed had increasingly been followed by the Polyanians for a long time. It may be that political considerations influenced Vladimir's decision: Slavonic Christianity assured Rus' greater independence of Byzantium than the Greek faith. Personal relations, too, should not be under-rated in this connection: Ol'ga's Christian faith and possibly the influences of Vladimir's three wives. Their names have not been handed down but it is known that two were Czechs and the other a Bulgarian.⁴¹³ It is legitimate to suppose that all three were Christians of the Slavonic rite. In any case, it is noteworthy that the ruler of Rus' chose his wives from Bohemia and Bulgaria, since this may well indicate his attitude to the new faith. In my opinion, the teaching of Christianity spread eastwards from Moravia and Bohemia (through Poland),⁴¹⁴ and from Bulgaria.⁴¹⁵

Latin sources provide no data on the conversion of Rus'. Budovnits ascribes this lack to Rome's feeble influence in Eastern Europe.⁴¹⁶ This explanation is hardly convincing, since the Byzantine sources show the same reticence on this important event. It is much more likely that both chief centres of Christianity recognized the Christian

⁴¹³ D. Likhachev, *Natsional'noe samosoznanie drevnei Rusi*, 1945, p. 29 is of the same opinion.

⁴¹⁴ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 56-57.

⁴¹⁵ The chief exponent of this thesis was N. Nikol'sky, 'Povest' vremennykh let' kak istochnik dlya istorii nachal'nogo perioda russkoi pis'mennosti i kul'tury, *SRYS*, 1930; cf. I. Budovnits, K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi, *VIRA* III, 1956, p. 411. The role of Bohemia in the evangelization of Rus' has most recently been discussed by R. Holinka, K česko-ruským vztahům v 10. století, *SPBU* II (2-4), 1953, pp. 218-236. F. Dvornik also touches on this subject in his works.

⁴¹⁶ M. Speransky, Otkuda idut stareishie pamyatniki russkoi pis'mennosti i literatury, *S VII*, 1928-1929, pp. 516-535; V. Nikolaev, *Slavyanoblgarskiyat faktor v khristiyanizatsiyata na Kievskia Rusiya*, 1949; B. Zástěrová, Observations sur le problème de la christianisation en Russie, *BS* XI, 1950, pp. 240-254; B. Angelov, K voprosu o nachale russko-bolgarskikh literaturnykh svyazei, *TODRL* XIV, 1958, pp. 132-138; N. Gudzy, U istokov velikoi slavyanskoi literatury, *RL*, 1958 (3), pp. 40-56. 'Nestor's' reports on Bulgaria are listed by A. Vaillant, La Bulgarie dans la Chronique de Kiev, *PKJIF* XXIII (3-4), 1957, pp. 207-211. On Byzantine-Bulgarian relations, see P. Rankoff, Zur Geschichte der byzantinisch-bulgarischen Beziehungen, *BBA* V, 1957, pp. 134-146; D. Angelov, Die gegenseitigen Beziehungen und Einflüsse zwischen Byzanz und dem mittelalterlichen Bulgarien, *BS* XX (1), 1959, pp. 40-49; G. Litavrin, *Bolgariya i Vizantiya v XI-XII vv.*, 1960.

⁴¹⁶ I. Budovnits, *op. cit.*, pp. 411-413. A list of Western sources describing the reign of Vladimir is given by M. Hellmann, Vladimir der Heilige in der zeitgenössischen abendländischen Überlieferung, *JGO* VII (4), 1959, pp. 397-412.

character of the Slavonic rite—Constantinople in more decided fashion and Rome hesitatingly (the attitude of the Popes as regards this creed was by no means uniform)—but neither had cause to show great enthusiasm for what had happened in Rus'. This suffices to explain the apparent lack of interest shown by Byzantium and by Rome in the conversion of Vladimir. If a 10th-century Slavonic account as important as that of a Life of Constantine or of Methodius had been handed down to our times, we should undoubtedly be better informed on this point than we are.

Let us compare that part of the *Povest'* which reports the existence of the Slavonic rite on the Dnieper with contemporary sources which arose independently of 'Nestor's' Chronicle. These have survived only in fragmentary form but, taken together, they gain in weight and yield a clear, consistent picture.

The German chronicler Thietmar (d. 1018) has handed down two details of importance in this present matter. He relates that in 1018 there were in Kiev more than 400 churches.⁴¹⁷ So great a number could not have been built in the short period between 988 and 1017. They must already have existed before the baptism of Vladimir. Thietmar mentioned that Vladimir was actually buried in the Church of St Clement at Kiev.⁴¹⁸ Cyril and Methodius had a special devotion to St Clement and brought a part of his relics from the South-East to Moravia and thence to Rome. Vladimir continued that devotion, and after the conquest of Korsun' (Cherson) he transferred some relics of the saint to Kiev.⁴¹⁹

The above narratives in the Nikon Chronicle, indubitably based on sources now lost, are in agreement with Thietmar. They mention Papal, Czech and Polish missions sent to Kiev, and, conversely, the return of Rus'ian missions from the West. It should be emphasized that Vladimir's contacts with these countries suffered no impediment after the official Christianization of Rus'.⁴²⁰ The existence of these close contacts gave rise to the legend handed down by the Chronicle

⁴¹⁷ 'In magna hac civitate, que istius regni caput est, plus quam quadringente habentur ecclesiae', R. Holtzman, *Die Chronik des Bischofs Thietmar von Merseburg*, *MGH. Script.* IX, 1935, pp. 528–532; M. Jedlicki, *Kronika Thietmara*, *BTH* III, 1953, pp. 622–623.

⁴¹⁸ '... sepultus in Cuieva civitate magna et in ecclesia Christi martiris et papae Clementis iuxta praedictam coniugem suam, sarcophagis eorundem in medio templi palam stantibus'... , R. Holtzman, *op. cit.*, p. 488; M. Jedlicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 572–573. The martyred St Clement was the third pontiff after St Peter.

⁴¹⁹ In the 12th century, the head of St Clement was utilized at the consecration of Kliment of Smolensk as Metropolitan of Rus', against the will of Constantinople. This shows the great importance attached to these relics at Kiev. In view of Thietmar's testimony, there is no reason to suppose (as is often done) that the veneration of some other Clement—not a pope—was practised in Kiev.

⁴²⁰ Some authors (P. Isaiv, *Chi Volodimir Velikii buv koronovani*, in *Shlyakh*, No. 33–36, 1949, unavailable to me; I. Nazarko, *Svyatii Volodimir Velikii, volodar i khristitel' Rusi-Ukraini*, *AOBM*, 1954; A. Veliky, *Problema koronatsii Daniila*, *AOBM*, 1954, pp. 102–104) consider that Vladimir was offered the royal crown by the Pope at the time, but Byzantium would not agree to this. However, the surmise finds no support in the source-material.

of Poland Major regarding the three brethren (in Christ)—Lech, Rus and Czech—and it is significant that Pannonia is given as their native land. The letter written in 1008 by Bruno of Querfurt to the Emperor Henry II, in which the author speaks of Vladimir's goodwill and helpfulness towards him during his journey to the Pechenegs,⁴²¹ is also of importance here. Such missionaries were assuredly not looked upon with favour by Constantinople.

Müller, a firm supporter of the view that there were close ties between Rus'ian Christianity and Constantinople from the very first days of the new faith in Eastern Europe, nevertheless admits as undeniable that Western influences existed during the earliest period. They found expression in Rus'ian canon law, in Rus'ian religious writings, and in the terminology used by the Rus'ian Church.⁴²²

With the acceptance of the view that the Slavonic script and holy books in Slavonic provided the foundations for the development of the Slavonic *yazyk*, the extant ecclesiastical writings from the times must obviously be taken into consideration. As it happens, they have survived in the east and make it possible to establish the character of this earliest Christendom on the Dnieper. Even the final separation of the Churches (in 1054) could not obliterate the traditions of the ties which linked Rus' with Moravia and Bohemia.⁴²³ St Vitus continued to be venerated in Kiev, although he was unknown to Byzantium, while devotion to the martyr was widespread in Bohemia. On the banks of the Dnieper, such Czech saints as Wenceslas and Ludmila were the objects of religious veneration. Reciprocally, veneration for the Rus'ian saints, Boris and Gleb, sons of Vladimir, was practised in Bohemia. A prayer has been preserved in Rus', invoking not only Boris and Gleb, but also Cyril and Methodius. In the Rus'ian *Uspensky sbornik*, dating from the 12th century, we find a text praising the role of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in the development of Christianity ('blessed be your *yazyk*').⁴²⁴ Much other, similar evidence could be quoted.⁴²⁵ In my opinion, all these facts would be inexplicable if the Slavonic rite had not reached the Dnieper and taken root there.

The earliest organization of the Rus'ian Church now remains to

⁴²¹ MPH I, pp. 224–228.

⁴²² L. Müller, Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039, *ODO* III (6), 1959, pp. 31–32. See also J. Umiński, *Historia Kościoła*, 3rd ed., I, 1949, pp. 275–277. Of the older works, attention is drawn to the treatises of N. Suworov, *Sledy zapadno-katolicheskogo prava v pamyatnikakh drevne-russkogo tserkovnogo prava*, 1888; *idem*, *K voprosu o zapadnom vliyanií na drevne-russkoe pravo*, 1893.

⁴²³ F. Dvornik, The Kiev State and its Relations with Western Europe, *TRHS* XXIX, 1947, pp. 27–46.

⁴²⁴ *OR*, pp. 48–49.

⁴²⁵ M. Pogodin, *Kirillo-Mefodievskii sbornik*, 1865. F. Dvornik, Les Bénédictins et la christianisation de la Russie, in 1054–1954. *L'Église et les Églises*, 1954, pp. 323–349 has listed and commented on the whole of this source-material. See also P. Devos, *Chronique d'hagiographie slave*. 1. La Bohême, plaque tournante, *AB* LXXII (4), 1954, pp. 427–438; cf. *OR*, pp. 48–49.

be examined. It is certain that after 1037–1039 this Church was administered by a metropolitan under the authority of the Patriarch of Constantinople. But the query arises: How did ecclesiastical relations shape during the earlier period, *i.e.*, during the first fifty years after Vladimir embraced Christianity?⁴²⁶ Although much has been written on this subject,⁴²⁷ it still remains insufficiently clear as witness the multiplicity of different hypotheses advanced by various authors. Some scholars assert that the Rus'ian Church had close ties with Constantinople from its very inception⁴²⁸; others, that it was linked with Rome,⁴²⁹ and yet others that it was dependent on the Patriarchate of Ochride, hence on the Bulgarian Church.⁴³⁰ Other views are also encountered: that the Rus'ian Church on the Dnieper was under a supposed Rus'ian Bishopric or Archbishopric of Tmutarokan⁴³¹; that Rus'ian Christendom should be seen as having been organizationally linked with Cherson (Korsun')⁴³²; that the Rus'ian Church bore the character of a missionary bishopric,⁴³³ or that it constituted an autocephalous unit.⁴³⁴

⁴²⁶ It seems to me that the Rus'ian Metropolis was founded shortly after the conversion of this ruler. *OR*, pp. 453–454. See also H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, *La Chronologie des Patriarches de Constantinople et la 'question romaine' à la fin du Xe siècle*, *B XXIV* (1), 1955, pp. 169–172; M. Levchenko, *Vzaimootnosheniya Vizantii i Rusi pri Vladimire, VV VII*, 1955, p. 218; *idem*, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, pp. 376–378, 543. But there are also many authors who maintain that the ecclesiastical organization in Rus' was established but in the reign of Yaroslav.

⁴²⁷ Cf. F. Dölger, *Forschungen zur byzantinischen Geschichte, Literatur und Sprache*, 1938–1950, in F. Dölger and A. Schneider, *Byzanz, Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte*, 1952, pp. 141–142; P. Devos, *Chronique d'hagiographie slave*, 2. La 'Sainte Russie', du baptême de Vladimir jusqu'à l'époque moderne, *AB LXXIII*, 1955, pp. 220–229; K. Onasch, *Christentum und Kirche im Kiever Russland*, *TR XXIV* (4), 1958, pp. 350–352; L. Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status*, 1959, pp. 11–47; *idem*, *Die Christianisierung Russlands als Forschungsproblem*, 1960, pp. 94–95.

⁴²⁸ V. Laurent, *Aux Origines de l'église russe. L'établissement de la hiérarchie byzantine*, *EO XXXVIII*, 1939, pp. 279–295; E. Honigmann, *Studies in Slavic Church History*, *B XVII*, 1944–1945, pp. 128–182; I. Snegarov, *Dukhovno-kulturni vrzki mezhdu Blgariya i Rusiya prez srednite vekove (X–XV v.)*, 1950, pp. 19–27; L. Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status*, pp. 76–77; I. Sevcenko, *The Christianization of Kievan Rus'*, *PR v* (4), 1960, p. 32.

⁴²⁹ N. Baumgarten, *Saint Vladimir et la conversion de la Russie*, *OC*, No. 79, 1932; M. Jugie, *Les origines romaines de l'église russe*, *EO XXXVI*, 1937, pp. 257–270; *idem*, *Le schisme byzantin. Aperçu historique et doctrinal*, 1941.

⁴³⁰ M. Priselkov, *Ocherki po tserkovno-politicheskoi istorii Kievskoi Rusi X–XII vv.*, 1913; H. Koch, *Byzanz, Ochrid und Kiev*, 987–1037, *K III*, 1938, pp. 253–292; *idem*, *Ochrid und Byzanz im Kampf um die Christianisierung Alt-Reussens (Kievs)*, in *Bulgaria*, Jahrbuch 1940–1941 der Deutsch-Bulgarischen Gesellschaft, 1941, pp. 143–159; P. Kovalevsky, *L'Eglise russe en 1054, in 1054–1954. L'Eglise et les Eglises I*, 1954, pp. 475–488; J. Hoffman, in *TH VII*, 1955, pp. 147–148; *idem*, *Początki hierarchii Kościoła Wschodniego na Wołyniu*, *RPTNO VI*, 1955–1956, pp. 72–75; A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi I*, 1959, pp. 160–164.

⁴³¹ G. Vernadsky, *The Status of the Russian Church during the First Half-Century Following Vladimir's Conversion*, *SEER XX*, 1941, pp. 294–314; *idem*, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959.

⁴³² F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949; *idem*, *The Slavs, their Early History and Civilization*, 1956.

⁴³³ A. Ammann, *Wladimir, dem Apostelgleichen zum Gedächtnis*, *OCP V*, 1939, pp. 200–205; *idem*, *Abriss der ostslawischen Kirchengeschichte*, 1950; *idem*, *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der kirchlichen Kultur und des religiösen Lebens bei den Ostslawen*, 1: *Die ostslawische Kirche im jurisdiktionellen Verband der byzantinischen Grosskirche (988–1459)*, *OsC XIII*, 1955, pp. 35–41.

⁴³⁴ Some authors (N. Zernov, *Vladimir and the Origin of the Russian Church*, *SEER*

I think that, with the exception of those who advance the 'Tmutarokan' theory,⁴³⁵ all these authors are more or less right and yet none of them depicts the whole truth, paradoxical as this may seem at first sight. The literature on the subject is at fault because it does not take into consideration the existence of the Slavonic rite in the land of the Polyanians. What appears contradictory, and thus evokes lively polemical exchanges, becomes less inconsistent when this rite is regarded as an intermediate factor between Constantinople and Rome. It is quite possible, too, that the later rivalry between the two chief centres of Christendom to gain influence over Eastern Europe⁴³⁶ began as early as the 10th if not already towards the end of the 9th century.

To comprehend and properly assess the earliest phase of Slavonic Christendom in the East, it would be necessary to conduct much more precise studies of the rite of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius in various countries than have hitherto been undertaken. Although valuable contributions are made nearly every year, our knowledge of this rite remains fragmentary and far from exhaustive. It would seem, moreover, that the relation of this rite to Rome and Constantinople varied from country to country. Not only purely religious considerations played a part here, but also geographical situation and, above all, political factors. In this connection, it suffices to compare Slavonic Christendom on the Vistula and on the Dnieper. Poland was bi-liturgical during the 10th and long into the 11th century. The foundation of a Metropolis for each of the two rites—the Latin and the Slavonic—by Bolesław the Great (c. 1000) was a valid expression of his policy and the day-to-day needs of his realm.⁴³⁷

XVIII, 1949–1950, pp. 428–435; N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 90; I. Budovnits, *K voprosu o kreshchenii Rusi*, *VIRA* III, 1956, pp. 421–432; S. Bibikov and others (ed.), *Narisi storadavn'oi istorii Ukrain's'koi RSR*, 1957, pp. 496–497) suppose that the Rus'ian Church in the time of Vladimir was not dependent on the Patriarch of Constantinople. S. Runciman, *Byzantium, Russia and Caesaropapism*, *CSP* II, 1957, p. 5 considers the Patriarch's authority extended to Rus' but in restricted degree, much less than in later times, i.e., after 1037. According to him, the first Rus'ian metropolitans were elected locally, probably from among the clergy of Cherson, and then confirmed by the patriarchs.

⁴³⁵ Cf. A. Stokes, 'Tmutarakan', *SEER* XXXVIII, 1960, pp. 499–514.

⁴³⁶ Cf. Th. Ediger, *Russlands älteste Beziehungen zu Deutschland, Frankreich und der römischen Kurie*, 1911; B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle*, 1924; M. Taube, *Rom und Russland in der vormongolischen Zeit*, in *Ex Oriente. Religiöse und philosophische Probleme des Ostens und des Westens* (ed. by L. Berg), 1927 (*idem*, *Rim i Rus' v domongol'skii period*, *KV* II, 1928, pp. 131–181); E. Winter, *Byzanz und Rom im Kampf um die Ukraine, 955–1939*, 1942; I. Mirtschuk, *Rom, Byzanz und Moskau im Kampf um die geistige Führung im osteuropäischen Raum. Geistesgeschichtlicher Überblick*, *VOIM* IV, 1953, pp. 24–41; H. Luzhnyts'ky, *Ukrains'ka tserkva mizh skhidom i zachidom*, 1956; O. Odložilik, *The Contest for East Central Europe in the 11th Century*, *PR* II (1), 1957, pp. 3–17; E. Winter, *Die Christianisierung der Rus in der Diplomatie des Papstums und Byzanz*, *BBA* V, 1957, pp. 147–157; *idem*, *Russland und das Papsttum* I, 1960; B. Ramun, *Papstvo i Rus' v X–XV vv.*, 1959, and others.

⁴³⁷ *OR*, pp. 381–404.

Relations in Hungary followed to some extent the same course.⁴³⁸ The reigning dynasty of the Piasts in Poland embraced Christianity according to the Latin rite (in 966) and, by the nature of things, this must have led to closer ties between the Slavonic rite and the Holy See there. In Rus', on the other hand, the position was quite different.

Apart from the need for more precise studies of the Slavonic rite in general, two other requirements must be satisfied when investigating the beginnings of Christianity in Eastern Europe in the 10th–11th centuries: to increase the search for new source-material and to effect a more accurate analysis of the texts already available.

It is not too much to hope that hitherto unknown source-material will be unearthed and that this will provide details for the elucidation of problems still rather vaguely conceived at present. An example in point is afforded by the findings already recorded during the reconstruction of the oldest churches in Kiev. Naturally, less can be expected from the remains of the stone cathedral built by Vladimir, the Church of the Tithe (*Desyatinnaya tserkov'*), destroyed during the terrible Mongol invasion of 1240; very little of the structure has survived and been brought to light by excavations.⁴³⁹ The fate of St Sophia's Cathedral, erected by Yaroslav, is different: here, the wealth of material (mosaics, frescoes, etc.) revealed only in part so far, is impressive and of the utmost value for art historians.⁴⁴⁰ Of greater importance to historians (if only because the visual arts more easily lend themselves to diverse interpretations⁴⁴¹) are the

⁴³⁸ H. Kapiszewski, *Eremita świrad w Panonii (Ze stosunków polsko-panońskich na przełomie X i XI wieku)*, NP X, 1959, p. 64 aptly supposes that the two Metropolitan Sees in Hungary were for the two rites. There were, however, considerable differences between Poland and Hungary: the former was a homogeneous State in the ethnic sense whilst the population of the latter consisted of Magyars and of Slavs subjected by them; the traditions of Slavonic Christianity were undoubtedly stronger in Pannonia than in Poland, and Hungary had much livelier contacts with Byzantium than Poland. There is an abundant literature on the Byzantine-Hungarian relations (studies of A. Balogh, M. Gyóni, A. Heisenberg, E. Ivánka, V. Laurent, Gy. Moravcsik, Gy. Németh, etc.). It is listed by F. Dölger, *Forschungen zur Byzantinischen Geschichte, Literatur und Sprache*, in F. Dölger and A. Schneider, *Byzanz, Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte*, 1952, pp. 140–141, etc. See also Z. Kádár, *Dix années de recherches relatives aux monuments byzantins de Hongrie (1945–1955)*, BS XVIII (2), 1957, p. 275, etc. Recent Moravcsik's studies deserve special attention (Gy. Moravcsik, *Bizánc és Magyarország*, 1953; *idem, Die byzantinische Kultur und das mittelalterliche Ungarn*, 1956; *idem, Die Problematik der byzantinisch-ungarischen Beziehungen*, BS XIX, 1958, pp. 206–211. Cf. C. Macartney, *A History of Hungary*, 1957).

⁴³⁹ M. Karger, *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya drevnego Kiev, Raskopki na territorii Desyatinnoi tserkvi (1938–1939)*, 1950; *idem, Drevnii Kiev I*, 1958; G. Korzukhina, *K rekonstruktsii Desyatinnoi tserkvi*, SA, 1957 (2), pp. 78–90. As regards other churches built in later times (12th century) see N. Kholostenko, *Novye dannye o Kirillovskoi tserkvi v Kieve*, PKu II, 1960, pp. 5–19.

⁴⁴⁰ V. Lazarev, *Novye dannye o mozaikakh i freskakh Sofii Kievskoi*, VV X, 1956, pp. 161–177; *idem, Nouvelles découvertes dans la cathédrale Sainte-Sophie de Kiev*, BS XIX (1), 1958, pp. 85–95; V. Levitskaya, *O nekotorykh voprosakh proizvodstva nabora mozaik Sofii Kievskoi*, VV, XV, 1959, pp. 170–184.

⁴⁴¹ An example in point is the well-known fresco depicting Yaroslav and his family (a group of thirteen persons). Vladimir's son is holding a model of the temple he built and is offering it to the central figure, supposed by some scholars to be the Emperor

fairly numerous inscriptions,⁴⁴² though in many cases only fragments have survived.

One of the most interesting inscriptions is the one recently discovered by Vysotsky⁴⁴³ and interpreted by Rybakov.⁴⁴⁴ This is part of a text which gives February 20, 1054 (6562) as the date of the death 'of our Emperor' (*tsarya nashego*). The name of the ruler has, unfortunately, not survived, and the inscription may refer to Constantine, Emperor of Byzantium, or to Yaroslav the Wise. Rybakov rightly declares himself for the latter as the month and year agree with the date of Yaroslav's death (according to the *Povest'* in the Hypatian version⁴⁴⁵), whilst Constantine Monomakh died in January of the same year. But doubts arise as to the validity of Rybakov's final conclusions (influenced, for that matter, by Priselkov), *viz.*, that Yaroslav assumed the imperial title in 1037 and thus secured equality of status with the Emperor of Byzantium.⁴⁴⁶ The relevant obituary is couched in exaggeratedly solemn form, as witness the word *uspenie*, normally used for the death of the Virgin Mary and of saints, yet here applied to Yaroslav. Rybakov quotes the texts which indicate that the title *tsar'* was applied (mainly in a rhetorical sense) to the princes of Kiev of the 12th century, although these were undoubtedly less powerful than Yaroslav. It might, therefore, be more prudent to assume that the word *tsar'* was used metaphorically in this obituary and to interpret it as 'excellent ruler'.

'Nestor' calls Vladimir and Yaroslav princes or grand-princes,⁴⁴⁷

of Byzantium (Ya. Smirnov, *Risunki Kieva 1651 g. po kopiyam ikh kontsa XVIII v.*, in *Trudy XIII Arkheologicheskogo sezda v Yaroslavl'* II, 1908, p. 460; N. Kondakov, *Izobrazhenie russkoi knyazheskoi sem'i v miniatyurakh XI v.*, 1906, pp. 36-37; A. Vasilev, Was Old Russia a Vassal State of Byzantium? *Sp VII*, 1932, pp. 354-355; A. Grabar, Les fresques des escaliers à Sainte-Sophie de Kiev et l'iconographie impériale byzantine, *SK VII*, 1935, pp. 115-117), and by others Jesus Christ (M. Karger, *Portrety Yaroslava Mudrogo i ego sem'i v Kievskoi Sofii*, *UZZGU* No. 160 (20), 1954, pp. 143-180; V. Lazarev, *Novye dannye o mozaikakh i freskakh Sofii Kievskoi*, *Gruppovoi portret semeistva Yaroslava*, *VV XV*, 1959, pp. 148-169).

⁴⁴² B. Ribakov, *Imenni nadpisi XII st. v Kiivs'komu Sofiis'komu sobori*, *Ar I*, 1947, pp. 53-64; S. Vysotsky, *Graffito XI st. v Sofii Kievskoi*, *SAr*, 1959 (1), pp. 273-275; *idem*, *Nadpisi v Sofii Kievskoi vremeni knyazheniya Svyatopolka Izyaslavicha*, *ISSSR*, 1960 (6), pp. 139-146.

⁴⁴³ S. Vysotsky, *Datirovannye graffity XI v. v Sofii Kievskoi*, *SAr*, 1959 (4), pp. 243-244.

⁴⁴⁴ B. Rybakov, *Zapis' o smerti Yaroslava Mudrogo*, *SAr*, 1959 (4), pp. 245-249.

⁴⁴⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, pp. 389-390.

⁴⁴⁶ B. Rybakov, *Zapis' o smerti Yaroslava*, pp. 246-249 attributes such a view to Priselkov though this author never expressed it; actually, he adopted quite the contrary attitude and wrote on p. 81 (the page referred to by Rybakov): 'We notice that from the establishment of imperial authority in Rus' in 1037, up to this time [*i.e.*, to 1185-1186] none of the Rus'ian princes had yet borne such a title [*i.e.*, Grand Duke]. The Prince of Kiev, who considered himself the senior of the Rus'ian princes in external relations with the Empire and the Polovtsians, bore the same title as the other Rus'ian princes.' M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.*, 1940, p. 81. It clearly follows from the above that Yaroslav did not use the imperial title, whilst Priselkov writes of the authority of the Byzantine Emperor over Rus'. This Byzantine 'hegemony' ('igemoniya', the inverted commas being Priselkov's, *ibid.*, pp. 26, 29, etc.) is claimed by this author to have been connected with the establishment of a Kievan Metropolis in 1037, subject to Constantinople.

⁴⁴⁷ As regards this last-named title, see the objections raised by D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 388.

Hilarion—kagans. It is known that both the father and the son bore Byzantine titles. If Likhachev's hypothesis is to be accepted,⁴⁴⁸ Yaroslav must have been an archon, whilst Vladimir's title, known only from an incomplete text, is still the subject of various hypotheses.⁴⁴⁹ The fact remains that no source—apart from the above-mentioned obituary—assigns the title of emperor to Yaroslav; this negative observation does not, however, in itself justify disregarding the inscription in St Sophia's Cathedral.

Interpreting the word *tsar'* literally, the use of this title may at the most have been a reflection of Yaroslav's ambitions or claims and an expression of his anti-Byzantine inclinations. Much has been written regarding the latter with special stress laid on the Rus'ian expedition against Constantinople (in 1043) and the appointment of Hilarion as Metropolitan of Kiev (1051) despite the opposition of the Patriarch.⁴⁵⁰ Both events are noteworthy and important, but it must never be forgotten that they both ended in failure. Hence, considering the results actually attained by Yaroslav, it would seem that no special significance need be attributed to his supposed imperial title nor should this give rise to hasty conclusions which clash with the reality depicted in the sources. Gudzy quite rightly considers the titles *kagan*, *knyaz'* and *tsar'* were treated as synonyms as far as Rus' was concerned.⁴⁵¹

Apart from the search for new source-material, there is a second need: more precise examination of the sources already available. I have in mind here not only the passages in the introductory part of the *Povest'* already critically discussed but also other texts, primarily Hilarion's well-known 'Discourse on Law and Grace' (*Slovo o zakone i blagodati*).⁴⁵² It is one of the most valuable surviving literary monuments of the period owing to its author's profound knowledge of ecclesiastical matters, his high qualities as a writer, his extensive relations with those who shaped the history of Rus' (Hilarion became Metropolitan thanks to Yaroslav), and by virtue of the time when the treatise was written (1037–1050). Though the date of his birth is unknown, it can be assumed that, if he had not reached mature years in the reign of Vladimir, he could in any case easily have secured all the information he needed from older persons

⁴⁴⁸ N. Likhachev, *Materialy dlya istorii vizantiiskoi i russkoi sfragistiki* I, 1928, pp. 155–156.

⁴⁴⁹ On Vladimir's seal only the end of a title has been preserved: '...rator.' N. Petrov argued for 'exusiokrator', A. Soloviev—for 'autokrator', D. Obolensky—for 'imperator', G. Vernadsky—for 'monokrator'. The literature on the subject is listed by V. Lazarev, in *VV* XV, 1959, p. 152.

⁴⁵⁰ B. Widera, Jaroslaws des Weisen Kampf um die kirchliche Unabhängigkeit von Byzanz, *BBA* V, 1957, pp. 158–175.

⁴⁵¹ N. Gudzy, *Khrestomatiya po drevnei russkoi literature XI–XVII vekov*, 1952, p. 32.

⁴⁵² A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894, pp. 59–76.

who remembered what happened when this ruler embraced Christianity.

The semantic analysis in this chapter of the words *yazyk* and *nachal'nik* makes it possible to establish Hilarion's ethnic allegiance. Describing the gradual development of Christianity in the world, the author says: 'The faith by grace spread over the earth and finally reached our Rus'ian *yazyk*' (*Vera bo blagodatnaya po vsei zemli rasprostresya i do nashego yazyka rus'kago doide*).⁴⁵³ The sources of the period indicate that Ol'ga and, especially, Vladimir (*nachal'nitsa*, *nachalnik Rusi*), by their baptism, lead to the beginning (*nachatok*) of the new use of the word 'Rus', in this case, with an ecclesiastical-religious connotation. In the given instance, however, Hilarion is dealing with pre-Christian times, and this meaning of the appellation does not, therefore, enter into consideration. 'The Rus'ian *yazyk*', as used in the *Slovo*, can be understood only in the ethnic sense of 'people' or 'nation'. A great many sources, which arose independently of one another, unanimously testify that the Norse Varangians went under the name of the Rus' at the time.⁴⁵⁴ Hilarion uses the possessive pronoun 'our', and it would seem, therefore, that he considered himself one of them.⁴⁵⁵

Obolensky and Jakobson, however, insist that the author of the *Slovo* was of Slavonic descent. 'He [Paszkievicz]—writes Obolensky—greatly exaggerates the extent of the Scandinavian influence in the 11th and 12th centuries, even claiming Norse nationality for Hilarion, the eleventh-century Russian Metropolitan of Kiev.'⁴⁵⁶ The reviewer has evidently not considered it necessary to refer to the text in question and to fathom the implications of the words used there, but restricts his remarks to purely arbitrary assertions. Jakobson thinks that my belief in the Varangian-Rus'ian provenance of Hilarion is merely an expression of my 'naïve neighbour deprecation', and goes on to state: 'He [Paszkievicz] underestimates one of the most intensive outbursts of early Slavic culture, the Kievan Russia chapter, and is ready to denationalize even [Hilarion] one of the most representative and original Slavic writers of the eleventh century.'⁴⁵⁷ Jakobson likewise avoids analysing the text of this source and, in addition, over-facilitates his task by shifting the problem into the political sphere. Actually, this charge of prejudice against Poland's eastern neighbour and under-estimation of Kievan culture is contradicted by the facts. After all, I have most forcefully defended the credibility and the high historical values of 'Nestor's' Chronicle, praising it as one of the greatest achievements in the European literature of the epoch.

⁴⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 67.

⁴⁵⁴ See Chapter III of the present study.

⁴⁵⁵ *OR*, pp. 174–179.

⁴⁵⁶ D. Obolensky, in *EHR* LXXIV, 1958, p. 470.

⁴⁵⁷ R. Jakobson, in *AHR* LXI, 1955, p. 107.

Concerning Hilarion's nationality, Jakobson's statements are likewise unfounded. Assuming that Hilarion was a Varangian, though probably belonging to a generation already born on the Dnieper⁴⁵⁸ (since he wrote in Slavonic), this would merely indicate that the Varangians in Vladimir's (and Yaroslav's) retinue had been assimilated by Slavonic culture. The development of this culture, of Slavonic script especially, must have been greatly aided by the rite of Cyril and Methodius, practised in some East European centres long before the time of Vladimir. Obviously, the rise of a culture and the height of its achievements are never reached in only a few years.

Yaroslav, the son of Vladimir's Varangian wife, Rogned' (Ragnheid) of Polotsk, relied most on Varangians in all his ventures. It was with Varangian help that he launched the revolt against his father (1014-1015) and exacted bloody vengeance upon the Novgorodians for their risings against the Varangians (1015); it was with a Varangian force that he marched against his brother Svyatopolk (1015) and opposed the Poles in the defence of Kiev (1018); Varangian detachments fought under him against his brother Mstislav (1024); it was with Varangian help that he relieved Kiev when the Pechenegs were besieging that city (1036),⁴⁵⁹ and probably Varangians formed part of the Rus'ian forces in the expedition against Constantinople (1043).⁴⁶⁰ During the whole of his reign, Yaroslav insisted that the Novgorodians pay the old tribute allotted to the Varangians.⁴⁶¹ The appointment of a Varangian as Metropolitan of Kiev in order to head off a Greek nominee is hence highly probable, if only because such a step would be quite consistent with Yaroslav's general policy. Finally, the above-mentioned text from Hilarion's treatise speaks for itself in this connection.

The *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* was written before Hilarion became Metropolitan in 1051.⁴⁶² It can well be supposed that the ideas and trends expressed in Hilarion's work were in agreement with the plans and intentions of the ruler of Kiev; even if they were not inspired by him, it is certain that they nevertheless met with his

⁴⁵⁸ We know from 'Nestor' that after seizing Kiev (980), Vladimir in order to maintain himself in power, established selected Varangians in many cities ('I izbra ot nikh muzhi dobry, smysleny i khrabry, i razdaya im grady', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 56). They were converted simultaneously with the prince ('Volodimer . . . postavil tserkov' i stvoril prazdnik velik . . . I szyvashe . . . posadniki, stareishiny po vsem gradom', *ibid.*, p. 85). The chronicler states that Vladimir 'loved the words of the Scriptures' ('Be bo lyubya slovesa knizhnaya', *ibid.*, p. 86) and took the children of the most prominent people (in my opinion, there is no doubt that Varangians were among these), and sent them to schools for instruction in book-learning ('Poslav nacha poimati u naroचितye chadi deti, i dayati nacha na uchen'e knizhnoe', *ibid.*, p. 81). Hilarion might well be the son of one of Vladimir's dignitaries.

⁴⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 89, 95, 96, 100, 101.

⁴⁶⁰ Cf. Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 252.

⁴⁶¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 20.

⁴⁶² Yaroslav's wife, Irina (Ingigerd), daughter of King Olaf of Sweden, is mentioned in the *Slovo* as living. She died in 1050.

approval. It is indeed very probable that Hilarion owed his later supreme position in the Church to the *Slovo*. This suggestion of Gudzy's seems quite acceptable.⁴⁶³

The Varangian Hilarion and the Slav 'Nestor' both lived in the 11th century and both belonged to Rus', in the ecclesiastical-religious sense. Yet a comparison of their accounts of the beginnings of Christianity in the East reveals that their facts do not agree—evidence of the differences between the Varangian and the Slavonic element in their attitude to the new faith. The role of the Varangians in consolidating Christianity in Eastern Europe was by no means a secondary one. They represented the Greek faith in direct fashion—not through the intermediary of the Slavonic rite.⁴⁶⁴ Faced by the conflicting currents in his realm—Greek⁴⁶⁵ Varangian on the one hand and Slavonic traditions bequeathed by Cyril and Methodius on the other—Vladimir adopted a middle course not without vacillation. The so-called tale of his choice of faiths reflects these tendencies. Finally, he inclined towards Constantinople although he kept Slavonic as the language of the liturgy in his Church and by no means broke off the bonds of Christian love (*lyuby*) with Bohemia, Poland and Hungary (Pannonia) while, to some extent, preserving contacts with Rome through their mediation. Vladimir's established authority, his strong personal position as the ruler of his domain and head of the dynasty enabled him to restrain internal tensions in his State although, when well advanced in years, he had to deal with the threat presented by his sons: Svyatopolk, allied with Poland, and Yaroslav with the Varangians behind him.⁴⁶⁶

All these clashing elements rose to the surface with great violence shortly after Vladimir's death (1015). The points at issue were not merely the personal ambitions of the deceased ruler's progeny (aggravated by their diverse maternity) but also the specific political and ecclesiastical plans designed to further them. Pointing out that the mother of Boris and Gleb was a Bulgarian whilst Svyatopolk's was a Greek, Vaillant considers that the idealization of the first two and the merciless denigration of the last reflected the current state

⁴⁶³ N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1956, p. 83.

⁴⁶⁴ Even before Ol'ga's conversion there were many Christians in Igor's Varangian retinue ('mnozi bo besha varyazi khresteyani', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 39) who had been baptized in Constantinople. At that time a Christian church of St Elias had already been built in Kiev (*ibid.* pp. 38–39). A. Ammann, *Abriss der ostslavischen Kirchengeschichte*, 1950, p. 12 remarks that there existed in Constantinople a St Elias' church, while no churches bearing the name of this saint were known in Scandinavia and Germany. The first two saints of the Rus'ian Church were Varangians, martyred in Kiev ('Be zhe varyag toi prishel iz Grek i derzhashe veru khresteyan'sku. I be u nego syn krasen litsem i dusheyu', *ibid.*, p. 58). Cross, Stender-Petersen and others discuss the relations between the Varangians and Byzantium as also the spread of the Greek faith among the Varangians in those times. Among earlier works on the subject, see I. Malyshesky, *Varyagi v nachal'noi istorii khristianstva v Kieve*, 1887 (unavailable to me).

⁴⁶⁵ It must always be borne in mind that Constantinople's efforts to evangelize the Rus' date back to the time of Photius.

⁴⁶⁶ As the Chronicles of Thietmar and of 'Nestor' testify.

of people's minds in Rus', the prejudices and passions that had been aroused.⁴⁶⁷

The prolonged period of civil war which started after Vladimir's death (1015–1026) ended with Yaroslav's final victory and brought about the consolidation of his predominant position in Rus' (1036–1054). Simultaneously, the differentiation among the Christians of Eastern and East-Central Europe advanced further: the Rus'-Varangians stressed their particularism with regard to the Greeks; in Bohemia, Poland and Hungary, where the Slavonic rite was also practised, the Latin rite made steady progress, whilst Bulgaria fell under the influence of Constantinople after the tragic outcome of her wars with Byzantium.

Yaroslav followed a thoroughgoing Rus'ian policy in his conduct of affairs of State and in the domain of the Church. It was largely a Varangian one, since Varangians settled in Eastern Europe ('the Rus'') played an important part in it, and Yaroslav's ambitious plans were mainly based on their support. In this connection, the companies of warriors brought in from Scandinavia time after time during this period should not be overlooked nor their influence underrated. The pro-Varangian tendencies of Yaroslav's policy were accompanied by anti-Slavonic trends aimed chiefly against traditions bound up with the rite of Cyril and Methodius. These appeared clearly during his incursions upon Polish soil and also in his rule over Rus'. All these factors could but find reflection in Yaroslav's attitude to Byzantium.

The Rus'ian expeditions against Poland (1030–1031) had as their object not only the recovery of territories previously lost (1018); they were also designed as a powerful blow at the Polish Metropolis of the Slavonic rite.⁴⁶⁸ Yaroslav established ties with Casimir the Restorer, the new ruler of Poland, by concluding a political alliance with him and by intermarriage.⁴⁶⁹ Casimir, who had returned from exile with German help and remained under the influence of his German mother, did his best to consolidate the position of the Latin rite in all Poland. This was opposed by the Mazovians whom the Chronicle of 'Gallus' calls 'false Christians' (*falsi Christicolae*)⁴⁷⁰—a typical Latinist appellation for the followers of the Slavonic rite. In the eyes of the German clergy, the Christianity of Cyril and Methodius was tainted with barbarism (*barbaros Sclavorum pertaesa*

⁴⁶⁷ A. Vaillant, *La Bulgarie dans la Chronique de Kiev*, *PKJIF* XXIII (3–4), 1957, pp. 207–211.

⁴⁶⁸ *OR*, pp. 386–390.

⁴⁶⁹ About 1038–1039, Casimir married Yaroslav's sister, Maria Dobronega, Cf. I. Nazarko, *Dobroniha—dochka sv. Volodimira Velikogo*, *AOBM* II (3–4), 1956; *idem*, *Dobroniha, Daughter of St Volodymyr the Great*, *SEES* II (3), 1957, pp. 138–144. Some time later, Yaroslav arranged a marriage between his son Izyaslav and Casimir's sister, Gertrude.

⁴⁷⁰ *OR*, pp. 392–394.

ritus).⁴⁷¹ Though Yaroslav no longer sought to recover the territories in dispute with Poland, he launched two expeditions against the Mazovians (in 1041 and 1047) and contributed significantly to their defeat.

It is only against the background of this policy of the Kievan prince during the period when the *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* was written that it is possible to explain why Hilarion (whose treatise reflected Yaroslav's plans and intentions) presented the beginnings of Christianity in Rus' otherwise than 'Nestor' did. While the author of the *Povest'* reports that the rite of Cyril and Methodius was practised in many countries and among the Polyanians on the Dnieper, as also that the faith of Rus' was a continuation of these older traditions of Christianity, one looks in vain for any Slavonic reminiscences of this kind in Hilarion's treatise. Contrary to historical truth, he attributes the evangelization of Eastern Europe exclusively to Vladimir. This obviously biased attitude confirms the view that Hilarion was not of Slavonic descent.

According to Hilarion, the glory and greatness of Rus' had a twofold foundation: the warlike prowess of the Rurikides and the propagation of Christianity. It is significant, in this connection, that the author of the *Slovo* idealizes Vladimir's father and grandfather—the 'old' Igor' and the 'famous' Svyatoslav—although they were pagans, whilst he says almost nothing about Ol'ga, Vladimir's grandmother, a Christian, whose merits 'Nestor' widely and enthusiastically glorified.

Yaroslav's attitude to Byzantium was shaped by the aforementioned elements of his policy. He simultaneously strove to establish closer ties with Constantinople in some domains and to weaken them in others. On the one hand, the son of Vladimir put up unexpectedly feeble opposition to the Patriarch's claim of superior authority over the Rus'ian Church; on the other hand, he showed the utmost determination in maintaining his independence. The preservation of Slavonic in the liturgy was in accordance with the desires of the Slavonic tribes ruled by Yaroslav, but it was also a convenient means of strengthening the separateness of Rus' as regards Byzantium. Again, all these specific trends are reflected in the *Slovo*.

Hilarion states that a new faith demands new tongues, just as a new wine requires new skins. This defence of languages not rooted in a long tradition may be supposed to refer to the use of Slavonic as the liturgical language of the Rus'ian Church. Ready to defend the rights and interests of the Rurikides, he stresses their power and strength with considerable pride. When eulogizing Vladimir, Hilarion says that this Prince 'ruled not over a small and unknown country, but over the Rus'ian land which is known and heard all over the earth'.

⁴⁷¹ OR, p. 384.

The *Slovo* contains some not very favourable references to Constantinople, rejecting the idea of Byzantine supremacy and its claim to exclusive domination over the world. But it would be a mistake to overrate the anti-Greek attitude of Hilarion. His aim was to demonstrate a certain degree of independence of Rus' in respect of Constantinople, but not to lay stress on a rupture with the Greek Church. Reared on Greek authors and imbued with their ideas and their culture, Hilarion bows before Constantinople and calls it 'the new Jerusalem'. His supreme ambition (not quite the same as 'Nestor's'⁴⁷²) was that Vladimir be put on an equal footing with Constantine the Great—that the two rulers be acclaimed as having rendered services of equal magnitude in spreading the teachings of Christ. He earnestly propagated the view that not only the Empire but also Rus' had a divinely ordained mission and destiny to fulfil in the world.⁴⁷³

It cannot be denied that at first sight Yaroslav's approach to Byzantium was marked by great vacillation, by half-measures and even mutually contradictory decisions. There was his acceptance of the appointment of a Greek (Theopemptos) as Metropolitan by the Patriarch; his later withdrawal from this decision in order to have Hilarion nominated for the post on the basis of a choice made by the Rus'ian bishops;⁴⁷⁴ finally, he most probably withdrew from this position⁴⁷⁵ and returned to the concept of a Greek as Metropolitan. Similarly, in the field of external policy and military adventure we note co-operation with the Empire on the one hand, and the Rus'ian raid on Constantinople (1043) on the other.

⁴⁷² The author of the *Povest'* did not confine himself to the missionary activities of Constantine-Cyril and Methodius. He linked his narrative with the legendary traditions of Paul and Andronicus in order to underline that Slavonic Christianity was to be traced back not to Constantinople or Rome but in direct fashion to an apostle of Christ. In other words, this 'new Rus', of which Ol'ga was the *nachal'nitsa* and Vladimir the *nachal'nik*, had its own patron, to whom it owed all the benefactions of the faith—none other than St Paul himself.

⁴⁷³ *OR*, pp. 175–177. Cf. K. Rose, *Die Predigt Illarions, des ersten russischen Metropoliten von Kiev*, *BBA V*, 1957, pp. 272–287.

⁴⁷⁴ 1051. 'Postavi Yaroslav Lariona mitropolitom' rusina v svyatei Sof'i, sobrav episkopy.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 104.

⁴⁷⁵ The view that Hilarion's appointment as Metropolitan of Kiev was cancelled by Yaroslav is only an hypothesis, though a very plausible and generally accepted one. The manner whereby Hilarion was raised to this dignity could not but evoke a conflict with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, one which was, however, quickly resolved: Vsevolod, one of Yaroslav's sons, married a Byzantine princess in or about 1052—in any case, their first child was born in 1053. It seems likely that recognition of the Greek right to appoint the Rus'ian metropolitans (later to become accepted practice) was not considered by Yaroslav to be too high a price to pay for the prestige brought to him and his son by this marital tie with the Imperial dynasty of Byzantium. Hilarion's further career is unknown and various surmises have been made. It is also possible that he died a few months after his elevation to the Metropolitan seat. The fact remains that the Patriarch of Constantinople retained the decisive voice in the appointment of the Metropolitans of Kiev. In short, Yaroslav and his successors abandoned the precedent of 1051. D. Obolensky, *Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations*, *DOP XI*, 1957, pp. 63–64 suggests that the Patriarch confirmed the election of Hilarion by the Rus'ian bishops, but there is no proof supporting his conjecture.

I believe that an appraisal of Yaroslav's political plans should allow for the difficulties which he faced in his struggle to retain the throne of Kiev. For more than ten years after the death of his father, he had to fight for this throne with varying fortunes. When he at length consolidated his power (1036), he found himself involved in the cross-currents of influences exerted by various ethnic groups—Varangian, Slavonic and even, to some extent, Greek—with their diverse political and ecclesiastical policies. The clashes and conflicts which shook the Rus'ian State under Vladimir lost none of their force in later years. And here, it would seem, we find the source of Yaroslav's seemingly incomprehensible and contradictory decisions as also of the enormous efforts he made to retain the helm of State in his own hands and to secure his country internal order and peace.⁴⁷⁶

But it is difficult not to perceive how consistent and carefully pondered the moves and deeds of this ruler really were. Readiness for compromise is clearly evident—and Yaroslav must have realized that compromise offered the best conditions for the security of his State and its interests—a State which was in itself a most complex entity. Yaroslav rebelled against his own father, yet sought to canonize him.⁴⁷⁷ Inimical to the rite of Cyril and Methodius, he none-the-less retained Slavonic in the liturgy of the Rus'ian Church. He opposed the Slavonic rite with great energy, particularly where (as in Poland) it still had direct ties with Rome; yet he was quite willing and even eager to have his children marry followers of the Latin faith.⁴⁷⁸ He fought against Poland, but maintained close ties with Casimir the Restorer. He inclined towards Constantinople but sought to make Rus' an independent centre of Christianity. He threatened Byzantium and even sent out his troops against her, but he also

⁴⁷⁶ See the first version of the *Pravda Russkaya*, set down in the early 11th century and known under the name of Yaroslav's *Pravda*.

⁴⁷⁷ In his treatise, Hilarion with great determination defends the sainthood of Vladimir. This defence is the guiding idea and the chief motive of the *Slovo*. The Greeks, however, refused to agree to the canonization of Yaroslav's father; coupled with the silence of the Byzantine sources on the conversion of Rus', this seems to indicate that the Patriarch's attitude to Vladimir's Christianity was at least one of reserve. It is quite probable that this refusal induced Yaroslav to advance Hilarion as Metropolitan of Kiev in the way he did. And, it must be borne in mind that Hilarion was the leading sponsor of the proposed canonization.

⁴⁷⁸ Yaroslav's daughters became the wives of the Kings of Hungary, Norway and France, whilst his sister was the consort of the ruler of Poland, and his sons married Polish, German and other princesses. It is noteworthy that just at the time when Rus'-Byzantine relations were tense—as witness the expedition against Constantinople in 1043—Yaroslav sent a mission to Germany offering one of his daughters in marriage to Henry III (an offer which was not accepted). Further information on Yaroslav's matrimonial policy can be found in many works; see, in this connection, B. Leib, *Rome, Kiev et Byzance à la fin du XIe siècle*, 1924; N. Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, OC IX (1), 1927; D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, 1950, p. 555 (Genealogical table); B. Grekov, *Mesto drevnei Rusi v mirovoi istorii*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR I*, 1953, pp. 262–263; R. Bloch, *Verwandtschaftliche Beziehungen des sächsischen Adels zum russischen Fürstenhause im XI. Jahrhundert*, in M. Gorlin and R. Bloch-Gorlina, *Études littéraires et historiques*, 1957, pp. 219–240, and others.

established various contacts and understandings with his southern neighbour. Full of pride, he considered himself the ruler of a land renowned in the whole world; nevertheless, he felt vastly honoured that his family was related by marriage to the Imperial dynasty. With all this skilful manoeuvring in State policy, it is not surprising that Yaroslav was called 'the Wise' by later generations.

There were many points of similarity in the rule of father and son. In more than one respect, Yaroslav indeed simply carried out plans inaugurated by Vladimir. Some differences can also be perceived. The principal one is symbolized by the two churches especially near to the affection of Vladimir and Yaroslav respectively and in which they were put to rest: one *martyris et papae Clementis*; the other, St Sophia's, erected by the son after the model of the cathedral in Constantinople in token of his veneration for it.

The present observations are concerned not so much with the history of the development of Christianity in Eastern Europe as with a critical, comparative study of numerous sources in relation to those passages in the introductory part of 'Nestor's' Chronicle which are considered the most obscure and controversial. The comparison clearly shows that not a single source contradicts what 'Nestor' wrote on the first pages of his work. All the sources for the relevant period, not excluding the *Povest'* as a whole, are fully in agreement with one another, reciprocally supplement their information and, taken together, yield a clear picture of the subject. 'Nestor's' narrative concerning the Slavonic rite on the Dnieper fills the gap which has till now obscured our knowledge of the beginnings of the new faith among the Eastern Slavs. The agreement of the *Povest'* with the other sources and the consistency of the various passages in that work (despite all the confusions and contradictions claimed to have been found in it) are most weighty arguments in support of the validity of the interpretation of 'Nestor's' texts presented in this chapter.

7. GENERAL CONCLUSIONS

Since the Slavonic words *yazyk*, *zemlya*, *strana* and *rod* correspond to the Greek *ethnos*, and the latter is shown by the 'Apostolic canons' and those of the Council of Antioch (as well as by Aristenes, Zonaras, Balsamon and other sources) to have signified a metropolitan ecclesiastical province, the above-mentioned Slavonic words must have had an ecclesiastical-religious connotation. The Church Statute of Yaroslav, the Prayer of Hilarion, the *Tacticon* of Nikon Chernogorets, the Epistle of Spiridon-Savva, etc., which arose independently of 'Nestor', fully support the validity of this observation. The Metropolis erected in Kiev was known as the Rus'ian one (*mitropol'ya*

rus'skaya).⁴⁷⁹ Hence the conclusion that the expressions 'the Rus'ian *yazyk*', 'the Rus'ian *zemlya*', 'the Rus'ian *strana*' and '*Rus*' so often encountered in the sources of that period signified the Metropolis of Kiev and the believers in the faith upheld by its metropolitans.

The most important result of this investigation is the fact that it demonstrates complete agreement between the historical examination of the sources effected in *OR* and the semantic analysis of the linguistic material reviewed in the present chapter. The ecclesiastical-religious sense of 'the Rus'ian *yazyk*', 'the Rus'ian *zemlya*', etc. can no longer be dismissed as a surmise or mere conjecture amongst a host of other hypotheses regarding the early history of Eastern Europe, but has acquired the status of a fact which not only can but must be taken into account when interpreting the texts of sources of the period.

⁴⁷⁹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 102.

CHAPTER III

THE DESCENT OF THE RUS'

MANY sources, entirely independent of one another in origin, are at one in stating that in the 9th and the 10th centuries, the Rus' were a people differing from the other inhabitants of Eastern Europe in speech, customs and appearance. The Bertinian Annals relate, under the year 839, that a group of men sent from Constantinople to Germany belonged to the tribe of 'Rhos'. In 867, the Patriarch Photius mentions a people called 'Rhos' who surpassed all other nations in cruelty, and for that reason conquered a number of them. The 'Bavarian Geographer', in the 9th century, when enumerating many Central and Eastern European tribes, such as the Hungarians, Khazars, etc., mentions also the 'Ruzzi'. Arabic writers of the 9th and 10th centuries speak of the Rus' simultaneously with the Bulgars, Burtas and others. Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the middle of the 10th century, treats of the Rus' on the same level as of the Pechenegs, Khazars, Slavs, etc., and on this occasion he gives the names of the Dnieper cataracts in the Rus'ian language. The Hildesheimian Annals note, under the year 960, the arrival at King Otto's court of envoys of the Rus'ian tribe. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub (c. 966) treats of the Rus' in the same category as the Prussians, Khazars, Slavs and others. Bishop Liutprand of Cremona who went twice to Byzantium (949, 968) mentions the Rus' among the neighbours of the Empire, such as the Khazars, Pechenegs, Hungarians and Bulgarians. It undeniably follows from all these sources—and many other similar instances could be quoted—that the Rus', at that period, were a tribe, a people, an ethnic conception.¹

The question arises: of what origin were the Rus'?² Two theories should be taken under consideration, the 'Normanist' and the 'Anti-Normanist'. The Normanists assume that the Rus' were of Norse descent, composed of people from Scandinavia, chiefly from Sweden. The Anti-Normanists in their decided majority consider the Rus' as Slavs.

¹ It is necessary to lay stress on the ethnic character of the term 'Rus'' because certain conjectures have been put forward in the literature on the subject (cf. *OR*, p. 115) which see in Rus' only a privileged group of the East-European population containing various ethnic elements.

² I have already treated of this matter in *OR*. Here I desire, however, to make certain additions, and that for the following reasons: the semantic analysis of the source-material accomplished in the preceding chapter introduces new elements regarding this problem—and secondly, in the last few years new publications on the subject have appeared which deserve our attention.

Is it possible that numerous sources, originating independently of one another, render two different pictures of reality, and contain data mutually incompatible? Rybakov thinks it is.

The long drawn-out discussions on the descent of the Rus'—says the author—are to a certain extent to be explained by the contradictions occurring in the sources, by the multiple guesses and suppositions which appear already in the earliest authors. We find in the sources clear indications that the Rus' were Varangians, and equally clear evidence that they were Slavs. The Rus' are called nomads by Photius whilst others say that horses could not carry them (Zechariah the Rhetor). The Rus' are called a Slavonic tribe (Ibn Khurdadhbih), but [sometimes] they are distinguished from the Slavs and even contrasted to them. The Rus'ian land is on one occasion expanded so as to comprise nearly the whole of Eastern Europe, only to be reduced to the dimension of a marshy island on another.³

The texts of the sources listed here by Rybakov as well as of those he passes over shall be commented upon in the course of my further considerations. However, it remains a fact that these texts do not contain the contradictions mentioned by the author. One cannot quote Ibn Khurdadhbih as producing irrefutable evidence that the Rus' are descended from the Slavs. One cannot analyse the information contained in his work without due regard to other Arabic writers. One cannot speak of sources which testify that the Rus' were Slavs, because no such sources exist. And with regard to the degree of credibility, one cannot place Photius and Zechariah the Rhetor on the same footing, all the more so since it is not even sure if the latter wrote about the Rus'. It follows from 'Nestor's' Chronicle—and not only from that source—that the very notion of Rus' passed through several phases in the course of history, while Rybakov fails to remark that between the time when the land of Rus' was a small island and the period when it comprised nearly all Eastern Europe there elapsed several centuries.

Such an utterly false appraisal of the texts of the epoch is intended to disparage them and to belittle their value. According to Rybakov, the accounts of authors who wrote about the Rus', often speaking of events of their own time, only contain 'guesses and suppositions'. He continually 'corrects' the sources whenever they do not correspond to the theses he puts forward. The most convenient argument used by Rybakov, is to call the sources tendentious. If a text is not in accordance with his views, he declares with great emphasis that its original wording must have been different, that it has been altered in later times or that it is an insertion of later copyists.⁴ In speaking

³ B. Rybakov, *Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I.V. Stalina*, *Voi*, 1952 (9), p. 44.

⁴ As I am unable for lack of space to mention too many passages of Rybakov's various publications (the author applies the same methods in all his writings), I limit myself to quote only one of his treatises: *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VIMU*, 1955 (4-5), pp. 57-77. Here are some typical observations: 'Our attention is chiefly concentrated not so much on the errors or deliberate falsifications for which such and

of difficult and controversial problems Rybakov has recourse to the phrase: 'it is obvious' (*ochevidno*),⁵ though in fact he fails to clarify the matter in the very least.

1. ARCHAEOLOGISTS ON THE EARLY RUS'

Rybakov starts from the assumption that from the 1st to the 7th century A.D., the Slavs lived in the region of Kiev and that the well-known reports of Jordanis, Procopius, Mauricius, etc., concerning the Antes, in fact relate to the Eastern Slavs. According to Rybakov, the designation 'Antes' does not comprise one tribe or a union of several peoples, but represents a larger entity, namely the community of the East Slavonic tribes (*obshchnost' vostochnoslavnyanskikh plemen*).

Rybakov is of the opinion that possibly about the middle of the 5th century there already existed several consolidated tribal unions, such as the Polyanians, Krivichians, etc. He considers the legendary Kii from whom the name of Kiev is allegedly derived as an historical figure and believes that the tribal union of the Polyanians dominated vast territories on the Dnieper, the Dniester, the Bug (the tributary of the Vistula) and perhaps even on the Oka. But this union is supposed to have disintegrated by the middle of the 6th century. It is then, in the 6th and 7th centuries, that a new union is assumed to have originated under the leadership of the Ros' (later modified to Rus') tribe which resided on the river Ros', the western tributary of the Dnieper.⁶ The Ros'-Rus' tribe which was a branch of the

such a chronicler is responsible, as . . . ' (p. 58); 'the author of the Novgorodian compilation, having made many confusions in his work in an unwarranted manner, has mixed up events of different times . . . ' (p. 59); 'this is brought about also by the insertion into the chronicler's text of A.D. 1093 . . . ' (p. 61); 'believing the tendentious account in the Chronicle of Novgorod . . . ' (p. 61); 'three people . . . have worked, each one in his own fashion, on the *Povest' vremennykh let*, each changing what his predecessors had accomplished' (p. 66); 'the tendentiousness of the *Povest'* . . . in its last . . . version . . . ' (p. 66); 'this tendency becomes apparent in the various insertions, additions, and in the obvious falsification of events' (p. 66); '[the text] which has been distorted by the hand of a later compiler . . . ' (p. 67); 'a later interpolation taken from a purely geographical description . . . ' (p. 68); 'possibly there followed an insertion taking the reader back to the destiny of all the Slavs' (p. 71); 'in the further account' [of events] which evidently has undergone important corrections at the hands of the compiler . . . ' (p. 71); 'a later insertion taken from a geographical description has changed the use of the word . . . ' (p. 72); '[the text] was replaced here by another narrative, with another tendency' (p. 72); 'the only valuable fragment which has been preserved from the compiler's hand appears to be . . . ' (p. 72); 'as soon as the narration reaches the events of the 9th century, we feel that a different hand takes over . . . the course of the report and that the continuation is concerned with entirely different subjects' (p. 73); 'the fundamentally tendentious alteration of the *Povest'* inspired by the local Novgorodian legends and conjectures . . . ' (p. 74); 'the latter part of the title of the *Povest'* . . . has not reached us in its original form, but has undergone important modifications' (p. 74); 'Soviet historians have been successful in convincingly demonstrating the artificial character of a number of interpolations concerning the Varangians and the Rus'' (p. 75), etc.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 64, 67, 68, 70-73, 77, etc.

⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 378; N. Artemov and V. Lebedev, *Istoriya SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do XVIII v.*, 1959, pp. 81, 87; G. Vernadsky, *The Origins*

Antes, allegedly extended its domination to the lands of the other Antic tribes, Polyanians, Severians, Ulichians, etc., and expanding ever further in the course of time attained Lake Ilmen' in the north, where there is the city of Staraya Rusa. The Rus' are supposed to have suppressed the name of the Antes (the latter appear in the sources for the last time in the year 602) with relative rapidity.

Archaeological material—concludes Rybakov—allows us to supplement the reports of written sources and to observe the gradual expansion of the insignificant tribe of the Rus' [from the river Ros'] until they become the Rus'ian tribal union. This union formed the framework in which the Rus'ian nation was to develop. As a result of the progressive unification of many tribes and tribal unions around the Rus' 'there emerged between the 9th and the 10th century a single culture, a single language and a single State territory'.⁷

If we are now to proceed to the analysis of Rybakov's theses we must pass over details of less importance and put the following questions: (1) Can we identify the Antes with the Eastern Slavs? (2) Did a Slavonic tribe of the name of Rus' ever exist? (3) Is it admissible to derive the name of the Rus' from the river Ros'?

Let us begin our investigation from the last point.

Rybakov is right in remarking that tribes sometimes took their names from the rivers on the banks of which they were settled. 'Nestor' derives the name of the Moravians from the river Morava, that of the Polochians from the Polota, that of the Buzhians from the Bug. But the chronicler, who is well-informed on this point because he is associated with Kiev and the traditions of the territory, does not derive the name 'Rus'' from the river Ros'. And as he gives another explanation of the origin of the name 'Rus'', he implicitly refutes Rybakov's hypothesis.

We now pass to the next point. Contrary to what Rybakov says, the *Povest'*, although it mentions a number of East-Slavonic tribes,

of Russia, 1959, p. 212 and many others also connect the Rus' with the river Ros'. A. Soloviev, *Der Begriff 'Russland' in Mittelalter*, WAGSO II, 1956, p. 144; *idem*, *Vizantiiskoe imya Rossii*, VV XII, 1957, p. 135, opposes Rybakov's thesis from the linguistic point of view.

⁷ Rybakov formulates and develops his views in many studies of which we mention the most remarkable: *Anty i Kievskaya Rus'*, VDI, 1939 (1); *Rannaya kul'tura vostochnykh slavyan*, *IsZ*, 1943 (11-12); *Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina*, *Vol*, 1952 (9); *Drevnie rusy, K voprosu ob obrazovanii yadra drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina*, *SAr XVII*, 1953; *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva (Predstavleniya letopistsev o Rusi VI-IX vv)*, *VMU*, 1955 (4-5); *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Doklady sovetskoi delegatsii na X Mezhdunarodnom Kongresse Istorikov v Rime*, 1955; also in French: *La Formation de la Russie de Kiev*, *ibid.* (see also in *A*, 1957); *Kul'tura drevnei Rusi*, 1956; *Slov'ani ta Rus'*, in I. Shovkoplyas, VIII naukova konferentsiya Institutu Arkheologii AN URSR, *Ar XI*, 1957; *Predposylki obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in B. Rybakov (ed.), *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Krizis rabovladel'cheskoi sistemy i zarozhdenie feodalizma na territorii SSSR III-IX vv.*, 1958; *Próba rekonstrukcji pierwotnej postaci Powieści dorocznej*, *KH LXV* (2), 1958; *Problemy istorii drevnei Rusi v svete noveishikh arkheologicheskikh issledovaniy*, *VAN*, 1960 (8); *Spornye voprosy obrazovaniya Kievskoi Rusi*, *Vol*, 1960 (9); *Problèmes en cours sur la formation de la Russie de Kiev*, *RdC*, 1960.

does not know of a Slavonic people of the name of Ros'—Rus'. And if Georgiev tries to diminish the reliability of the Chronicle by declaring its author 'the chief originator of the Normanist theory', he also commits a fundamental error.⁸ There were 'Normanists' already before 'Nestor'. We must number among them the author of the entry in the Bertinian Annals (839), Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, Liutprand of Cremona, and many others. We cannot credit all these authors, who write quite independently of one another, with making the same error. I have analysed many sources relating to this question⁹ and have dealt separately with the Chronicle of 'Nestor'.¹⁰ And it follows from this examination that even if the *Povest'* did not exist, we should still have to recognize Rus' as Norsemen.

Rybakov and others base their identification of the Eastern Slavs with the Antes chiefly on archaeology, although they differ widely in details. I do not discuss the problem of the so-called Chernyakhov-culture, ascribed by Braichevsky, Rybakov, Symonovich, Tret'yakov, etc., to the Antes and the Slavs. Antoniewicz, Artamonov, Jażdżewski, Kropotkin, Lyapushkin and others do not share this view.¹¹ Pogodin and A. Shakhmatov consider the Antes as the forefathers of all Eastern Slavs.¹² According to Derzhavin, Braichevsky, Grekov, the three terms—the Antes, the (Eastern) Slavs and the Rus'—were synonymous.¹³ M. Hrushevs'ky, Spitsyn, Nasonov, Kozachenko, Mongait regard the Antes only as the southern group of the Eastern Slavs.¹⁴ Many scholars (Šafařík, S. Solov'ev, Sreznevsky, etc.) located

⁸ E. Georgiev, *Slavyanskaya pis'mennost' do Kirilla i Mefodiya*, 1952, p. 50. M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI–XV vv.*, 1940, p. 39, calls 'Nestor' an 'ultra-Normanist'. L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX v.*, 1957, p. 39, takes a similar attitude.

⁹ *OR*, Chapter V.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Chapter VI.

¹¹ Cf. M. Braichev'sky, *Pro etnichnu prinalozhnost' chernyakhiv'skoi kul'tury*, *Ar X*, 1957, pp. 11–24; L. Golubeva, *Soveschchanie, posvyashchennoe problemam chernyakhovskoi kul'tury i ee roli v rannei istorii slavyan*, *SAr*, 1957 (4), pp. 274–277; *Narisi starodavn'oi istorii Ukrains'koi RSR*, by several hands, 1957, pp. 322–331; V. Kropotkin, *Iz istorii denezhnogo obrashcheniya v Vostochnoi Evrope v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *SAr*, 1958 (2), pp. 284–285; J. Ochmański, *Konferencja poznafska, poświęcona problematyce genezy państwa ruskiego*, *KH LXV* (2), 1958, pp. 622–623, 628–629; R. Rozenfel'dt, *II Mezhdunarodnyi arkhologicheskii seminar, posvyashchennyi izucheniyu slavyanskikh plemennykh soyzov v I tys. n.e.*, *SAr*, 1959 (2), pp. 294–295 E. Symonovich, *Ob edinstve i razlichiyakh pamyatnikov chernyakhovskoi kul'tury*, *SAr XXIX–XXX*, 1959, pp. 84–107; *idem*, *Raskopki poseleniya Lomovatoe 2*, *KSDPI LXXIX*, 1960, pp. 21–26; P. Zasurtsev, *Raboty arkhologov i etnografov*, *VAN*, 1960 (8), p. 131.

¹² A. Pogodin, *Iz istorii slavyanskikh peredvizhenii*, 1901; A. Shakhmatov, *Drevneishie sud'by russkogo plemeni*, 1919, p. 12.

¹³ N. Derzhavin, *Istoriya Bolgarii I*, 1945, p. 203; M. Braichev'sky, *Ants'kii period v istorii skhidnikh slov'yan*, *Ar VII*, 1952, pp. 21–42; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 378, 385.

¹⁴ M. Grushevsky, *Kievskaya Rus' I*, 1911, p. 209; A. Spitsyn, *Russkaya istoricheskaya geografiya*, 1917, p. 18; A. Nasonov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, *VAN*, 1951 (8), pp. 69–70; A. Kozachenko, *Drevnerusskaya narodnost'*—obshchaya etnicheskaya baza russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov, *SE*, 1954 (2), pp. 6–8; A. Mongait, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 1955, p. 314 (also in English, *Archaeology in the U.S.S.R.*, 1959).

the Antes between the Dniester and the Dnieper.¹⁵ Bogusevich assigned to the Antes a homeland between the Dniester and the Upper Don.¹⁶ Tret'yakov notes discrepancies as to time as well as territory between the Antes and the Rus'.¹⁷

In December 1955, a conference of Russian archaeologists (and historians) was held devoted to the discussion of the third volume (Chapter XV) of the publication *Vsemirnaya istoriya* ('Universal History'). We read in the report made on the subject that the discussion went beyond the limits of a simple exchange of views on that chapter and that a number of other important problems of Rus'ian history were debated.¹⁸

I quote from this report the opinion of Korzukhina on the subjects with which we are here concerned, relating to the Antes, the Eastern Slavs and the Rus':

G. F. Korzukhina observed that the conception of the so-called Antic period of Rus'ian history as directly preceding the period of Kievan Rus', has not been confirmed by sufficient proof. However, the view that the beginnings of Kievan Rus'ian culture are rooted in the culture of the Antes, has become dominant; it has been introduced into the curriculum of academic schools, into handbooks and museum displays; it has been promulgated by Soviet historians lecturing abroad.¹⁹ The recognition of the culture of the 'burial fields' (*polei pogrebenii*) as Antic has put the time of the great Slavonic unification as far back as the first centuries of our era, and has attributed to the territory of the Antic tribal union an enormous size, extending from the Carpathians to the Don and the lower reaches of the Oka. People have begun to consider the region of the Middle Dnieper where numerous hoards of Byzantine silver were buried as the centre of this union. Some students have written on the extensive foreign trade of the Antic tribal union, about its monetary exchange at home, and the flourishing of the crafts in the Antic cities. In this way the idea has sprung up that a vast and powerful Antic tribal union had existed which was on the verge of developing into a State.

And Korzukhina continues as follows:

The written sources which speak of the Antes and which come from the Byzantine chroniclers of the 6th century, describe the Slavs of the Danube, and it is not permissible to extend this information to the region of the Dnieper. We do not possess reliable historical sources allowing us to retrace the happenings on the middle course of the

¹⁵ See also A. Braichevs'ka, *Pivdenna mezha chernyakhivs'koi kul'turi na Dnipro*, *Ar* XI, 1957, pp. 3-13. Some arguments against the thesis of Klyuchevsky which identifies the Antes with the Dulebians were advanced by E. Skrzhinskaya, *O sklavenakh i antakh, o Mursianskom ozere i gorode Novietune*, *VV* XII, 1957, pp. 27-29.

¹⁶ V. Bogusevich, *Drevnie vostochnye slavyane*, in *Istoriya ukrainskoi SSR* I, 1956, p. 29.

¹⁷ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 209-217 (cf. *idem*, *Anty i Rus'*, *SE*, 1947, pp. 71-83). See also M. Shimizu, *Problems on the Origin of the Russi*, *P V* (1), 1956, pp. 54-76 (in Japanese; unavailable to me).

¹⁸ *Obsuzhdenie voprosa o genezise feodalizma v Rossii i o vznikenii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, *Vol*, 1956 (3), pp. 202-205.

¹⁹ This last sentence undoubtedly relates to Rybakov's report at the International Congress of Historians in Rome (1955).

Dnieper in the 6th and 7th century. The so-called Antic period is only feebly reflected in archaeological findings. We know nothing about settlements or graves of the 6th–7th centuries from the territory of the Middle Dnieper. All that archaeologists dispose of are hoards and separate occasional findings of bronze and silver ornaments. The locality where these hoards occur does not correspond to the area of Antic settlements reconstructed from the study of the written sources.

G. F. Korzukhina, I. I. Lyapushkin, M. I. Artamonov—we read in the report—suppose that the lack of archaeological material relating to the history of the lands of the Middle Dnieper in the period of the 6th and 7th centuries is accounted for by the fact that, at that time, the population in the wood-steppe territory was sparse and not settled. There is no foundation for the belief that this population was Slavonic. Archaeological data relating to the first Slavs who appeared in the southern parts of the forest zone²⁰ belong approximately to the beginning of the 8th century, and in the wood-steppe region apparently to the 9th century.²¹

In the light of the criticism of Rybakov's thesis recently voiced by Soviet archaeologists,²² it is clear how ill-founded were the observations directed against *OR* by Shevelov, when he accused me of not basing my views on *The Origin of Russia* on Rybakov's studies.²³ The problem of the Antes, the Eastern Slavs and the Rus', concerning which opinions among archaeologists differ so radically, is a classical and by no means isolated instance proving the soundness

²⁰ As to the boundary between forest zone and the wood-steppe belt see F. Mil'kov, *Neskol'ko slov v zashchitu lesostepnoi geograficheskoi zony*, *IVGO* LXXXIX, 1957 (6), pp. 548–550.

²¹ *Obsuzhdenie voprosa*, pp. 202–203. These authors developed their views in a number of studies. Cf. M. Artamonov, *Slavyane i Rus'*. *Nauchnaya sessiya LGU 1955–1956 gg.*, 1956, pp. 3–6 (it should be added that M. Artamonov, *Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya v Yuzhnoi Podolii v 1952–1953 gg.*, *KSDPI* LIX, 1955, pp. 100–117, asserts that the Slavs are not known on the middle course of the Dniester before the 8th–9th century); G. Korzukhina, *K istorii Srednego Podneprov'ya v seredine I tysyacheletiya n.e.*, *SAR* XXII, 1955, pp. 61–82; I. Lyapushkin, *Mesto romensko-borshevskikh pamyatnikov sredi slavyanskikh drevnostei*, *VLU* XX, 1956, pp. 45–60; *idem*, *Slavyanskije pamyatniki vtoroi poloviny I tysyacheletiya n.e. verkhnego techeniya r. Desny*, *KSDPI*, LXXIV 1959, pp. 81–86. These views were opposed by M. Braichevsky, *K istorii lesostepnoi polosy Vostochnoi Evropy v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *SAR*, 1957 (3), pp. 114–129; P. Tret'yakov, *Pamyatniki zarubinskoi kul'tury*, *MTA* LXX, 1959, and others. M. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev I*, 1958, p. 92, rightly remarks that the time from the middle of the 5th to the second half of the 8th century is the most obscure period in the history of Kiev. Similarly—K. Jazdzewski, *Geneza państwa ruskiego w świetle źródeł archeologicznych*, in *Studia Historica. W. 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, 1958, pp. 57–71.

²² A. Mongait, *Ob itogakh arkheologicheskikh ekspeditsii 1955 goda*, *Vol*, 1956 (8), pp. 191–192, states that Rybakov and other archaeologists 'on certain questions attained subjective results as yet unconfirmed by factual data. These conclusions drawn by them have, of late, been subjected to scientific criticism. Thus the argument concerning Slavonic antiquities in the region of the Middle Dnieper and Dniester dating from the 5th to the 8th century of our era has been called in question. The problem of Slavonic antiquities of the 5th to the 8th century in the lands of the Middle Dnieper is specially controversial. The fragmentary material that we possess does not justify any concrete conclusions linking that period with the culture of Rus' in the 9th and 10th century.' Cf. T. Arne, *Die Warägerfrage und die sowjetische Forschung*, *AA* XXIII, 1952, pp. 139–140.

²³ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, p. 43.

of the method I applied in *OR*,²⁴ when I treated archaeological arguments relating to the subject with the greatest possible caution.

Discussing the question of Slavonic settlements in the Middle Dnieper region during the first centuries of our era, Korzukhina aptly remarks:

One is struck by the excessively hypothetical character of the ideas presented [in the literature on the subject] and by the abundance of heterogeneous concepts which cancel out one another...²⁵ It should not be overlooked that a special responsibility is borne by archaeologists when they interpret the basic sources to the history of the first millennium of our era—the material remains at their disposal. Unaccustomed to work on archaeological sources, historians depend fully on archaeologists in many matters... It is for this reason that archaeologists should be most circumspect and careful in their conclusions.²⁶

2. THE ETYMOLOGY OF THE NAME 'RUS'

The etymology of the name 'Rus' has been the subject of many studies. 'Rus' has often been derived from the appellations of rivers and localities containing the root *rus* or *ros* scattered to the north and south, east and west throughout Eastern Europe. But this kind of name can also be met with in Central and Western, in Northern and Southern Europe, and even in Africa. I have previously written about this giving many instances in support²⁷ and I do not intend to return to that matter here, especially since Stender-Petersen has also shown the futility of conjectures of this kind.²⁸ On a toponymic basis one can prove with equal success that the Rus' came from the south (the Anti-Normanist thesis) as that they originated in the north (the Normanist thesis). The Anti-Normanists also attempt to link up

²⁴ *OR*, pp. 164–165.

²⁵ L. Klein, *Voprosy proiskhozhdeniya slavyan v sbornike dokladov VI nauchnoi konferentsii Instituta arkheologii Akademii nauk USSR, SAr XII*, 1955, pp. 270–271, writes: 'The differences in the opinions among archaeologists regarding the problems of the ethnic determination of one or another culture, very often do not stem from fundamental methodological differences or from differences in the material presented. The same facts are treated by various investigators in diverse manner without precise, exact and solid argumentation. This subjectivity of various opinions is to some extent conditioned by the archaeological material itself since, examined out of context, it permits such freedom of interpretation. The abundance of subjective concepts, the arbitrary interpretations and surmises, are the result of the incorrect application of archaeological findings when resolving the problems of ethnogenesis, an outcome of an erroneous approach to these problems.'

²⁶ G. Korzukhina, *K istorii Srednego Podneprov'ya v seredine I tysyacheletiya n.e.*, *SAr XXII*, 1955, p. 62. Similarly—I. Lyapushkin, *O zhilishchakh vostochnykh slavyan Dneprovskogo levoberezh'ya VIII–X vv.*, *KSDPI LXVIII*, 1957, p. 3.

²⁷ *OR*, pp. 129–132.

²⁸ A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 16, 85–87, 243. A. Popov, *Toponimika kak istoricheskaya nauka*, *M XIV*, 1957, pp. 3–9, says: 'The authors [of many studies]... try to adapt the toponymic material to a predetermined hypothesis for which there is generally little justification.' And further on. 'Historians can profit by the work of the philologist only on condition that it finds confirmation in historical, archaeological and other facts linked with toponymics, which combined with it lead to new and important historical conclusions.' Popov quotes many examples in support of his general observation, which is fully justified, but omits the classical instance of authors who attempt to deduct the word 'Rus' from toponymic material.

'Rus'' with more or less similar names of nations who at any time whatever have lived or are assumed to have lived in the south of Eastern Europe. In the compilation known as 'The Church History' by Zechariah the Rhetor (c. A.D. 555) there figures, among the peoples established north of the Caucasus, one going by the name of *hros*. These people are supposed to have been neighbours to the Amazons and have been remarkable for such enormous stature that horses could not carry them as riders. It is inconceivable that this nebulous and phantastic piece of information should be considered as a reliable historical account.²⁹ In the German translation, *hros* is, in my opinion, pertinently rendered by *heros* (hero).³⁰ Dyakonov states that Zechariah the Rhetor 'seems to speak [*kak budto govorit*, so there is no certainty] of the existence of the tribe of Ros (*hros*) already in the 6th century. . . . Possibly there has occurred here a simple mistake of the copyist³¹ which we are unable to verify.' The author supposes that *hros* is a Syriac transliteration of the Greek 'Rhos'.³² Pigulevskaya tries to render the etymological argument more plausible by adopting the form *hrus*.³³ Rybakov translates *hros* in twofold fashion, first as 'hero' and then as 'Rus'.³⁴

The Rus' have also been derived from the Roxolians,³⁵ a people mentioned by Strabo, Ptolemy and others, which inhabited the south of Eastern Europe. The supporters of this theory assume the Slavonic descent of the Rus', although the Roxolians were a Sarmatic tribe. Many authors form artificial hypotheses in order to somehow link these names and peoples. Grekov proposes to change the name of the Roxolians into Rosolians,³⁶ and by this simple device to draw it nearer to Ros'-Rus'. According to Vernadsky, the Rus' were in the Sarmatic period closely associated with the Alans. Hence the double name 'Rus-Alan' (Roxolani). The first part of the name 'Roxolani' may be derived from the Iranian *rukhs* which means 'light'.³⁷ The name 'Rukhs-Alan' may be understood in two ways: either as the 'Radiant Alans' or as the 'Rus' and Alans', that is a combination of

²⁹ Critical remarks on the credibility of this source can be found in: H. Grégoire, in *BM* I (1), 1946, pp. 259-260; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, pp. 305-309; A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, p. 16, and others.

³⁰ K. Ahrens and G. Krüger, *Die sogenannte Kirchengeschichte des Zacharias Rhetor*, 1899, p. 253.

³¹ I.e., the copyist may have put *hros* instead of Ros or Rus.

³² A. Dyakonov, *Izvestiya Psevdo-Zakharii o drevnikh slavyanakh*, *VDI*, 1939 (4), pp. 84-86.

³³ N. Pigulevskaya, *Imya 'Rus'' v siriiskom istochnike VI v. n.e., in Akademiku B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya, sbornik statei*, 1952, pp. 43, 46, 47.

³⁴ B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 14: 'This was the time (i.e., the 6th century) when, in distant Syria, the name of the powerful heronation of the Ros' or Rus' first became known.' Cf. *idem*, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955 (4-5), p. 63.

³⁵ Cf. A. Solov'ev, *Vizantiiskoe imya Rossii*, *VV* XII, 1957, pp. 142-144.

³⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 447.

³⁷ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 88.

two clans or two tribes.³⁸ To strengthen his thesis, Vernadsky attempts to show that, even in the historical times, there existed close interrelations between the Rus'ian and the Ossetian epos.³⁹ The Ossetian historical tale, *Iry Dada*, describes the conflict between the Alans and the Rus' which is also mentioned by 'Nestor' under the year 1022.⁴⁰ Unfortunately, this poem is an evident forgery.⁴¹ Stender-Petersen rightly shows that Vernadsky's hypothesis ('Roxolani' mean the 'Rus' and Alans') is untenable in the light of linguistics.⁴²

All these etymological hypotheses have only one purpose: to prove that the name of 'Rus'', and consequently also the people bearing this name, was known in the south of Eastern Europe before the arrival of Norsemen and that, contrary to the indications of many sources, it has nothing to do with the Norsemen. Such a conclusion is merely a second hypothesis based on the first hypothesis of an alleged connection between the Rus' and the 'hros', between the Rus' and the Roxolanians or another people.⁴³

The word 'Rus'' might come from the Slavonic adjective *rusyi*,⁴⁴ designating the colour of the hair or of the skin as reddish, sunburnt,

³⁸ G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, pp. 63-64; *idem*, The Origin of the Name Rus', *SF* XV, 1956, pp. 167-179. Vernadsky thinks that the original *Rukhs* might in some local dialects, Slavic among others, sound as Rohs, Ross or Rus. *Idem*, *Ancient Russia*, p. 108.

³⁹ The Ossetians were the descendants of the Alans.

⁴⁰ *Iry Dada* was written down by Dzambulat Dzanty, in 1910, as he heard it from the old Ossetian reciter, Khulykh. G. Vernadsky and D. Dzanty, The Ossetian Tale of Iry Dada and Mstislav, *JAF* LXIX, 1956, pp. 216-235; G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, pp. 39, 149, 196, 200-201; *idem*, Problems of Ossetic and Russian Epos, *ASEER* XVIII (3), 1959, pp. 281-294.

⁴¹ V. Abaev, Neudachnaya poddelka, *IANOLY* XVII (1), 1958, pp. 72-74; W. Henning, A Spurious Folktale, *BSOAS* XXI (2), 1958, pp. 315-318; D. Lang, in *SEER* XXXVIII, 1960, pp. 565-566. Cf. G. Stökl, Russische Geschichte von der Entstehung des Kiever Reiches bis zum Ende der Wirren (862-1613), *JGO* VI (2), 1958, p. 224.

⁴² A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 85, 243, 244; *idem*, Russian Studies, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 39. There is no need to discuss in detail other conjectures of Vernadsky ('A group of Norsemen merged with the Alano-Slavic tribe of Rus' and assumed their name,' G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, p. 174; 'Since, as I believe, both the Rus' and the Norsemen originally belonged to the same background—that of the Alanic-Tokharian sphere—it is theoretically possible that part of the Norsemen might have merged with the Rus' long before the era of the Vikings. However, there are a number of considerations on the basis of which we may think that the mergence of the two elements—the tribe of Rus' and a group of Norsemen—took place only as late as the second half of the 8th century. It is at that time that the Rus' emerged as an aggressive and expansive factor in the turbulent political history of the Pontic area and the Caucasus. The Rus' had shown, indeed, a similarly dynamic character much earlier when they were associated with the Alans and were known as the Roxolani,' *ibid.*, p. 180; 'In my opinion, it is the Russes themselves who might have asked the Norsemen for assistance. . . . It is theoretically possible that the first contingent of Norsemen came to South Russia not from the north but from the east, from among the "Aso-Varangians" and "Alano-Varangians"'. Later on, groups of Norsemen from Scandinavia must have joined them,' *ibid.*, pp. 180-181, etc.)

⁴³ Some authors arbitrarily link the Rus' (who, according to the Anti-Normanists, were Slavonic) with the Rosomones of Jordanis, a Gothic-Herulian tribe (cf. A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, pp. 16, 213, 214), or with the Etruscans (*ibid.*, p. 16).

⁴⁴ Some scholars think that just as the noun *zelen'* was derived from the adjective *zelenyi* (green), and *chern'* from *chernyi* (black), so *rus'* was formed from *rusyi*. Cf. M. Korduba, Najnowsze teorie o początkach Rusi, *PH* XXX, 1932, p. 74; R. Smal-Stocky, The Origin of the Word 'Rus'', *Sl* VI, 1949, pp. 9-11, *idem*, *Slavs and Teutons*, 1950, pp. 94-98. See also P. Chernykh, *Ocherk russkoi istoricheskoi leksikologii. Drevnerusskii period*, 1956, pp. 100-101.

tawny.⁴⁵ I did not reject this supposition in *OR* but qualified it expressly as a conjecture, and stated that I am not its originator. At the same time I quoted a number of sources the authors of which declare that the uncommon appearance of the Rus' struck all beholders.⁴⁶ It often happened in those days that foreigners called various peoples by names derived from their appearance, and these later became stabilized. The Polovtsians for instance are a case in point.⁴⁷ However, Stender-Petersen writes: 'All conjectures according to which the term *Rus'* has some connection with the Slavonic adjective *rusyi* I consider as inadmissible in a scholarly discussion and as absolutely unfounded. In fact, they all originate in the phantastic medieval notion of a *rusyi* nation that would come and deliver Constantinople from Turkish domination.' He considers it impossible at the present time to base the hypothesis that the word 'Rus'' is derived from *rusyi* on the prophecy of Nestor Iskander (*Povest' o Tsar'grade*), itself taken from old eschatological writings.⁴⁸

I do not intend to cling stubbornly to a conjecture quoted in *OR* as one of many possibilities. Yet, to change my view, I would have to give much attention to Stender-Petersen's counter-arguments. Unfortunately, this scholar has expressed his opinion in very categorical form but without supporting evidence. It is not true that the etymology of 'Rus'' (as derived from *rusyi*) has its source in the legends and prophecies connected with the fall of the Byzantine Empire. Liutprand of Cremona, in the 10th century, is certainly not writing with a view to propaganda, but simply for information when he says alluding to the Rus': ... '*Gens ... quam a qualitate corporis Graeci vocant Rusios.*'⁴⁹

Many scholars believe that the term 'Rus'' passed to the Slavs from the Finns who by the word *Rōtsi* (at present *Ruotsi*) designated migrants from beyond the sea, from Sweden.⁵⁰ The Finnish *Rōtsi* is supposed to come from the Old-Swedish language. Thus authors look for words in Old-Swedish from which they could derive *Rōtsi-Rus'*, but they are not at one in their conclusions. This is a reflection

⁴⁵ Cf. W. Hoenerbach, *Anthropologische Beiträge aus alten arabischen Werken*, ZR VII, 1938, pp. 113-123; G. Herne, *Die slavischen Farbenbenennungen*, 1954, pp. 28-30.

⁴⁶ *OR*, pp. 143-144.

⁴⁷ The Polovtsians were known in Europe under various names, such as Cumans, Cuns, Valven, Blaven, etc. In the east they were known as Kypchaks. K. Kudryashov, *Bor'ba russkogo naroda s nabegami kochevnikov prichernomorskikh stepei, in Ocherki istorii SSSR I*, 1953, p. 200; S. Pletneva, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy v yuzhnorusskikh stepyakh*, *MIA* LXII, 1958, pp. 151-226. The literature on the subject is listed by A. Popov, *Kypchaki i Rus'*, *UZLGU* CXII, 1949, pp. 94-119. On the origin of the name 'Cumans' see the studies of K. Czeglédi, G. Györfy, etc.

⁴⁸ A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, pp. 242-243; *idem*, *Russian Studies*, pp. 39-40.

⁴⁹ J. Becker, *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona. Antapodosis*, 3rd. ed., 1915, p. 137. Cf. A. Solov'ev, *Vizantiiskoe imya Rossii*, *IV* XII, 1957, p. 137.

⁵⁰ In Finnish *Ruotsi* means Sweden, *Ruotsalainen*, a Swede; in Estonian *Roots'* is Sweden, *Rootslane* a Swede. Cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch II*, 1955, p. 551.

on the work of many outstanding modern etymologists⁵¹—such as Ekblom,⁵² Ekbo,⁵³ Hjärne,⁵⁴ Mägiste,⁵⁵ Stender-Petersen⁵⁶ and others⁵⁷—and proves how far their deductions are hypothetical.

I do not intend to discuss in detail all the arguments advanced by these scholars and to participate in the purely linguistic controversy. As a historian I am much more interested in the early events connected with the Rus' as they are presented by the etymologists.

Stender-Petersen says: 'If the reinterpretation by Hjärne of the name *Rus'* is correct and the *Rus'* people were originally not peasant-colonists but merely *ascomanni*, i.e., Vikings, then we must return, in my opinion, to a romantic conception of the origin of the *Rus'* State by Swedish conquest. To this I take definite exception and I consider Hjärne's theory *a priori* improbable.'⁵⁸

Stender-Petersen declares himself as an adherent of 'a third attitude' differing from both theses, the Normanist and the Anti-Normanist. According to him, the Swedish expansion to the east began in the dim past, hundreds of years before the 9th century. It is his right to voice that view. 'Nestor' does not maintain that the Norse expansion began only at the time of the real or fictitious appeal to Rurik and his brothers in the second half of the 9th century.⁵⁹ But the further back in time we place the events, or conjectured events, related by the author, the more difficult it becomes to verify them with the help of written sources, and the further we stray from historical reality. Now, in distinguishing several stages in the advance of the Norsemen towards the east,⁶⁰ Stender-Petersen assumes that the first phase of the Swedish migration was very different from the expansion of the Danes and Norwegians in the west, from the 9th to the 11th century. It was not a conquest and annexation of territory but an action peaceful in character, conducted in the form of settlement, and extended to vast expanses in the triangle formed by the lakes Chudskoe (Peipus), Ladoga where

⁵¹ From the older see first of all V. Thomsen, *The Relations between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*, 1877; the last revised edition in his *Samlede Afhandlinger* I, 1919.

⁵² R. Ekblom, *Rus et Vareg dans les noms de lieu de la région de Novgorod*, *AEO* XI, 1915, pp. 1–68; *idem*, *Roslagen-Russland*, *ZSP* XXVI (1), 1957, pp. 47–58.

⁵³ S. Ekbo, *Om ortnamnet Roden och därmed sammanhängande problem. En översikt från nordisk synpunkt*, *ANF* LXXIII (3–4), 1958, pp. 187–199.

⁵⁴ E. Hjärne, *Roden. Upphovet och namnet. Området och jarlen*, *NB* XXXV, 1947, pp. 1–96; *idem*, *Svethindh. En kommentar till Snorres skildring af Sverige*, *ibid.*, XL, 1952, pp. 91–183; cf. N. Ahlund, *A*, 1957, p. 284.

⁵⁵ J. Mägiste, *Fi. Ruotsi, estn. Rootsi m.m. i de finsk-ugriska spraken*, *ANF* LXXIII (3–4), 1958, pp. 200–209.

⁵⁶ A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 79–84, 244; *idem*, *Das Problem der ältesten byzantinisch-russisch-nordischen Beziehungen*, *R* III, 1955, p. 178; *idem*, *Russian Studies*, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 36.

⁵⁷ The literature on the subject is listed by F. Balodis, *Handelswege nach dem Osten und die Wikinger in Russland*, *AS* III, 1948, pp. 352–355.

⁵⁸ A. Stender-Petersen, in *A*, 1957, p. 293.

⁵⁹ *OR*, pp. 138–139.

⁶⁰ A. Stender-Petersen, *Chetyre etappa russo-varyazhskikh otnoshenii*, in *Varangica*, and also in German: *Die vier Etappen der russisch-varägischen Beziehungen*, *JGO* II (2), 1954, pp. 137–157.

this colonization had its centre, and Belozero (White Lake). These agriculturists, settled from time immemorial on Finnish soil, are supposed to have been called the Rus' (*Rōps-land*, *Rōtsi*). The Rus', originally dependent on Sweden, are alleged to have loosened these links, in time, and, under the influence of the political organization of the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, with whom they were in contact, to have formed their own Rus'ian kaganate in order more effectively to dominate over Finns and Slavs.⁶¹

Soviet authors, such as Artsikhovsky,⁶² Druzhinin,⁶³ Łowmiański,⁶⁴ Pankratova⁶⁵ and others, charge Stender-Petersen with not having taken into consideration the most recent archaeological research.⁶⁶ Stender-Petersen has answered the charges raised against him, rightly stating that the conception of the origin of Rus' based by the Anti-Normanists on archaeological material is only 'a hypothesis which first must be proved'.⁶⁷ In my opinion, these archaeological studies which attempt artificially to extend the limits of Slavonic settlement in the north-east should be treated with the same reservations as the etymological theories of Stender-Petersen. But if I advance objections to the conjectures of our author it is exclusively on the basis of the written historical sources. Everything we know through these channels, and more especially from Arab and Greek authors, of the activities of the Rus' in Eastern Europe, is on the whole compatible with the achievements of the Norsemen in the West. Therefore, there is no reason to assume any great difference of character between the two directions of Norse expansion.⁶⁸

The hypothesis of Stender-Petersen would need for its confirmation many more detailed data concerning economic and demographic conditions in Scandinavia as well as in the triangle formed by the lakes Chudskoe, Ladoga and Beloozero. Moreover, the transformation of the Rus' from settled cultivators of the soil into warriors and merchants would appear to be somewhat improbable. I also think

⁶¹ A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, pp. 79-84, 245-247; *idem*, *Das Problem*, pp. 174-180; *idem*, *Russian Studies*, p. 36; *idem*, *Geschichte der russischen Literatur I*, 1957, pp. 7-14.

⁶² A. Artsikhovsky, in *A*, p. 285.

⁶³ N. Druzhinin, Na X Mezhdunarodnom Kongresse istoricheskikh nauk, *VAN*, 1955 (12), pp. 52-57; *idem*, Problemy istorii SSSR na X Mezhdunarodnom Kongresse istorikov v Rime, *IZ LV*, 1956, pp. 7-8.

⁶⁴ H. Łowmianski, in *A*, p. 288.

⁶⁵ A. Pankratova, K itogam X Mezhdunarodnogo Kongressa istorikov, *Vol*, 1956 (5), pp. 14-15.

⁶⁶ Staraya Ladoga (Aldeigjuborg of the Norse sagas) plays an important role in the hypothesis of Stender-Petersen. The Russian archaeological literature concerning this locality is abundant. See studies by G. Grozdilov, F. Gurevich, V. Lazarev, S. Orlov, V. Ravdonikas, Ya. Stankevich, M. Yakubtsiner and others, published chiefly in *KSDPI* and *SAr*.

⁶⁷ A. Stender-Petersen, in *A*, 1957, p. 293.

⁶⁸ G. Ward, The English *Danegeld* and the Russian *Dan'*, *ASEER XIII*, 1954, pp. 299-318 shows, in my opinion, convincingly, the similarities and differences between the expansion of the Norsemen in the west and in the east. See also J. Bardach, O roli Normanów na wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyźnie Wschodniej, *KH LXV*, 1958, p. 386.

it impossible that the Finns, faced with this allegedly peaceful Norse infiltration, should have remained passive, as this process, according to Stender-Petersen himself, threatened their independence. Later sources testify that the various Ugro-Finnish tribes showed great tenacity and force of resistance to newcomers entering their territory, which was perfectly natural.⁶⁹

In my opinion, Stender-Petersen's conjecture is altogether too bookish and out of touch with life.⁷⁰ It seems to me, therefore, that Hjærne's thesis, according to which the Rus' were not agriculturists and colonists but simply Varangians by whom the Rus'ian State was founded, is much more probable from the historical point of view.

Now I might be met with the objection that I declare for the Norse origin of the Rus' and, at the same time, do not accept entirely, although I do not reject it, the Norse provenance of the word 'Rus'. In my opinion, the Normanist thesis would in no way be weakened, if it appeared that the Slavs called the Norsemen Rus', and that the latter when established in Eastern Europe, in course of time, accepted the appellation. There is no doubt that the Norse extraction of the word 'Rus' (*Ruotsi-Rus'*) is indirectly supported by the written sources which state that the Rus' were Norsemen.⁷¹

Ekblom reproaches me for not taking sides in the etymological controversy.⁷² But my reasons for it remain unchanged. 'Who first—I wrote—designated the Scandinavians by the name of Rus'—whether the Finns, the Slavs or the Greeks—is a question to which there is no categorical answer. Scholars can move only in the sphere of conjectures.'⁷³ I considered then and still consider that the studies on the etymology of Rus' have not so far produced any final clarification. I remain cautious.⁷⁴

Ekbo states: 'One cannot point to a Scandinavian word which could be indisputably accepted as a source of the Balto-Finnish *rōtsi*.

⁶⁹ *OR*, pp. 268–269.

⁷⁰ At the same time, however, it should be stressed that Stender-Petersen has quoted valuable data taken from later sources which testify to the existence of a tradition linking the lands of North-Eastern Europe with Scandinavia. A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, pp. 131–138; *idem*, *Das Problem*, pp. 178–179. I do not propose to examine them in detail because the question remains whether these traditions sprang from a peaceful colonization by Swedes or from their conquest of these lands.

⁷¹ G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 199, writes: 'In the opinion of some of them [of the Normanists] the Russes received their name from the Finnish *Ruotsi*, the Finnish name of the Swedes, in the middle of the 9th century. From the linguistic point of view the derivation of *Rus'* from *Ruotsi* is theoretically possible. From the historical point of view, however, the hypothesis is untenable.' All the written sources of the epoch contradict Vernadsky's observation (see further considerations in the present chapter).

⁷² R. Ekblom, Roslagen—Russland, *ZSP XXVI* (1), 1957, p. 50.

⁷³ *OR*, p. 146; cf. P. Struve, *Sotsial'naya i ekonomicheskaya istoriya Rossii*, 1952, p. 24.

⁷⁴ New hypotheses concerning the etymology of Rus' continue to crop up in writings on the subject. E.g., L. Knieszka, *A magyar nyelv szláv jövevényszavai I*, 1955, p. 472, 897–898 considers the word 'Rus' to be of Turkish extraction. Cf. O. Horbatsch, in *WS II* (1), 1957, p. 71. P. Krapivin, *Pakhodzhanne nazvau 'Rus'', 'Belaya Rus''; 'Chornaya Rus'' i 'Chyrvonaya Rus'' VANB III*, 1956, pp. 55–57 derives the name 'Rus' from waters: rivers, lakes, etc.

So far it has not been proved that the Finnish *Ruotsi* and the word connected with it are derived from the Old-Swedish language.⁷⁵ The Anti-Normanist Likhachev says: 'The derivation of the word: Rus' itself and its etymology are not clear.'⁷⁶ The Normanist Stökl adds: '[The etymology of the word] Rus' will probably remain obscure, two hundred years of polemics between the Normanists and Anti-Normanists notwithstanding.'⁷⁷ I share these views.

3. THE PRIMITIVE TERRITORY OF THE RUS' IN SOUTH-EASTERN EUROPE IN THE LIGHT OF THE HISTORICAL SOURCES OF THE TIME

In any discussion relating to the origin of the Rus', the territory whence they came should be considered first. If it proved possible to establish that their homeland lay in the south of Eastern Europe, the Normanist thesis would be cancelled out. And reversely, if it were established that they came from the north, from Scandinavia, the possibility of their being Slavs would be precluded.

I now pass to the analysis of the texts which are usually put forward as arguments in support of the Rus' being natives of the south.

A. The Rus' in the Crimea according to the Life of Constantine the Philosopher

Constantine the Philosopher, who later took the name of Cyril and was revered as the apostle of the Slavs, betook himself to the Khazars, probably in 861, in his endeavours to win over various peoples to Christianity. On his way to Khazaria—we read in his Life—Constantine remained for a time in Cherson (Korsun'), in the Crimea.

And he found there a copy of the Gospel and the Psalms written in 'Rus'ian' characters (*ros'sky pis'meny*)⁷⁸ *p'sano*, with variants such as: *rous'skymi*, *roush'skymi*),⁷⁹ and he found a man speaking that language and spoke to him and understood the meaning of what he said, and,

⁷⁵ S. Ekbo, Om ortnamnet Roden och därmed sammanhängande problem. En översikt fran nordisk synpunkt, *ANF* LXXIII, 1958, p. 199 (the passage is quoted after I. Shaskol'sky, Normanskaya teoriya v sovremennoi burzhuaznoi istoriografii, *ISSR*, 1960 (1), p. 234.

⁷⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 244. J. Otrębski, Dane językowe, odnoszące się do zagadnienia Normanów w powstaniu państwa ruskiego, *KH* LXV (2), 1958, p. 626 is of the same opinion.

⁷⁷ G. Stökl, Die Begriffe Reich, Herrschaft und Staat bei den orthodoxen Slaven, *Saec* V, 1954, p. 105.

⁷⁸ As to the Slavonic terms: *pis'mo* (*pis'mya*), *bukvi*, *knigy* see I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlia slovaryia drevnerusskogo yazyka* I, pp. 192, 1391–1395; II, p. 939; G. Il'insky, Gde kogda, kem i s kakoyu tsel'yu glagolitsa byla zamenena kirillitsej?, *BS* III, 1930–1931, pp. 82–83; A. L'vov, Staroslavlyanskoe *knigy-boukvi*, *KSIS* XXVIII, 1960, pp. 61–69.

⁷⁹ T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodego (obszerne)*, 1959, pp. 30–31. See also F. Pastrenek, *Dějiny slovanských apoštolů Cyrilla a Methoda*, 1902; A. Teodorov-Balan, *Kiril i Metodi*, I, 1920; II 1934; L. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknoveniya drevneishei slavyanskoi pis'mennosti*, *TSK* I, 1930; F. Dvornik, *Les légendes de Constantin et de Méthode vues de Byzance*, 1933; J. Stanislav, *Životy slovanských apoštolov Cyrila a Methoda*, 2nd ed., 1934; M. Weingart, *Analyse philologique des légendes slaves de Constantin et de Méthode*, *IBAI* IX, 1935, and many others. The abundant literature on the subject is recently listed by T. Lehr-Spławiński.

adjusting it to his own dialect, he analysed the characters, both for the vowels and the consonants, and praying to God, started quickly to read and speak [Rus'ian].⁸⁰

Although the extant manuscripts of the Life of Constantine are all of a late date (the oldest being of the 15th century), there is no doubt that it was written in very early days. The work of P. Meyvaert and P. Devos produced new data concerning the origin of the Life,⁸¹ as many scholars have already pointed out.⁸² While in former times views diverged on the question whether the Life was a translation into Slavonic of an unknown Greek original, as was conjectured by Miklosich, Jagić, Vondrák, etc.—or whether it was written in Old-Slavonic, as was believed by Brückner, Lavrov, Lehr-Splawiński, Pastrnek, Perwolf, Pogorelov, Weingart and others—since the appearance of the above work the question has been decided in favour of the second alternative. Thanks to the study of Meyvaert and Devos (and to the texts published by them) it has been established that the Life of Constantine was written between 869 and 882, *i.e.*, in the lifetime of Methodius. If, therefore, Methodius was not the author of the work, which is highly probable, he will at any rate have seen to it that its content corresponded to the facts.

The information contained in the Life referring to the Gospel and Psalter written in 'Rus'ian' characters which Constantine found in the Crimea, aroused general interest and was interpreted in many different ways.

With remarkable perspicacity Il'insky has observed that the crux of the whole question lies in the correct reading of the text, as it is doubtful whether the word 'Rus'' really occurred in the original, the earliest extant copies of which date from some 500 years later.⁸³ According to Il'insky, the script cannot have been that of the Rus' but must have been in that of the Goths who were settled in the Crimea.⁸⁴ This 'Gothic theory' formulated by Šafařík had many sup-

⁸⁰ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 347–348.

⁸¹ P. Meyvaert and P. Devos, Trois énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes de la 'Légende Italique' résolues grâce à un document inédit, *AB LXXIII* (3–4), 1955, pp. 375–461; cf. P. Meyvaert, O autorze Italskiej Legendy św. Cyryla i Metodego, *TH VI* (3–4), 1954, pp. 204–205.

⁸² I. Dujčev, La solution de quelques énigmes cyrillo-méthodiennes, *B XXIV* (1), 1955, pp. 303–307 (cf. *idem*, Zur literarischen Tätigkeit Konstantins des Philosophen, *BZ XLIV*, 1951, pp. 105–110); H. Grégoire, Le mémoire des PP. Meyvaert et Devos sur la 'Légende Italique' des SS. Cyrille et Méthode, *B XXIV* (1), 1955, pp. 295–301; A. Milev, Italijskata legenda v nova svetlina, *IP XII* (3), 1956, pp. 74–79; A. Kazhdan, Osnovnye problemy istorii Vizantii (v svete noveishikh issledovanii), *VIMK*, 1957 (3), p. 75. In connection with the above work of Meyvaert and Devos see also: S. Sakač, Novissima de 'Legenda Italica' et de episcopatu S. Constantini-Cyrilli, *OCP XXII*, 1956, pp. 198–213; M. Lacko, L'épiscopat de S. Cyrille dans le Codex Vaticanus Lat. 9668, *OCP XXII*, 1956, pp. 386–388; *idem*, De recentibus investigationibus epochae cyrillo-methodianae, *Ant V*, 1959, p. 125.

⁸³ G. Il'insky, Odin epizod iz Korsunskogo perioda zhizni Konstantina Filosofa, *S III*, 1924–1925, pp. 45–64.

⁸⁴ Cf. A. Vasiliev, The Goths in the Crimea, *MAA*, 1936 (*idem*, Goty v Krymu, *IGAIMK*, 1927); T. Lewicki, Zagadnienie Gotów na Krymie, *PZ*, 1951; G. Vernadsky, The Riddle of the Gothi Tetraxitae, *SF*, 1952; E. Schwartz, Die Krimgoten, *Saec*, 1953, and others.

porters at a certain time (Fortunatov, Kul'bakin, Lavrov, Malyshevsky, Marquart, Miklosich, Novostruev, Pastrnek, Shakhmatov, Vajs, etc.) and also now has its adherents (Lehr-Splawiński,⁸⁵ Repp⁸⁶). Many convincing arguments were advanced against this thesis, and attention was drawn to the fact that the author of the Life of Constantine is conversant with the name of the Goths.

In Vaillant's opinion, a copyist must have made a mistake and instead of *sur'sky* put *rus'sky*. Thus, instead of Syriac letters we read Rus'ian letters.⁸⁷ Vaillant's conjecture has been accepted by many authors some of whom made new valuable observations in support of it.⁸⁸

The name of Rus' frequently occurs in written sources through mistakes in copying. Some cases of significance for the present consideration should be noted here. Three geographical terms deserve our attention: Syria, *Suria* in Old-Slavonic (the Syrians—*Suri*), Assyria—*Asuria* (the Assyrians—*Asuri* or *Asuryane*), and Rus'. In the text of the monk Khrabr there occurs an enumeration of the Persians, Chaldeans and Assyrians. Now in another copy of the same text we find the Rus' figuring in place of the Assyrians.⁸⁹ Another instance: It is known from the Life of Constantine that he was opposed to the privileged position reserved for the Jewish, Greek and Latin languages and drew up a long list of peoples who praised God in their national idioms. In this list, after the Armenians, Georgians, Goths, Khazars, etc., in one copy we come across the Rus' (*rusi* instead of *suri*).⁹⁰ In the Novgorodian Chronicle there figures, under the years 1104, the following entry: 'Nikifor, the Syrian metropolitan (*mitropolit sur'skyi*) arrived.' Other copies, however, contain the correct version and thus we read: 'Rus'ian metropolitan (*mitropolit ruskyyi*).⁹¹ Bishop Cyril (Kirill) of Turov (the 12th century) 'glorified in all this country' (*slaven v vsei strane toi*), because of his

⁸⁵ T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Zywoty*, p. 30.

⁸⁶ F. Repp, 'Deutsch-slavische Kulturbeziehungen aus dem Raume Österreichs vor Kirill und Method, in *Vorträge auf der Berliner Slavistentagung*, 11.–13. November 1954, 1956.

⁸⁷ A. Vaillant, 'Les "lettres russes" de la Vie de Constantin', *RES* XV, 1935, pp. 75–77.

⁸⁸ H. Grégoire, 'Constantin-Cyrille et son Psautier en lettres syriaques et non russes', *B X*, 1935, p. 776; R. Jakobson, 'Saint Constantin et la langue syriaque', *AIPHOS* VII, 1939–1944, pp. 181–186; G. Da Costa-Louillet, 'Y eut-il des invasions russes dans l'Empire Byzantin avant 860?', *B XV*, 1940–1941, pp. 239–240; F. Dvornik, *The Making of Central and Eastern Europe*, 1949, p. 312; D. Gerhardt, 'Goten, Slaven oder Syrer im alten Cherson?', *BN* IV, 1953, pp. 80–84; R. Jakobson, 'Minor Native Sources for the Early History of the Slavic Church', *HSS* II, 1954, pp. 62–70; R. Nachtigal, 'Blodnje o staroruském pismenstvu', *SR* IV, 1954, pp. 86–98; B. Unbegaun, 'Some Recent Studies on the History of the Russian Language', *OSP* V, 1954, p. 121; D. Čyževskij, 'Neue Lesebrüche 2', *ZSP* XXV (2), 1956, p. 313; J. Bujnoch, 'Zwischen Rom und Byzanz', *SG* I, 1958, pp. 164–165, and others.

⁸⁹ '... "a Persom i Khaldeom i Asireom..."', P. Lavrov, *Materialy*, p. 163; '... "Persom" i Khaldeom i Rousom...'., *ibid.*, p. 165.

⁹⁰ This is stated by G. Il'insky, *Odin epizod*, pp. 55–56 on the basis of Sobolevsky's study (A. Sobolevsky, 'Kirillo-Mefod'evskie voprosy', *UIK* XXV (9), 1885, unavailable to me). Unfortunately, I had no possibility of checking this information.

⁹¹ A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshogo izvodov*, 1950 p. 19.

writings (prayers, sermons, etc.⁹²) remained a teacher 'of the whole Syrian people' (*sur'skiya lyudi vsya prosveshchayushchi*).⁹³ There is no doubt that *sur'skiya* should be replaced by *rus'skiya*. The confusion of the words: *sur'skii* and *rus'skii* through the mistakes of copyists occurs repeatedly in the texts of the sources.

Studies on the 'Rus'ian' script and the 'Rus'ian' books, as preserved in the Crimea in the 9th century, have proceeded from the wrong premises. Accepting 'Nestor's' statement that 'the Slavonic *yazyk* and that of the Rus' is one [and the same]', the authors declare the Rus'ian language to be identical with Slavonic⁹⁴ though the chronicler, in this text, speaks of two Metropolitan Sees, not of two languages (see Chapter II). In *OR* as well as in the present study (Chapter I) I have shown that many authors apply an erroneous terminology when they transfer to the period from the 9th to the 12th century terms and notions which only sprang up in much later days. When the Rus'ian Church introduced Slavonic into its liturgy, 'the Rus'ian language' began to be conceived as being Slavonic. But this only happened after a long lapse of time, starting from the 13th and 14th centuries, when Rus'ian Christianity had already made much headway among Slavs and non-Slavs. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, in the middle of the 10th century, distinguishes between the Rus'ian and the Slavonic names of the Dnieper cataracts, and thus establishes the existence of two different languages. The testimony of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub leads to the same conclusion. Even less could the Rus'ian language be considered as Slavonic in the 9th century, when the Life of Constantine was written.

The hypothesis that the Gospel and the Psalter found in the Crimea were written in Slavonic is glaringly improbable. Constantine knew Slavonic from childhood and did not, therefore, need to learn it later, when in the Crimea. The close affinity of the Slavonic languages in those times is universally known. It was due to this that the rite of Cyril and Methodius became so widespread. If our missionary encountered a Slav in Cherson and they could converse with each other, there was nothing so unusual in this that it merited mention in the Life.

⁹² Cf. I. Eremin, *Literaturnoe nasledie Kirilla Turovskogo*, *TODRL* XI, 1955, pp. 342-367; XII, 1956, pp. 340-361; XIII, 1957, pp. 409-426; XV, 1958, pp. 331-348.

⁹³ N. K. Nikol'sky, *Materialy dlya istorii drevnerusskoi dukhovnoi pis'mennosti*, *SORYS* LXXXII (4), 1907, pp. 63-64.

⁹⁴ E. Epshtein, *K voprosu o vremeni proiskhozhdeniya russkoi pis'mennosti*, *UZZGU* XV, 1948, p. 22; D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 257; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 390; P. Chernykh, *Istoricheskaya grammatika russkogo yazyka*, 1954, pp. 95-96; E. Katsprzhak, *Istoriya pis'mennosti i knigi*, 1955, p. 126; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 78-79; A. Efimov, *Istoriya russkogo literaturnogo yazyka*, 3rd ed., 1957, p. 37; A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, pp. 77-79; I. Sherman, *Russkie istoricheskie istochniki X-XVIII vv.*, 1959, pp. 27-28, and many others. Among older authors the following were of the same opinion: Budilovich, Gilferding, Grigorovich, Kochubinsky, Lamansky, Lavrovsky, Nikol'sky, Perwolf, Sreznevsky, Sukhomlinov, Uspensky, etc.

If—the supporters of the 'Slavonic theory' reason—Constantine found the Gospel and the Psalter in Slavonic, the Slavonic script must have existed before Constantine and Methodius.⁹⁵ Starting from this assumption, authors began to build up on this hypothesis further hypotheses and to draw far-reaching conclusions concerning the beginnings of the Slavonic writing in general,⁹⁶ and especially in Eastern Europe.⁹⁷ We can only assume that the Slavonic script was used in Rus' before Vladimir's baptism⁹⁸ but there is—at least at

⁹⁵ I. Ohienko, 'Ruski' perekladi v Khersonesi v 860 rotsi, in *Yubileinii zbirnik na poshanu* D. I. Bahaliya, 1927, pp. 358–372; *idem*, Slovyans'ke pis'mo pered Kostyantynom, in *Yubileinii zbirnik na poshanu* M. S. Hrushevs'kogo II, 1928, pp. 156–165; D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 258; B. Grekov, Pis'mennaya kul'tura drevnei Rusi, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* I, 1953, pp. 214–215; K. Horálek, Nachalo na pismenostta u slavyanite, in *Sbornik v chest na akad. Al. Teodorov-Balan*, 1955, pp. 417–424; A. Manevsky, K voprosu o drevnerusskom dobukvennom pis'me (Tekhnika vypolneniya vostochnoslavjanskikh pis'men do X v.), *VIMK*, 1957 (6), pp. 37–57; A. Medvedev, Drevnerusskie pisala X–XV vv., *SAr*, 1960 (2), p. 81, and others. The report of monk Khrabr on which these hypotheses are chiefly based is accurately treated by T. Lehr-Splawinski, Zagadnienie języka kulturalnego Rusi przedchrześcijańskiej, *RS* XVI, 1948, pp. 158–159.

⁹⁶ I do not intend to discuss in detail the abundant literature concerning the beginnings of the Slavonic script and, especially, the origin of the two Slavonic alphabets: the 'Glagolitic' (*glagolitsa*) and 'Cyrillic' (*kirillitsa*). The opinion prevails that the Glagolitic alphabet was the work of Constantine-Cyril, while the Cyrillic script originated later in Bulgaria in the reign of Simeon (982–927). This was the thesis of šafarik, completed and developed by Jagić, Lehr-Splawinski, Selishchev, Shchepkin, Speransky, Tikhonravov, Vajs, Yakubinsky, etc. This view is shared by Hamm, Kiparsky, Kurz, Mareš, Todorov, in *Sbornik otvetov na voprosy po yazykoznaniiu (k IV Mezhdunarodnomu sezdzu slavistov)*, 1958, pp. 300–319. Cf. A. Vaillant, L'alphabet vieux-slave, *RES* XXXII, 1955, pp. 7–31. The literature on the newly discovered epigraphic material is listed by I. Duichev, Izuchenie v Bolgarii drevneslavyanskoi i drevnebolgarskoi literatury za 1945–1955 gg., *TODRL* XIII, 1957, pp. 601–614, and M. Tikhomirov, Nachalo slavyanskoi pis'mennosti v svete noveishikh otkrytii, *Vol*, 1959 (4), pp. 98–105; cf. G. Nandris, A Spurious Slavonic Inscription from the Danube Canal, *SEER* XXXVIII, 1960, pp. 530–534.

⁹⁷ P. Chernykh, K istorii voprosa o 'russkikh pis'menakh' v zhitii Konstantina Filosofa, *UZYGPI* IX, 1947, pp. 1–14; *idem*, Proiskhozhdenie russkogo literaturnogo yazyka i pis'ma, 1950, pp. 10–14; *idem*, Yazyk i pis'mo, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, pp. 121, 131–134; *idem*, *Istoricheskaya grammatika russkogo yazyka*, 1954, p. 95, affirms that the *glagolitsa* must have originated somewhere near the northern coast of the Black Sea and was the oldest East-Slavonic alphabet. It is in this script that the Gospel and Psalter discovered in the Crimea are supposed to have been written (cf. N. Nikol'sky, K voprosu o russkikh pis'menakh upominaemykh v Zhitii Konstantina Filosofa, *IRYS* I, 1928, pp. 1–37). According to Chernykh, Constantine-Cyril for his part was the originator of the *kirillitsa*. All these hypotheses were well received by certain authors (V. Mavrodin, Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda, *Vol*, 1950 (4), pp. 55–70; A. L'vov, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii russkoi pis'mennosti, *RYs*, 1951 (6), pp. 17–23; N. Konstantinov, *Istoriya russkoi azbukii*, 1953, unavailable to me), but objected to by others (B. Unbegaun, Some Recent Studies on the History of the Russian Language, *OSP* V, 1954, p. 121; E. Granstrem, O proiskhozhdenii glagolicheskoi azbukii, *TODRL* XI, 1955, pp. 301–302; D. Čyževskiy, Neue Lesefrüchte, *ZSP* XXV (2), 1956, 313, etc.). D. Likhachev, *Istoricheskie predposylki vozniknoveniya russkoi pis'mennosti i russkoi literatury*, *Vol*, 1951 (12), pp. 30–56; *idem*, *Vozniknovenie russkoi literatury*, 1952, considers that several alphabets could spring up simultaneously and independently of one another in two or three centres of Eastern Europe. See also G. Kolyada, K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii russkoi pis'mennosti, *UZYGPI* III, 1953, pp. 115–140; T. Slovachevskaya, *K istorii voprosa o proiskhozhdenii vostochnoslavjanskoi pis'mennosti*, 1953. All the opinions on this subject are listed and considered by V. A. Istrin, O vozniknovenii slavyano-russkogo pis'ma, *VIMK*, 1960 (6), pp. 60–83.

⁹⁸ 'Nestor' states that Christianity, according to the rite of Cyril and Methodius, spread in the land of the Polyanians before Ol'ga and Vladimir. The Slavonic writing was closely connected with the development of the new faith.

present—no East-Slavonic text which could be dated with certainty as originating before the end of the 10th century.⁹⁹

Many authors assert that the Rus', whom they identify with the Slavs, already constituted a part of the settled population of the Crimea before the 10th century.¹⁰⁰ The passage of the *Life* with which we are concerned speaks of only one man whom Constantine met in the Crimea and with whom he had long conversations. There is nothing to indicate that this individual was representative of the population of the peninsula. On the contrary, the impression we receive is that he was a stranger to the country, rather an exceptional figure. The interest of the Empire in the Rus' and in winning them to Christianity—we have Photius' evidence that such efforts were actually made in order to safeguard Byzantium—must have been an overriding and more immediate objective than the possible conversion of the Khazars. And yet in the description of Constantine's eastward journey through various countries the Rus' are not mentioned as living anywhere in this region. Thus, the *Life* of Constantine in no way supports, but rather indirectly contradicts the theory of the Rus' southern home and origin.

⁹⁹ S. Obnorsky, *Kul'tura russkogo yazyka*, 1948, p. 9, suggests that the 'Rus'ian' (Slavonic) script existed already in the Antic period, but this conjecture is groundless. The same author (S. Obnorsky, *Yazyk dogovorov russkikh s grekami*, *YM* VI-VII, 1936, pp. 79-103) supposes that the treaties, concluded between the Rus' and the Greeks in the 10th century, were immediately translated into Slavonic. Obnorsky's opinion, although shared by some authors (Cherepnin, Chernykh, etc.) is only a hypothesis, in my opinion, not a convincing one. The inscription *goroukhshcha* or *gorushna* on a vessel found in 1949 at Gnezdovo near Smolensk is generally treated as evidence of the oldest East-Slavonic script. D. Avdusin and M. Tikhomirov, *Drevneishaya russkaya nadpis'*, *VAN*, 1950 (4), pp. 71-79; D. Avdusin, *Raskopki v Gnezdove*, *KSDPI XXXVIII*, 1951, p. 79. On the basis of other finds, especially Arabic coins, from this group of burial mounds to which this vessel belongs, Avdusin dates the above inscription as of the first quarter of the 10th century. This view is shared by many authors (Artsikhovskiy, Cherepnin, Chernykh, Tikhomirov, etc.). G. Korzhukhina, *Russkie klady IX-XIII vv.*, 1954, p. 15, rightly observes that, in Eastern Europe, Arabic coins originating from much earlier times might have been in general use in the 10th-11th centuries. 'The owner of a hoard—she writes—burying it at the beginning of the 11th century could put into it a coin of the 8th or 9th century recently received.' Reasoning in this way, it is quite possible that the Cufic coins, and the vessel with the inscription found with them at Gnezdovo, date from the later times than the 10th century. In my opinion, the inscription on the leaden seal of Izyaslav, found at Novgorod, is the oldest script in East-Slavonic. Since Izyaslav, the eldest son of Vladimir and Rogned', died in 1001, the seal probably originates from the last quarter of the 10th century. Cf. V. Yanin, *Drevneishaya russkaya pechat' X veka*, *KSDPI LVII*, 1955, pp. 39-46. On other later seals found recently at Novgorod, see V. Yanin, *Vislye pechaty iz novgorodskikh raskopok 1951-1954 gg.*, *MIA* LV, 1956, pp. 138-163. Cf. D. Avdusin, *Materials and Research in Archaeology of the USSR*, *VIMK*, 1957 (1), pp. 224-230.

¹⁰⁰ B. Rybakov, *Slavyane v Krymu i na Tamani*, in *Krym*, 1952, unavailable to me; E. Veimarn and S. Strzheletsky, *K voprosu o slavyanakh v Krymu*, *VoI*, 1952 (4), pp. 94-99; B. Grekov and Yu. Bromlei, *Izuchenie istorii Kryma*, *VAN*, 1952 (8), pp. 71-75; A. Smirnov, *K voprosu ob istokakh Priazovskoi Rusi*, *SAR*, 1958 (2), pp. 276-279; *idem* (ed.), *Istoriya i arkheologiya srednevekovogo Kryma*, 1958; A. Yakobson, *Rannesrednekovyi Khersones*, *MIA* LXIII, 1959. Cf. A. Aesson, *Slavic History in the Eyes of the Soviets*, *CR* IV, 1957, pp. 86-95. On relations of Rus' with the Crimea in later times see: A. Yakobson, *Khersones i Kievskaya Rus v XI v.*, *VLU*, No. 4, 1949, pp. 104-117; *idem*, *Srednekovyi Khersones (XII-XIV vv.)*, *MIA* XVII, 1950. See also *idem*, *Vizantiya v istorii rannesrednekovoi Tavriki*, *SAR* XXI, 1954, p. 160.

There are two possibilities: either the passage of Constantine's Life relating to the Gospel and the Psalter discovered in the Crimea as well as to the language in which they are written, was distorted by later copyists (in this case, Vaillant's hypothesis seems to me very probable)—or the copyists make no mistake but faithfully handed down the original text. Since the sources of epoch state with unusual unanimity that the Rus' were Norse Varangians, it should follow that the holy books found in the Crimea were written in their native language. Many objections can, of course, be raised to this conclusion and many doubts can be expressed, but it cannot be denied that this interpretation is the only one which is in complete agreement with the text of the source.

The analysis of the Life of Constantine in no way justifies the assertion that the Rus' were natives of the Black Sea region (nor does it lend any support to the supposition that the Slavonic writing and the Slavonic books existed before Constantine).

B. The Rus'ian name of the Black Sea in al-Mas'udi's and 'Nestor's' reports

During the period under examination, seas were often given the names of peoples who inhabited their shores and ruled over them. Many historians believe the original territory of the Rus' was on the Black Sea littoral because this sea is called Rus'ian Sea by some sources. As far as the most ancient times are concerned, two authors merit attention here: al-Mas'udi, an Arabic writer of the middle of the 10th century,¹⁰¹ and 'Nestor'.

The relevant passage in al-Mas'udi reads: 'The river of the Khazars [the Volga], in its upper reaches, has an outflow which is united to an arm of the Nitas Sea [the Black Sea] which is the sea of the Rus'. No one else navigates it, and the Rus' inhabit one of its shores.'¹⁰²

The author returns to this subject in three other passages and though these give little additional information, they reiterate that the Rus' inhabited the Black Sea littoral. Thus, writing of the Rus', al-Mas'udi confirms once more that the Black Sea was 'their sea'.¹⁰³ He reports in two other passages that the Hungarians, Bulgarians, Pechenegs, etc., lived also on the shores of the Black Sea and uses their names to describe this sea.¹⁰⁴ Hence, deciding on names for the

¹⁰¹ EI III, 1936, pp. 403-404; C. Brockelmann, *Geschichte der arabischen Litteratur*, 2nd ed. I, 1943, pp. 150-162; E. Murzaev, *Vydayushchiysya arabskii geograf i istorik X v. al-Masudi*, IANSG, 1958 (2), pp. 107-109.

¹⁰² OR, p. 419; V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, 1958, p. 149.

¹⁰³ C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *Maçoudi. Les prairies d'or* II, 1863, p. 24; A. Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavyanakh i russkikh*, 1870, p. 133; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 333-334.

¹⁰⁴ C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *op. cit.* I, 1861, p. 262; A. Garkavi, *op. cit.*, p. 127; J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 63; B. Carra de Vaux, *Maçoudi. Le livre de l'avertissement et de la revision*, 1896, p. 98.

Black Sea, al-Mas'udi by no means grants exclusive rights to the Rus'. In other words, there is as much justification for stating that the Black Sea was known as the Rus'ian Sea, as the Sea of the Hungarians, of the Pechenegs, etc. However, as there is no evidence of the latter forms ever having been used as geographical appellations, it is legitimate to doubt whether the description 'Rus'ian' was generally used to designate the Black Sea.

Let us take into consideration the level of geographical knowledge of the Arabic writers before attempting to assess the validity of al-Mas'udi's account. It is a fact that only a few of their accounts were original works: the great majority were compendia, adaptations and compilations of earlier texts, many of which have not been handed down to our time.¹⁰⁵ Some of the information noted by the Arabic writers was certainly erroneous. Geographical names, particularly those taken over from other languages, were inevitably distorted by the Arabs, and their rendering offers a wide field for interpretational variants.¹⁰⁶ The Arabic writers often applied diverse names to signify one and the same sea or country, and transposed the names of some places to others in very carefree manner. These observations justify extreme caution when assessing al-Mas'udi's account of the Rus'ian Sea. The author affirms, for instance, that only the Rus' navigated the Black Sea and that they completely dominated it—a statement unsupported by the sources of the epoch.¹⁰⁷

It would seem, however, that another passage in al-Mas'udi throws more light on this matter, *viz.*, the one describing the expedition of Norsemen (Madjus) against Spain before the year 300 of the Moslem era (A.D. 912–913). The attack was launched from the straits of the Okiyanus Sea [the Atlantic Ocean]. 'But I think—writes al-Mas'udi—God knows best that these straits are linked with the Maiotis Sea [the Sea of Azov] and with Nitas [the Black Sea], and that those people are the Rus', of whom we have spoken above in this work, for no-one but they sail on that sea, which is connected with the Okiyanus Sea.'¹⁰⁸

It clearly follows from the above text that there was yet another

¹⁰⁵ Cf. J. Bielawski, *Księgozbiory jako wyraz kultury świata muzułmańskiego*, *POr*, No. 2 (34), 1960, pp. 131–144.

¹⁰⁶ Cf. T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich*, *SA II* (2), 1949–1950, pp. 323–325.

¹⁰⁷ Other sources apart, attention must be drawn first of all to two accounts handed down by two most authoritative writers: the Patriarch Photius and the Emperor Constantine Porphyrogenitus. The former states, in connection with the well-known attack of the Rus' upon Constantinople in 860, that the raiders came from very distant lands (the Black Sea region could not be described in such a way). This would indicate that al-Mas'udi's information about the Rus' on the Black Sea littoral cannot refer to the middle of the 9th century. Porphyrogenitus (middle of the 10th century) gives a detailed account of the voyages of the Rus' from the far north to the Black Sea. Thus, al-Mas'udi's reports likewise clash with the reality of his own time.

¹⁰⁸ C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *op. cit.* I, pp. 364–365; A. Garkavi, *op. cit.*, p. 129; J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 152; A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, *MAA XLVI*, 1946, p. 42.

sea which the Rus' fully dominated—one which al-Mas'udi differentiated from the Black Sea and the Sea of Azov. It is also a fact that in those times the Baltic was universally considered by Eastern (and Western) writers as only a bay of the Atlantic.¹⁰⁹ The passage just quoted has been analysed by many scholars; Vestberg,¹¹⁰ Marquart,¹¹¹ Vasiliev,¹¹² Svennung,¹¹³ Lewicki¹¹⁴ and others are undoubtedly right in stating that al-Mas'udi had the Baltic in mind when he handed down the above account.¹¹⁵

There is no doubt that the appellation 'the Rus'ian Sea' has more relevance to the accounts then current about the Baltic than to those about the Black Sea. The Rus'-Varangians—the sources constantly identify the Rus' with the Varangians at that period—really dominated the Baltic. Another Arabic writer, al-Biruni (first half of the 11th century) in some of his passages calls the Baltic the Rus'ian (and the Slavonic) Sea and in others the Varangian Sea.¹¹⁶ The Baltic is called the Varangian Sea by 'Nestor'¹¹⁷ and other East Slavonic chronicles, and continues so to be called for a long time—evidence that the appellation had a strong tradition behind it and found universal application.¹¹⁸

Yet another detail in the above quotation from al-Mas'udi merits attention. He says of the Baltic that this bay of the Okyanus Sea (the Atlantic Ocean) is connected with the Sea of Azov and the Black Sea. Al-Mas'udi was by no means alone in this mistaken conviction:

¹⁰⁹ T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiedni w świetle 'Księgi Rogera' geografii arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego* II, 1954, p. 183; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* I, 1956, pp. 92, 100, 101, 195, 271; *idem*, *Die Vorstellungen arabischer Schriftsteller des 9. und 10. Jahrhunderts von der Geographie und von den ethnischen Verhältnissen Osteuropas*, I XXXV, 1960, p. 31; G. Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski* 1960, p. 59. It should be borne in mind that Strabo and Pliny called the Baltic the Ocean, with Ptolemy and Jordanis following suit.

¹¹⁰ F. Vestberg, *K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o Vostochnoi Evrope*, ZMNP, 1908, pp. 28–30, 133, 379–381, etc.

¹¹¹ J. Marquart, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

¹¹² A. Vasiliev, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

¹¹³ J. Svennung, *Belt und Baltisch. Ostseeische Namenstudien mit besonderer Rücksicht auf Adam von Bremen*, UUA I, 1953, p. 54.

¹¹⁴ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 271.

¹¹⁵ T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich*, p. 335 writes: 'al-Mas'udi . . . mentions the direct trade of Rus'ian merchants from the "Sea of the Rus"'—here, the Baltic—with the Kama Bulgars and by way of the latter with Khoresm.' Thus, Lewicki admits that al-Mas'udi had also the Baltic in mind when he wrote of the Rus'ian Sea.

¹¹⁶ T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański*, p. 369.

¹¹⁷ It seems to me that in 'Nestor's' view the Varangians were in closer ties with the Baltic than were the other peoples settled on the shores of that sea. 'Lyakhove zhe, i prusi, chyud' presedyat' k moryu Varyazh'skomu. Po semu zhe moryu sedyat' varyazi' . . . , D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 10.

¹¹⁸ The Baltic was called the Varangian and not the Rus'ian Sea during the centuries which followed. Though at first synonymous appellations, the application and content of the 'Varangians' and 'the Rus' became increasingly differentiated with the passage of time. Religious factors played an especially important role here. The Varangians became known as the Norse adherents to the Latin faith. East Slavonic sources make frequent mention of the 'Varangian faith'. On the other hand, the Rus' were those who belonged to the Eastern Church and remained under the jurisdiction of the Rus'ian (Kievan) Metropolitan. It was therefore quite logical to call the Baltic the Varangian Sea.

other Eastern writers shared it as did also the West European writers of the time.

The development of trade between the Arabic countries and Europe during the Middle Ages greatly contributed to arouse Arabic interest in the Baltic. Numerous hoards of silver Cufic coins (totalling tens of thousands of items) have been unearthed on the Baltic coast and indicate that a lively trade was conducted. Valuable furs, amber and slaves were the main exports from Eastern Europe.

The ideas of the Arabic writers regarding the Baltic Sea were shaped by two sources of information: the literature handed down from antiquity, and the reports of merchants who maintained commercial contacts with Central and Eastern Europe. Above all, Ptolemy was largely responsible for the fact that Moslem geographers believed the Sea of Azov (which they designated by various names derived from the classical form *Palus Maeotis*) to be linked with the Baltic. Lewicki remarks that Ptolemy's map depicts the Sea of Azov stretching much farther north than it really does, and that to such an extent that the distance between the northern coast of the Sea of Azov and the Southern Baltic appears quite inconsiderable. Arabic copy-adaptations of this map possibly further reduced this distance.¹¹⁹ It may well be that the Arabic writers were in addition influenced by accounts handed down in other ancient sources.¹²⁰

The opinion of the Arabic writers that the southern seas mingled with the Baltic was reinforced by the fact that the Rus'ian navigators sailed upon all these seas; it was believed therefore that navigation from the Baltic to the Black Sea and *vice versa* was possible.¹²¹ Owing to erroneous information regarding the rivers of Eastern Europe, the two seas were deemed to have direct maritime connection. The river Don (the Tanais) merits special attention. Mas'udi and his predecessor, Ibn Rusta, relate that the Don flowed straight into the Black Sea and that it issued from the Sea of Azov—far to the north.¹²² This mistaken idea—and many other similar examples could be cited¹²³—indicates that the Arabic authors (including al-Mas'udi)

¹¹⁹ T. Lewicki, *Bałtyk w opisach autorów arabskich IX–X w.*, *PO* I, 1949, pp. 59–60.

¹²⁰ For instance, the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea* (c. A.D. 80–89). According to this source, apart from the Black Sea (Pontus) and the Caspian Sea, there was also Lake Maeotis which mingled its waters with the Ocean (hence with the Baltic, then universally considered to be an arm of the Atlantic). H. Yule, *Cathay and the Way Thither* I, 1915, p. 183.

¹²¹ A. Spekke, *Wiadomości geografów arabskich o narodach bałtyckich wczesnego średniowiecza*, *J* II (2), 1938, p. 76; T. Lewicki, *Bałtyk*, p. 60; J. Svennung, *Belt und Baltisch*, p. 36, and others.

¹²² J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, pp. 151, 162; T. Lewicki, *Die Vorstellungen arabischer Schriftsteller*, p. 31.

¹²³ Al-Khuwarizmi (first half of the 9th century), for example, believes that the Baltic and the Sea of Azov were connected by two channels said to stretch from the Northern Sea (as he called the Baltic) as far as 'al-Batiha' (literally 'Palus', i.e., Maeotis) and passing through the 'Rifaja' mountain chain on the way. T. Lewicki, *Bałtyk*, p. 56. Mas'udi maintains, in a work now lost and known solely from an extract, that the Baltic (which he divides into three seas) extended from the land of the 'al-Bulghar' (i.e., the Kama Bulgars). T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 62–63. Ibn-Hauqal

handed down not only valid but also very nebulous and quite erroneous information regarding Eastern Europe. In this, they differed little from their contemporaries in Western Europe.¹²⁴

On the base of al-Mas'udi's account, is it safe to accept the opinion that the Black Sea was universally known as the Rus'ian Sea in the 10th century and earlier?¹²⁵ I rejected this supposition when discussing the matter in *OR*.¹²⁶ This judgement was categorically opposed by Soloviev.¹²⁷ In reply to his article, the following can be stated: (1) he has made no allowance for the sources which mention the Sea of the Rus' in a context from which it unequivocally follows that the references are not to the Black Sea; (2) he appears to be quite unacquainted with the literature on the subject. With regard to al-Mas'udi, he restricts himself to quotations from Marquart's valuable work (1903) and even then he 'corrects' Marquart without satisfactory justification.¹²⁸

My critical analysis of al-Mas'udi's account fundamentally differs

(second half of the 10th century) relates that there was a channel which stretched from the Mediterranean to the Atlantic and cut Eastern Europe into two parts. T. Lewicki, *Baltyk*, pp. 64-65; *idem*, *Die Vorstellungen*, p. 31. Ibn Miskawaih (10th-11th century) treats the Caspian Sea and the Baltic as a single stretch of water. *OR*, pp. 126-127. As late as the 14th century, Dimeshki writes much on the topic whether or not the Black Sea merges with the Baltic. A. Spekke, *Wiadomości geografów arabskich*, p. 76.

¹²⁴ Adam of Bremen, Gervase of Tilbury, Helmold, Henry of Mainz, Saxo Grammaticus, etc., regard the Baltic and the Black Sea as one. Cf. S. Kętrzyński, *Ze studiów nad Gerwazym z Tilbury*, *RPAU* XLVI, 1903, pp. 7-8; B. Schmeidler and S. Steinberg, *Adam von Bremen. Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte*, 1926, pp. 214, 222; L. Koczy, *Sklawania Adama Bremskiego*, *SOc* XII, 1933, p. 207; F. Tschan, *The Chronicle of the Slavs by Helmold, Priest of Bossau*, *ReC* XXI, 1935, pp. 45-46; A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, 1946, pp. 26-28; F. Dvornik, *The Kiev State and its Relations with Western Europe*, *TRHS*, 1947, pp. 43-46; J. Svennung, *Belt und Baltisch*, pp. 35-37; G. Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy*, pp. 59, 66, and others. The famous Hereford map (c. 1275 or c. 1285; cf. N. Denholm-Young, *The Mappa Mundi* of Richard of Haldingham at Hereford, *Sp* XXXII, 1957, pp. 307-314) connects the Baltic with the Black Sea by way of the 'fluvius Meotides et palludes' (on the errors of this map see G. Kimble, *Geography in the Middle Ages*, 1938, p. 188). Much fantastic information concerning Eastern Europe can be found in the French medieval epics; cf. G. Lozinsky, *Rossiya v srednevekovoi frantsuzskoi literature*, *TSRAO* I, 1929 (also in French, *La Russie dans la littérature française du Moyen Age*, *RES* IX, 1929, pp. 71-88); A. Drobinsky, *Rus' i Vostochnaya Evropa vo frantsuzskom srednevekovom epose*, *IZ* XXVI, 1948, pp. 95-127; G. Labuda, *Źródła*, 1960, pp. 201-239. The 13th-century travellers likewise made fundamental errors. Marco Polo confused the Black Sea with the Caspian Sea. I. Magidovich in I. Minaev, *Kniga Marko Polo*, 1956, p. 13. Polo's predecessor, William of Rubruck located the Sea of Azov ('Palus Maeotis') far to the north, at the sources of the Don besides affirming that this sea was connected with the Ocean, i.e., with one of its bays, the Baltic. T. Lewicki, *Baltyk*, p. 60; on the journey of William of Rubruck see C. Dawson, *The Mongol Mission*, 1955; N. Shastina, *Dzhiovanni del' Plano Karpini, Istoriya Mongolov. Gil'om de Rubruk. Puteshestvie v vostochnye strany*, 1957. Even 'Nestor', whose knowledge of Eastern Europe was impressive, believed that the Baltic stretched all along Northern Europe and swung around eastwards to the lands of the Semitic peoples. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 211.

¹²⁵ No predecessor of al-Mas'udi called the Black Sea the Rus'ian Sea.

¹²⁶ *OR*, pp. 419-420.

¹²⁷ A. Soloviev, *Mare Russiae*, *WS* IV (1), 1959, pp. 1-12.

¹²⁸ Evidence in support of the above criticism will be given by me in a separate treatise, since Soloviev does not maintain that the appellation Rus'ian for the Black Sea constitutes proof that the Rus' originated from the Black Sea region, which is the basic subject under examination here.

from Soloviev's. He takes it amiss that I cited only one passage in *OR* (admittedly the most important) from the Arabic geographer's work and did not quote three other passages (which I now discuss in the present study)—fragments which likewise refer to the ties of the Rus' with the Black Sea.¹²⁹ These three passages were not quoted originally for two very good reasons: they added no basically new material on the subject under examination, and I have never denied that al-Mas'udi considered the Rus' were the dominant element on what he called the Black Sea. The crux of the matter lies on quite another plane, namely, which stretch of water did al-Mas'udi have in mind when he wrote of the Black Sea?

According to Soloviev, al-Mas'udi's text should be interpreted in isolation from other sources of the epoch. Soloviev dismisses as unimportant the fact, demonstrated in *OR*, that in those times it was universally believed that the Sea of Azov (and the Black Sea) merged with the Baltic—and he therefore disregards it in his remarks. Moreover, demanding that all of al-Mas'udi's texts having a bearing on the subject be taken into consideration, he nevertheless omits the passage about the Rus'ian raid on Spain with its mention that the Rus' fully dominated a bay (the Baltic) of the Atlantic Ocean.

Soloviev treats 13th- and 14th-century Arabic sources referring to the ties of the Rus' with the Black Sea on the same level as al-Mas'udi's account written in the 10th century.¹³⁰ Seemingly unacquainted with the extant critical analyses of Arabic literature, he does not appear to have realized that Arabic geographers copied or repeated information culled from the works of their predecessors with the result that they presented events as contemporaneous with their own times though actually these belonged to much earlier periods. 'As a result of this—Kunik writes—it happened that 14th-century Arabic writers still wrote of a Rus'ian Sea upon which the Rus' practised piracy everywhere although Rus' was then fully cut-off from the Pontus by the Tartars.'¹³¹

Again, Soloviev believes the Greeks (Byzantines) called the Black Sea the Rus'ian Sea and that other peoples followed their example.¹³² Unfortunately for him, there is not a single Byzantine text which supports this conjecture. Actually, the very fact that the latter appellation is nowhere used in Greek writings suffices to disqualify his surmise. In an effort to make his hypothesis more convincing, Soloviev advances a second one. He alleges that a dual geographical terminology was currently used in Byzantium: scholars called the Black Sea the Pontus whilst the plain people colloquially called it the Rus'ian

¹²⁹ A. Soloviev, *op. cit.*, pp. 1-4.

¹³⁰ Soloviev affirms in his article that there are three Arabic sources which call the Black Sea the Rus'ian Sea (p. 12).

¹³¹ A. Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o rusi i slavyanakh*, 1878, p. 83.

¹³² A. Soloviev, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

Sea.¹³³ But again, he does not even attempt to provide any evidence in support of this supposition—if only because none exists. The above conjectures of Soloviev's are therefore unacceptable and should in fact be dismissed as products of sheer imagination.

A much more likely explanation of al-Mas'udi's references to the Rus'ian Sea is that he was acquainted with the Rus'ian raids in the Black Sea region and hence included these rovers among the permanently settled peoples on its coasts. In addition, he applied their name to the Black Sea and stated it was fully dominated by them. This fact of Rus'ian maritime supremacy was likewise transposed by al-Mas'udi to the Baltic—as it happened, in agreement with the actual state of affairs there. All this indicates that al-Mas'udi shared the prevalent general belief that the Black Sea and the Baltic merged into each other.¹³⁴ It would seem inadvisable to extract far-reaching conclusions from such an obviously unreliable narration and to use it as a basis for the identification of the original native territory of the Rus'.

The second source in which the Black Sea appears under the name of the Rus'ian Sea is the *Povest' vremennykh let*. Those historians who affirm that the original homeland of the Rus' was in the Black Sea region, base their hypotheses on the reports of al-Mas'udi and of 'Nestor'.¹³⁵ In the case of the latter, the relevant passage, according to Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor's translation,¹³⁶ reads as follows: '... the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus. This sea ... is called the Russian Sea'. (*A Dnepr utechet' v Ponet'skoe more zherelom, ezhe more slovet' Ruskoe...*)¹³⁷

There is, however, reason to doubt whether 'Nestor' actually called the Black Sea the Rus'ian Sea, and with reference to the above passage, I wrote: '... in the text of "Nestor" there figured the adjective *Rumskii* (Roman),¹³⁸ and this was falsely read as *Ruskii* (the adjective

¹³³ A. Soloviev, *op. cit.*, p. 10.

¹³⁴ L. Koczy, Sklawania Adama Bremeńskiego, *SOc* XII, 1933, p. 307 rightly points out that Adam of Bremen, identifying the two seas, transferred to the Baltic Sea region various peoples settled on the Black Sea.

¹³⁵ The appellation 'the Rus'ian Sea' used in later source-texts, at a time when the Rus' indisputably neither inhabited the Black Sea littoral nor dominated it, will be discussed in my reply to Soloviev's article. For the time being, it suffices to point out that many modern authors consider these later-day sources as having no bearing on the subject of the Rus' origin.

¹³⁶ S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 53.

¹³⁷ D. Likhachev, *Provest' I*, p. 12. B. Grekov, *Politicheskii stroi drevnerusskogo gosudarstva v IX–X vv.*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR (IX–XV vv.) I*, 1953, p. 101 considers that the name given to the Black Sea in the relevant text should be interpreted as 'Rus'ian or Slavonic'; I. Ohienko, *Ukrains'ka Tserkva*, 1942, p. 12 believes, however, it should be 'Rus'ian, i.e., Ukrainian'.

¹³⁸ The Byzantine Empire was generally known under the appellation of Rome. The Greeks of Byzantium used to call themselves Romans. F. Dölger, *Rom in der Gedankenwelt der Byzantiner*, in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 1953, pp. 70–115 (and *SBN* V, 1939, pp. 152–153). See also M. Seidlmayer, *Rom und Romgedanke im Mittelalter*, *Sac* VII, 1956, pp. 395–412.

derived from Rus').¹³⁹ It is from this evident mistake that the opinion arose that the name of Rus' was applied in the *Povest'* to the Black Sea.¹⁴⁰

This opinion was categorically opposed by two reviewers, Vernadsky and Soloviev. The former writes: '... in the *Povest'* Byzantium is always called "the Greek land" (*zemlja Greckaja* or *Grečskaja*) and never Roman. Besides, in both [languages], Church-Slavic and Russian, "Rome" is *Rim*, not *Rum*, and "Roman" is *Rimskij*, not *Rumskij*. The latter form is Paszkiewicz's own creation.'¹⁴¹

Actually, both in Church-Slavonic and East-Slavonic, 'Rome' and 'Roman' occur in two forms: *Rim* and *Rimskii*, and *Rum-Rumskii*. As Vernadsky denies the latter form was ever used, the following extracts from texts of the relevant epoch are given in evidence that he is mistaken: 'zhitie grigora papy rumskago'; 'i vpišashya v' pina-kidy rumsky'; 'i v' sikh knigakh chte sya rumsky'; 'protlkovav ot rumaska yazyka... na grchesk'; 'yakozhe bo egda rumin sy luchit'; 'uzhe bo beakhu takoya vlasti rumy otnyati razaraet sya ubo';¹⁴² 't'kmo Zhidom' i Rumlyanom' i Ellinom'; 'ide v' Rum'; 'Elini i Rumene';¹⁴³ 'tsar' Rum'skyi';¹⁴⁴ 'iz grada Ruma';¹⁴⁵ 'rum'sky pismeny'; 'knigami rumskami';¹⁴⁶ 'i be napsano evreisky i gr'chsky i rumsky';¹⁴⁷ 'yazykm'... rum'skm';¹⁴⁸ 'ot boyar rumesk'; 'be rumsky istorik izhe spisa mnogo v rume'; 'byst' zhe tsr' pruyi edin rumom';¹⁴⁹ 's papoyu rum'skim'; 'napisanykh papoyu rum'skim Klimantom'; 'v rum'stei tsrkvi'; 'muzhi rum'stii'.¹⁵⁰ Many more similar examples could be quoted, but the above should suffice.

¹³⁹ The *Povest'* has not been preserved in the original but only in copies of quite a late date (the oldest being of 1377). If the name of the Black Sea was altered from *Rumskii* to *Ruskii*, this could happen in consequence of a false reading of the paleographic abbreviation (on these abbreviations in Slavonic manuscripts see J. Vajs, *Rukovět' hlaholské paleografie*, 1932; E. Granstrem, *Sokrashcheniya drevneishikh slavjano-russkikh rukopisei*, TODRL X, 1954, pp. 427-431; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, etc.) or through a simple mistake of the copyist. Such simple errors did happen then, just as they still do today. For instance, M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 45 or A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, p. 60 state that Ibn Khurdadhbih (9th century) wrote of Rus'ian merchants proceeding on their distant journeys 'towards the Rus'ian Sea', whilst this Arabic author actually spoke of the Roman Sea.

¹⁴⁰ OR, p. 420.

¹⁴¹ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp XXX* (2), 1955, p. 295.

¹⁴² S. Sever'yanov, *Suprasl'skaya rukopis'*, PSY II (1), 1904, pp. 119, 140, 142, 144, 382, 433.

¹⁴³ P. Lavrov, *Materialy po istorii vozniknoveniya drevneishei slavyanskoi pis'mennosti*, TSK I, 1930, pp. 97, 165.

¹⁴⁴ V. Istrin, *Otkrovenie Metodiya Patarskogo i apokrificheskie videniya Daniila v vizantiiskoi i slavjano-russkoi literaturakh*, COID, 1897 (4), p. 91.

¹⁴⁵ N. Meshchersky, *Istoriya iudeiskoi voiny Iosifa Flaviya v drevnerusskom perevode*, 1958, p. 303.

¹⁴⁶ Cf. F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, 1862-1865, p. 805.

¹⁴⁷ V. Shchepkin, *Savvina kniga*, PSY I (2), 1903, p. 124.

¹⁴⁸ A. Gezen, *Istoriya slavyanskogo perevoda simbolov very*, 1884, p. 70.

¹⁴⁹ S. Shestakov, *O znachenii slavyanskogo perevoda khroniki Ioanna Malaly dlya vosstanovleniya i ispravleniya ee grecheskogo teksta*, VV I, 1894, pp. 515, 516.

¹⁵⁰ A. Popov, *Istoriiko-literaturnyi obzor drevnerusskikh polemicheskikh sochinenii protiv latinyan (XI-XIV v.)*, 1875, pp. 128-131.

The form *Rum* (and *Rumskii*) has been discussed by Berneker,¹⁵¹ Diels,¹⁵² Goryaev,¹⁵³ Horálek,¹⁵⁴ Kiparsky,¹⁵⁵ Leskien,¹⁵⁶ Margulies,¹⁵⁷ Meyer,¹⁵⁸ Miklosich,¹⁵⁹ Preobrazhensky,¹⁶⁰ Sadnik and Aitzetmüller,¹⁶¹ Słoński,¹⁶² Sobolevsky,¹⁶³ Stender-Petersen,¹⁶⁴ Vaillant,¹⁶⁵ van Wijk,¹⁶⁶ Vondrák,¹⁶⁷ and many others. The forms *Rum* and *Rumskii* are not, as Vernadsky states, 'Paszkievich's own creation'. They are the 'creation' of the sources of the period.

Vernadsky argues that the Black Sea could not have been called the Roman Sea in the passage from 'Nestor' because Byzantium is always spoken of as a Greek and not a Roman land in the *Povest'*. And he goes on to say that if the chronicler really applied the name 'Roman' to the Sea, he departed from his usual terminology only in this single instance. This argument, however, cuts both ways. If 'Nestor' actually called the given stretch of water the Rus'ian Sea, this would be just as exceptional a case since elsewhere the *Povest'* uses the form Pontus (*Ponet'skoe more*)¹⁶⁸ and no other. Vernadsky's argument is thus seen to be pointless.

In his review of *OR*, Soloviev advanced two arguments against my hypothesis (*Rumskii-Ruskii*). He states that 'the Arabic word "Rumi"' as a designation of the Greeks is quite unknown in the Old-Rus'ian language'.¹⁶⁹ Unfortunately, he seems just as unacquainted with the source-texts he refers to as Vernadsky. After all, a fairly lively exchange of correspondence was conducted between Constantinople and Kiev (and later with Moscow). In their letters, the Greeks constantly called themselves Romans, and this correspondence was cer-

¹⁵¹ E. Berneker, *Slavische Chrestomathie mit Glossaren*, 1902, p. 57.

¹⁵² P. Diels, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik mit einer Auswahl von Texten und einem Wörterbuch I*, 1932, pp. 71, 166; II, 1934, p. 100.

¹⁵³ N. Goryaev, *Sravnitel'nyi etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka*, 1896, p. 299.

¹⁵⁴ K. Horálek, *Evangelíe a čtveroevangelia*, 1954, p. 70.

¹⁵⁵ V. Kiparsky, *Die gemeinslavischen Lehnwörter aus dem Germanischen*, 1934, pp. 128-129.

¹⁵⁶ A. Leskien, *Handbuch der altbulgarischen (altkirchenslavischen) Sprache, Grammatik-Texte-Glossar*, 7th edn., 1955, p. 328.

¹⁵⁷ A. Margulies, *Der altkirchenslavische Codex Suprasliensis*, 1927, pp. 69-70.

¹⁵⁸ K. Meyer, *Altkirchenslavisch-griechisches Wörterbuch des Codex Suprasliensis*, 1935, pp. 219-220.

¹⁵⁹ F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, 1862-1865, p. 805; *idem*, *Die Bildung der slavischen Personen- und Ortsnamen*, 1927, p. 310.

¹⁶⁰ A. Preobrazhensky, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka*, 1958 (1910-1914, 1949), II, p. 203.

¹⁶¹ L. Sadnik and R. Aitzetmüller, *Handwörterbuch zu den altkirchenslavischen Texten*, 1955, p. 116.

¹⁶² S. Słoński, *Wybór tekstów starosłowiańskich (starobułgarskich)*, 2nd edn., 1952, p. 128.

¹⁶³ A. Sobolevsky, *Materialy i issledovaniya v oblasti slavyanskoi filologii i arkeologii*, *SORYS LXXXVIII* (3), 1910, p. 75.

¹⁶⁴ A. Stender-Petersen, *Slavisch-germanische Lehnwortkunde*, 1927, p. 348.

¹⁶⁵ A. Vaillant, *Manuel du vieux slave*, 1948 (I, pp. 52, 162; II, p. 115).

¹⁶⁶ N. van Wijk, *Geschichte der altkirchenslavischen Sprache*, 1931, pp. 156, 190.

¹⁶⁷ W. Vondrák, *Altkirchenslavische Grammatik*, 2nd ed., 1912, pp. 80, 116; *idem*, *Čirkevněslovanská chrestomatie*, 1925, p. 277; *idem*, *Vergleichende slavische Grammatik II*, 1928, p. 285.

¹⁶⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 10-12, 33.

¹⁶⁹ A. Soloviev, *Mare Russiae*, *WS IV* (1), 1959, p. 4.

tainly read in the land of Rus'. Furthermore, since Moscow was later acknowledged as 'the third Rome', it can be safely accepted that in the eyes of Eastern Europe Byzantium became 'the second Rome'.

In this connection, let us take into consideration an important item of Slavonic ecclesiastical writing, a compilation known under the name of the *Paleyā*. It is a synopsis of Old Testament history supplemented by material from apocryphal books and various interpretative accretions. Long ago it was noticed that some passages in the *Povest'* appear also in the *Tolkovaya Paleya*.¹⁷⁰ Various authors have striven to establish the relationship between these two sources. Sukhomlinov and Pavlov believed that 'Nestor' drew his information from the *Tolkovaya Paleya*.¹⁷¹ According to Shakhmatov, the *Tolkovaya Paleya* originated in the circle of St Methodius at the end of the 9th century, and was brought from Bulgaria to Rus', most probably before the end of the 11th century, since 'Nestor' was already acquainted with it.¹⁷²

Istrin, who wrote several valuable studies on the subject under discussion,¹⁷³ was of another opinion. He considered that the *Tolkovaya Paleya* belongs to 13th-century East-Slavonic literature, and that 'Nestor' could not therefore have profited from it. Michajlov¹⁷⁴ and Rainov¹⁷⁵ express similar views. Likhachev supposes there was some East-Slavonic source from which both the *Povest'* and the *Tolkovaya Paleya* drew their information.¹⁷⁶

The relationship between these two sources has no special significance for the present examination. But the fact that *Tolkovaya Paleya* identifies 'Romans' with 'Greeks' is pertinent to the subject; it writes: 'The Romans who are called Greeks' (*rumi izhe zovutsya gretsi*).¹⁷⁷ This single, short phrase suffices to invalidate two hypotheses: Soloviev's that the Greeks were never called Romans in Eastern Europe, and Vernadsky's that the form *Rum* to signify Rome was unknown to the Slavs.¹⁷⁸

¹⁷⁰ Its earliest extant text is that written at Kolomna in 1406. *Paleyā Tolkovaya po spisku sdellanomu v Kolomne v 1406 g. Trud uchenikov N. S. Tikhonravova*, 1892 (unavailable to me).

¹⁷¹ M. Sukhomlinov, O drevnei russkoi letopisi kak pamyatnike literaturnom, in his *Issledovaniya po drevnei russkoi literature*, SORYS LXXXV, 1908, pp. 58-70 (first edition, 1856); A. Pavlov, *Kriticheskie opyty po istorii drevneishei greko-russkoi polemiki protiv latinyan*, 1878 (unavailable to me).

¹⁷² A. Shakhmatov, *Tolkovaya Paleya i russkaya letopis'*, StS I, 1904, pp. 199-272.

¹⁷³ V. Istrin, *Zamechaniya o sostave Tolkovoi Palei*, IORYS II, 1897, pp. 175-209, 845-905; III, 1898, pp. 472-531; *idem*, *Redaktsii Tolkovoi Palei*, IORYS X (4), 1905, pp. 135-203; XI (1), 1906, pp. 1-43; (2), pp. 20-61; (3), pp. 418-450; *idem*, *Issledovaniya v oblasti drevnerusskoi literatury*, 1906, pp. 139-178.

¹⁷⁴ A. Michajlov, Zur Entstehungsgeschichte der 'Tolkovaja Paleja', ZSP IV, 1927, pp. 115-131.

¹⁷⁵ T. Rainov, *Nauka v Rossii XI-XVI vv.*, 1940, p. 20.

¹⁷⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, pp. 212, 213, 230, 258, 331, 340, 341.

¹⁷⁷ I. Sreznevsky, *Skazaniya o suyatikh Borise i Glebe. Sil'vestrovskii spisok XIV veka*, 1860, p. X; D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 213.

¹⁷⁸ There is yet another example which demonstrates that the Slavs used the appellations 'Romans' and 'Greeks' synonymously: . . . *rumi li ili gretsi* ('the Romans or Greeks'). F. Miklosich, *Lexicon palaeoslovenico-graeco-latinum*, 1862-1865, p. 805.

If it be assumed there was some Slavonic source from which both the *Povest'* and the *Tolkovaya Paleya* drew their information, and if the latter work borrowed the appellation *Rum* (in the sense of Byzantium) from it, there is every likelihood that 'Nestor' used this form too. If, on the other hand, the *Tolkovaya Paleya* was written in the 12th–13th century, it could have copied the appellation *Rum* from 'Nestor'—or *vice versa*, if Shakhmatov's view is accepted. All these considerations support my opinion that the Black Sea was known as the Roman Sea (*Rumskoe more*).

Soloviev's next argument can now be examined. He writes: 'Secondly, *Bar-al-Rumi* (the Roman Sea) when used by the Arabic geographers always denoted the Mediterranean as also the Adriatic, the Aegean Sea, and the Sea of Marmara—but not the Pontus.'¹⁷⁹

The appellation 'Rome' (*al-Rum*) was applied by the Arabs in various meanings: to signify Byzantium within its far-flung boundaries, the city of Rome (on the Tiber), and the whole Apennine Peninsula, as also all the Christian lands of Europe.¹⁸⁰ Thus, the 'Roman Sea' (*Bahr ar-Rum* or *al-Bahr ar-Rumi*) was, strictly speaking, 'the Byzantine Sea'.¹⁸¹ This name referred in principle to the Mediterranean, but also to its component seas.¹⁸² The query arises: Did the appellation 'Roman Sea' likewise embrace the Black Sea?

Nikitin, relating his famous journey of 1466–1472 (hence undertaken after the fall of Constantinople), calls the Black Sea the Sea of Istanbul (*doriya Stembol'skaa*).¹⁸³ Petrushevsky, commenting on this work, rightly considers the appellation reflects the old traditions which linked the Black Sea with Constantinople, with 'Rome'. 'In the 13th–15th centuries—he writes—the Persian and Arabic geographers usually called this sea the Roman (*rumskii*) one.'¹⁸⁴ ... The Black Sea was often considered by the eastern geographers to be a part of the Mediterranean or one of its gulfs.'¹⁸⁵

With regard to still more ancient times, and contrary to Soloviev's statements, the name 'Roman Sea' denoted not only the Mediterranean but also the Black Sea. Testimony to this is given by the

It is possible that the appellation 'the Romans' (to signify Greeks) is encountered rarely in the writings of the Eastern Slavs because, after the separation of the Churches (in 1054), the term 'Romans' was generally applied to the members of the Latin Church.

¹⁷⁹ A. Soloviev, *Mare Russiae*, p. 4.

¹⁸⁰ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, pp. 24, 79, 84, 88, 89, 100, 246, 272, 287.

¹⁸¹ T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁸² It must also be borne in mind that the Arabs made use of no single, uniform appellation for the whole of the Mediterranean Sea, and the names applied by the Arabic authors ('Western Sea', 'Syrian Sea', etc.) denoted individual parts of that sea. T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 92, 100, 103, 105, 129.

¹⁸³ Ya. Lur'e, *Khozhenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina, 1466–1472*, 2nd edn., 1958, pp. 11, 29, etc. Cf. D. Lebedev, *Ocherki po istorii geografii v Rossii XV i XVI vekov*, 1956, pp. 164–193.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. A. Freiman, *Nazvanie Chernogo morya v domusul'manskoi Persii, ZKV V*, 1930, pp. 647–651.

¹⁸⁵ I. Petrushevsky, *Kommentarii geograficheskii i istoricheskii*, in *Khozhenie*, p. 188.

9th-century Arabic writers Ibn Khurdadhbīh¹⁸⁶ and al-Fargani¹⁸⁷ as also by Ibn al-Faqih (early 10th century)¹⁸⁸ and al-Mas'udi.¹⁸⁹ It thus follows that Soloviev's assertion that the Black Sea was never known as the Roman Sea—a statement backed by nothing but plain contradictions of the views prevalent in the literature on the subject—is found to be untenable.

Resuming, the conclusion is reached that—as the Slavs were acquainted with the appellation *Rum* for Rome, and as the Black Sea was called the Roman Sea in the sources of the period—the hypothesis of the Black Sea having originally been called the Roman Sea (*Rumskoe more*) in the above-quoted passage from 'Nestor's' Chronicle has the backing of great probability. Further arguments in its support can now be given.

'Nestor' writes: '*Ponet'skoe more . . . ezhe more slovet' Ruskoe*'.¹⁹⁰ Attention is drawn to the use of the verb *sluti* (*slovet'*) here. Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor translate *slovet'* by 'is called' ('... the

¹⁸⁶ Ibn Khurdadhbīh mentions that Rus'ian merchants travelled with their goods from Eastern Europe to the Roman Sea and the ruler of Rome collected dues from them. T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, pp. 76–77. According to Soloviev (*Mare Russiae*, p. 5), the appellation 'Roman Sea' should be taken to denote not the Black Sea but the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara, since dues could be collected only at the Golden Horn. Several objections to this commentary can be raised. It is hardly likely that Ibn Khurdadhbīh, as a geographer, made no mention of the Black Sea which the Rus'ian merchants would have to cross in any case. The Arabic author makes several mentions of the stretches of water alluded to by Soloviev; he calls them 'the straits of Constantinople' (*halig al-Qustantīniya*) or simply 'the straits' (*al-Halig*). Cf. T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, pp. 69, 102, 105. Ibn Khurdadhbīh sometimes applies the name of Buntus (i.e., Pontus) to the Bosphorus and the Sea of Marmara. Cf. T. Lewicki, p. 103. Buntus was in fact the name generally applied to the Black Sea by the Arabic geographers. Soloviev disregards all these facts and he similarly ignores the political conditions then current on the shores of the Black Sea. The domination of the Khazars in this region declined in about A.D. 840 and Byzantium regained its hegemony over the Crimea: it was hence possible for the Byzantine authorities to collect dues from Rus'ian merchants on the northern coast of the Black Sea, e.g., in Cherson. This, in fact, is what happened, according to many scholars who have written on the subject (Soloviev seems to be unacquainted with the works of most of them) and they, too, support the view that the Roman Sea of Khurdadhbīh (and of the other authors) denoted the Black Sea. Cf. A. Vasil'evsky, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniya*, *LZAK*, 1893, p. XXVIII; J. Marquart, *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge*, 1903, pp. 162, 351; F. Vestberg, *K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o Vostochnoi Evrope*, *ZMNP*, 1908, pp. 371–372; A. Yakubovsky, *Ibn Miskaveikh o pokhode Rusov v Berdaa v 322 g.—943/4 g.*, *VV XXIV*, 1923–1926, pp. 83–84; V. Minorsky, *Hudūd al-Alam. The Regions of the World*, 1937, p. 429; V. Bartold, *Arabskie izvestiya o rusakh*, *SVo I*, 1940, pp. 21–22; A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, *MAA XLVI*, 1946; B. Zakhoder, *Sredneaziatsko-kharasanskaya geografiya IX–X vv. o Povolzh'e i Vostochnoi Evrope*, *UZIV XIV*, 1956, p. 19, and others.

¹⁸⁷ A. Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh autorov o rusi i slavyanakh*, 1878, p. 81; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, pp. 193, 195.

¹⁸⁸ T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 129.

¹⁸⁹ Special attention is drawn to the well-known passage in al-Mas'udi's work (the Roman Sea is mentioned in it); he writes of the Alans settled in Northern Caucasia, of the neighbouring Kashaks (the Kasogians of the East-Slavonic chroniclers) and of Trapezund (Trebizond). C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *Maqoudi. Les prairies d'or II*, 1863, pp. 45–46. All these geographical (and ethnic) names refer to the Black Sea region; hence there is no reason to ascribe them—as Soloviev does—to two different seas. Marquart's interpretation (*op. cit.*, 161) of the above passage is quite correct and is shared by F. Vestberg, *op. cit.*, pp. 371–372, and T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 129. See also V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th–11th centuries*, 1958, pp. 142–165.

¹⁹⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 12.

Pontus. This sea . . . is called the Russian Sea'). This translation is not erroneous, yet it is inexact. Though Sreznevsky renders *sluti* as *nazyvat'sya* ('to be called'), he also indicates another meaning of this word, *viz.*, *slavit'sya* ('to be famed,' 'famous'). Sreznevsky alludes too to the adjective *slovyi* = *slavnyi*, ('famed', 'famous', 'renowned', 'glorious') and to the noun *slutie* = *slava* ('fame', 'glory').¹⁹¹ Kunik provides the following cautious and apt comment on the passage in question: 'The use of the verb *sluti* (*slyt*') possibly allows us to presume that Nestor [in this way] noted this name [of the Black Sea] as one applied by foreign nations.'¹⁹² The text under consideration should be translated: . . . 'Pontus. This sea is famous as . . .'.¹⁹³ And here we come to the essence of the problem. Which name was more famous in the world: Rome or Rus'? There is no need to answer.

The legend about the apostle Andrew, to which was appended the second name of the Pontus, has been critically examined by many authors.¹⁹⁴ In my opinion, 'Nestor', when he calls the Black Sea Roman, supplies this information with his own commentary bearing a religious connotation. Stating that the Dnieper flows into the Pontus, 'Nestor' writes: 'This sea, beside which taught St Andrew, Peter's brother, is famous as the Roman Sea. . . . When Andrew was teaching in Sinope and came to Cherson, he observed that the mouth of the Dnieper was near by. Conceiving a desire to go to Rome, he thus journeyed to the mouth of the Dnieper. . . .' Then follows the description of St Andrew's journey by a circular route through Eastern Europe and Scandinavia. At length, 'he [Andrew] came to Rome . . . ; Andrew, after his stay in Rome, returned to Sinope'.¹⁹⁵ I believe that 'Nestor' called the Pontus the Roman Sea in order to commemorate St Andrew's journey from its shores to Rome and from Rome back again to its shores.

Although 'Nestor' mentions the Pontus several times, it is only in the passage under examination that he gives the second, 'famous' name of that sea. This information was probably the chronicler's own direct contribution and inserted within the legend of the apostle

¹⁹¹ I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovary drevnerusskogo yazyka* III, 1912, pp. 433-434.

¹⁹² A. Kunik, *Izvestiya al-Bekri i drugikh avtorov o rusi i slavyanakh*, 1878, p. 88.

¹⁹³ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 208 correctly translates the verb ('. . . Pontiiskoe more; eto more slyet . . .').

¹⁹⁴ I. Malyshevsky, *Skazanie o poseshchenii russkoi strany sv. ap. Andreem*, *TKDA*, 1888 (6); S. Petrovsky, *Skazaniya ob Apostol'skoi propovedi po severo-vostochnomu Chernomorskemu poberezh'yu*, *ZIOO* XX-XXI, 1897-1898; F. Haase, *Apostel und Evangelisten in den orientalischen Überlieferungen*, *NTA* IX (1-3), 1922; A. Sedel'nikov, *Drevnyaya kievskaya legenda ob apostole Andree*, *S* III, 1924-1925; A. Pogodin, *Povest' o khozhdenii apostola Andrey a v Rus'*, *BS* VII, 1937-1938; A. Gerhardt, *Das Land ohne Apostel und seine Apostel*, *SV* VI, 1954; *idem*, *Über Vorkommen und Wertung der Dampfbäder*, *ZSP* XXIV (1), 1955; G. Rauch, *Frühe christliche Spuren in Russland*, *Sac* VII, 1956; A. Bazielič, *Początki kultu św. Andrzeja apostoła w Polsce*, *NP* VII, 1958; F. Dvornik, *The Idea of Apostolity in Byzantium and the Legend of the Apostle Andrew*, *DOS* IV, 1958; A. Kartashev, *Byl li apostol Andrei Pervozvannyi na Rusi*, in his *Očerki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, and others.

¹⁹⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 12. See also *ibid.* II, pp. 218-219, 342.

Andrew by himself.¹⁹⁶ In other words, 'Nestor' endeavoured on the one hand to explain why the Pontus was also called the Roman Sea in his time, and, on the other hand, he sought to extol the latter appellation linking it with an apostle of Christ.

Let us suppose, however, that 'Nestor' was concerned with St Andrew's journey not to Rome but merely to Eastern Europe, to Rus'—and that was why he called the Pontus the Rus'ian Sea. Such a supposition is untenable for two reasons. First, 'Nestor' uses in the passage under examination the term 'Slavonic' (not Rus'ian) land (*Sloven'skaya zemlya*), and logically speaking he would not have called the Pontus the Rus'ian but the Slavonic Sea. Secondly, the chronicler well knew that the appellation 'Rus'' appeared first in the 9th century¹⁹⁷ and for the Kievan Polyanians (as for the other Slavs) it was an alien concept rather recently introduced.¹⁹⁸

The fact that 'Nestor' linked the 'famous' name of the Pontus with St Andrew and his epoch, supports the view that the chronicler, in the passage under discussion, had the Roman Sea in mind (according to 'Nestor', the term 'Rus'' did not exist in St Andrew's lifetime). Hence in this investigation, I cannot but uphold the hypothesis that the original text of the *Povest'* gave the name of the Pontus as 'the Roman Sea' (*Rumskoe more*).

It is emphasized in *OR*,¹⁹⁹ as in the present study, that the utmost caution should be exercised when venturing to restore the wording of source-texts. Advancing this hypothesis, it would seem that such caution has been fully maintained and that adequate arguments have been advanced in its support. Again, nevertheless, let us assume that these fail to bring conviction. Reverting to the fact that the existing version of the *Povest'* speaks of the Rus'ian Sea (*more Ruskoe*) in the given passage, let it be accepted that this was what 'Nestor' actually wrote. The question then arises: Even so, does his relation justify the allegation, often made in the literature on the subject, that the original homeland of the Rus' was upon the Black Sea littoral? After all, analysing the source, it is not permissible to extrude one sentence from the context (particularly as this Rus'ian name for the Black Sea appears only once in the Chronicle) and to deal with it in full disregard of the rest of the source. All that 'Nestor' wrote on this subject should be taken into consideration.

In agreement with many other authors of the period, 'Nestor', when dealing with more ancient times, identifies the Rus' with the Norse Varangians.²⁰⁰ He thus indirectly indicates Scandinavia as the

¹⁹⁶ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* II, p. 108 is of the same opinion.

¹⁹⁷ 'V leto 6360 [852], indikta 15 den', nachenshyu Mikhailu tsarstvovati, nacha sya prozyvati Ruska zemlya', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* I, p. 17. See on this date (852)—D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* II, p. 230.

¹⁹⁸ . . . 'polyane yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* I, p. 21; see also *ibid.*, p. 23.

¹⁹⁹ *OR*, p. 113.

²⁰⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 18, 20, 21, 23, etc.

original homeland of the Rus'. He also writes of the chief centres of the Rus'ian settlements during the first phase of Varangian expansion in Eastern Europe. Here is the passage in the *Povest'* which immediately precedes the sentence where the adjective 'Rus'ian' is used to describe the Black Sea—and it will be observed that it includes a description of the region in which the Volga, Dvina and Dnieper have their sources, the region where 'Nestor' locates Rus': 'That is why one can sail from Rus' by the Volga to the Bulgars (*Tem zhe i iz Rusi mozhet' iti po Volze v Bolgary*) . . . , by the Dvina to the Varangians. . . . But the Dnieper flows through various mouths into the Pontus. This sea beside which taught St Andrew, Peter's brother, is famous as the Rus'ian Sea.'²⁰¹

It follows from this passage that the Rus' dwelt in the Upper Dnieper region and not at the mouth of that river. Dealing with events in later times (the second half of the 10th century), 'Nestor' again indicates that the Rus'ian land was not situated on the Black Sea coast at the time.²⁰² Thus, even if the *Povest'* really called the Pontus the Rus'ian Sea, this is no argument for the statement that the Black Sea was the original homeland of the Rus'.²⁰³

²⁰¹ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* I, p. 12.

²⁰² When Svyatoslav, son of Igor', was on the Danube, in Bulgaria (971), he discussed with his retinue his difficult plight in the newly conquered land. Here are his words: 'The Rus'ian land is far, the Pechenegs are at war with us and who then will help us [if the Byzantine forces pass to the attack]' ('A Ruska zemlya dalecha, a pechenezi s nami rat'ni, a kto ny pomozhet'). D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* I, p. 51. Svyatoslav said nothing of Rus' reaching as far as the Black Sea, whilst his mention concerning the Pechenegs indicates that he could not return to Rus' without passing through their territory. Wrongly interpreting 'Nestor's' text (the Black Sea was called the Rus'ian Sea), I. Gapusenko, *Slov'yans'ke nasellennya na pivnichnomu uzberezhzhi Chornogo i Azov's'kogo moriv*, *UIZ*, 1960 (6), pp. 45–54 affirms that the Slavs (he identified them with the Rus') lived at that time on the northern shore of the Black Sea (and of the Sea of Azov).

²⁰³ Some authors who believe that the original homeland of the Rus' was in South-Eastern Europe, not only quote the passages from al-Mas'udi and 'Nestor' analysed above but also other sources, though these contain still fewer concrete data on the subject under examination. These sources comprise mentions by oriental writers regarding the warlike feats of the Rus' in the region of the Caspian and the Black Sea in the 7th and 8th centuries. These accounts, both sparse and poor in content, have hitherto not been submitted to critical analysis. The most important among them is the Persian chronicle of Bal'ami (second half of the 10th century), an adaptation of al-Tabari's work (915). It reports that, during the wars conducted in the South-Eastern Caucasus by the Khazars and Alans against *al-Bab* (Derbend) and the Arabs, the Rus' helped the Khazars as allies or mercenaries (643). This information, however, was recorded 300 years after the events described. There is no need here to analyse Bal'ami's account or other sources in the same category since they have no bearing on the original homeland of the Rus'. The invasions and conquests effected by the Rus' in the regions of the southern seas during the 9th and 10th centuries are known and generally accepted. It is possible, though there is no certainty so far, that these sources may contain some indications as to the beginnings of Rus'ian expansion in Eastern Europe. 'Nestor' does not state that the Varangians-Rus' appeared in the East only after the summoning of Rurik (862). Cf. *OR*, pp. 138–139. B. Rybakov, *K voprosu o roli khazarskogo kaganata v istorii Rusi*, *SAr* XVIII, 1953, p. 134 lists the genealogy of the Turk peoples drawn up in a Khazar-Persian centre and known from manuscripts penned in the 12th–15th centuries. This source contains many obviously legendary details, such, for instance, as the mention that Rus' and Khazar, the ancestors of the Rus' and of the Khazars, were brothers.

4. THE SLAVONIC DESCENT OF THE RUS' IN THE LIGHT OF THE SOURCES

Ibn Khurdadhbīh is the earliest Arabic writer who mentions the Rus'.²⁰⁴ Of Persian stock, this author relates in his *The Routes and Kingdoms* (written in Baghdad towards the middle of the 9th century²⁰⁵) that the Rus'ian merchants used to come to Baghdad with their goods. Slavonic eunuchs, living there, acted as their interpreters.²⁰⁶ The salient passage of the text is the following: 'The route of the merchants of ar-Rūs: They are a tribe from among the *as-Saqāliba*. They bring the pelts of beavers and black foxes, as also swords from the farthest confines of the *Saqḷabīja* to the Roman Sea [*i.e.*, the Black Sea]. . . . Likhachev translates this text thus: 'The Rus'—and they are of the Slavonic tribes' (*a oni iz slavyanskikh plemen*).²⁰⁷ Rybakov renders the passage: 'The Rus'—a tribe of the Slavs . . . ' (*Rus'—plemya iz slavyan*).²⁰⁸ Lewicki: 'They are [the Rus'] a tribe from among the *as-Saqāliba*' (*sq oni plemieniem spośród as-Saqāliba*).²⁰⁹ The above translations do not yield a clear picture, that is to say, there is no certainty how the text should be understood: did the Rus' live among the *Saqāliba*, or were they of the same stock as the *Saqāliba*? The great majority of authors, not excluding the translators quoted above, favour the latter possibility.²¹⁰

There can be no doubt that the term *Saqāliba* has prime significance for the subject in hand. Many authors consider the word signifies the Slavs, and this is the view of Levchenko, Likhachev, Rapoport,

²⁰⁴ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, p. 127.

²⁰⁵ R. Hennig, *Der mittelalterliche arabische Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa, I XXII*, 1935, p. 242 believes that this work was written in 885 at the latest; see also *idem*, *Terrae incognitae*, 2nd ed. II, 1950, pp. 230–237. R. Rybakov, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi I*, 1951, p. 317 thinks it was in about 846. D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 239 declares himself for the sixties of the 9th century. According to Lewicki, Ibn Khurdadhbīh compiled his work mainly in about 846–847, but introduced some amendments later. Thus, after the first version of 846–847, a second one appeared not before 885–886. The originals of both versions have been lost. Cf. T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich, SA II* (2), 1949–1950, p. 343; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie*, pp. 55–56; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczne dzieła arabskie i perskie jako źródła do poznania języka Słowian, SPANK* (1957), 1958, pp. 28–29.

²⁰⁶ *BGA VI*, 1889, p. 115.

²⁰⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 229.

²⁰⁸ B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 38.

²⁰⁹ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 77. The Latin translation of this author: 'Iter mercatorum ar-Rūs: Illi unam gentem inter as-Saqāliba efficiunt', *ibid.*, p. 364.

²¹⁰ F. Uspensky, *Pervye stranitsy Russkoi letopisi i vizantiiskie perekhozhie skazaniya, ZIOO XXXII*, 1915, p. 211 ('and they are a Slavonic tribe'); S. Rapoport, *Mohammedan Writers on Slavs and Russians, SEER VIII*, 1929, p. 81 ('who are of Scлавonian origin'); A. Vasiliev, *Economic Relations between Byzantium and Old Russia, JEBH*, 1931–1932, p. 318 ('who are a sort of Slavs'); E. Georgiev, *Slavyanskaya pis'mennost' do Kirilla i Mefodiya*, 1952, p. 50 ('the Rus'—a Slavonic tribe'); B. Dantsig, *Iz istorii russkikh puteshestvii i izucheniya Blizhnego Vostoka v dopetrovskoi Rusi*, in *Ocherki po istorii russkogo vostokovedeniya*, 1935, p. 186 ('the Rus' of the Slavs' tribe'); P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavyanskoe plemena*, 1953, p. 279 ('they belong to the Slavs'); M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, pp. 45, 142 ('they are a Slavonic tribe'; 'they belong to the Slavs'); B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii bytovaniya teksta s drevneishim upominaniem imeni 'rus' v arabskoi pis'mennosti, KSIV XXII*, 1956, p. 7 ('they are one of the branches of the Slavs'); G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 199 ('the Ruses are called "a kind of Slavs" or "a tribe of Slavs"').

Rybakov, Tret'yakov and others. But it is still a moot point whether these interpretations are correct, *i.e.*, whether *Saqāliba* really refers solely to Slavs.

The Arabic name for the Slavs, *Saqāliba* (the plural form of *Saqḷab* or *Siqlāb*, a Slav) was a borrowing from the Byzantine Greeks. The first contacts between the Arabs and the Slavs were in Constantinople, a centre visited by Arab princes from Syria and by the chiefs of Slavonic tribes from Thrace and Macedonia. The oldest Arabic testimony to the Slavs is to be found in al-Aḥṭal, an Arabic poet who flourished in the second half of the 7th century and was a resident at the court of the caliphs in Damascus. He called the Slavs 'the reddish ones', today considered to be the equivalent of 'fair-haired' or to describe people with a pink complexion. As the Slavs were (with the possible exception of the Alans to the north of Caucasus) the first of this racial type to be encountered, the appellation *Saqāliba* was extended by some Arabic writers to other northern tribes whose physical type approached that of the Slavs, thus also to the Germanic and Finnish peoples and sometimes even to the Turkish ones. It is hence necessary to be careful, warns Lewicki, not to perceive Slavs in every case where the expression *Saqāliba* appears in the sources without closer qualification.²¹¹

Lewicki was not the first to give this warning. Before him, Vestberg (not to mention other authors) pointed out that the expression in question was used by the Arabs with very wide application. He himself had doubts whether Ibn Khurdadhbīh actually had only Slavs in mind when using the word *Saqāliba* or whether he used this name to denote also other inhabitants of Eastern Europe.²¹² Such critical opinions have recently become very numerous. Togan Zeki Validi considers that the term *Saqāliba* is not simply an equivalent for Slavs but applies also to Turco-Finnish, Finnish and even Germanic peoples.²¹³ Lyapushkin writes: 'It is doubtful if we can accept all the information of the Arabs relating to the *Saqāliba* as evidence on the subject of the Slavs proper.'²¹⁴ Kowalski rightly points out that the expressions *Saqḷab*, *Saqāliba* for the most part answer to our concepts 'Slav' and 'Slavs' respectively, but with some Arabic writers they also signify various non-Slavonic peoples.²¹⁵ Mavrodin thinks, similarly, that the Arabs also called peoples of non-Slavonic stock

²¹¹ T. Lewicki, *Osadnictwo słowiańskie w krajach muzułmańskich w świetle opisów średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich*, *SPAU* XLIX, 1948, pp. 487-488; *idem*, *Osadnictwo słowiańskie i niewolnicy słowiańscy w krajach muzułmańskich według średniowiecznych pisarzy arabskich*, *PH* XLIII, 1952, pp. 475-476; *idem*, *Zródła arabskie*, p. 7.

²¹² F. Vestberg, *K analizu vostochnykh istochnikov o Vostochnoi Evrope*, *ZMNP*, 1908, pp. 365-371.

²¹³ A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn-Fadlāns Reisebericht*, *AKM* XXIV, 1939, pp. 295-331. See also *idem*, *Die Schwerter der Germanen*, *ZDMG* XV, 1936, p. 22.

²¹⁴ I. Lyapushkin, *Slavyano-russkie poseleniya IX-XII st. no Donu i Tamani po arkheologicheskim pamyatnikam*, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 234.

²¹⁵ T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn-Jakub de itinere slavico quae traditur apud al-Bekri*, *MPHNS* I, 1946, pp. 55-56.

Saqāliba.²¹⁶ Kovalevsky shows that Arabic writers denoted various peoples as *Saqāliba*: 'As, however [these] writers were not too well acquainted with the ethnic features and particularly with the languages of the northern peoples, they constantly used this appellation to denote the most varied northern peoples: Germans on the Rhine, and Finns and [Volga] Bulgars.'²¹⁷ The expression *Saqāliba* is, in Dunlop's opinion, 'a generic name for the white-skinned races of Eastern Europe'.²¹⁸ According to Lopez, the *Saqāliba* slaves mentioned in the Arabic sources were 'mostly eunuchs of Slavonic origin, but also European slaves in general'.²¹⁹ Zajączkowski rightly takes it amiss that Lewicki in his list of Arabic sources to the history of the Slavs includes all texts in which the appellation *Saqāliba* appears since, Zajączkowski states, 'the name *Saqāliba* was used by the Arabs to denote not only Slavonic peoples'.²²⁰

All these opinions—and many more could be cited—find support in the texts of sources for the given period. Al-Khuvarizmi (first half of the 9th century) identified Germania with the land of the *Saqāliba*.²²¹ Another Arabic writer, Maqqari, speaks of an embassy to Cordova from Hutto (Otto), King of the *Saqāliba* who, as Dunlop rightly points out, should be understood as the Saxons.²²² Mas'udi, too, uses this appellation to denote the Germans and the Saxons.²²³ Ibn Said (13th century), probably quoting some 10th-century text, calls the Scandinavian peninsula 'the island [or peninsula] of the *Saqāliba*'.²²⁴ Ibn Fadhlān (10th century) considers the Volga Bulgars, a people of Turkish stock, to be *Saqāliba*.²²⁵

Having analysed various fragments of Ibn Khurdadhbīh, Lewicki comes to the conclusion that this author has Slavs in mind when using the appellation *Saqāliba*. He makes this reservation, however: 'In each of the extracts from Ibn Khurdadhbīh published here,²²⁶ we can detect under the name *Saqalab* either Slavs proper or peoples

²¹⁶ D. Mavrodin, *Drevnyaya Rus'. Proiskhozhdenie russkogo naroda i obrazovanie Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1946, p. 97.

²¹⁷ A. Kovalevsky, *Posol'stvo khalifa k tsaryu volzhskikh bulgar v 921-922 gg.*, *IZ XXXVII*, 1951, pp. 193-194; *idem*, *Chuvashi i bulgary po dannym Akhmeda ibn-Fadlana*, 1954, p. 33.

²¹⁸ D. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, *POS XVI*, 1954, p. 99.

²¹⁹ R. Lopez, *East and West in the Early Middle Ages*, in *R III*, 1955, pp. 127, 128, 145. See also J. Bardach, *O roli Normanów na wczesnośredniowiecznej Słowiańszczyźnie Wschodniej*, *KH LXV*, 1958, pp. 380-381.

²²⁰ A. Zajączkowski, in *POR III (XIX)*, 1956, pp. 383-384.

²²¹ A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn-Fadlāns Reisebericht*, p. 321. T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, p. 39 arbitrarily denies Togan's observation though the text quoted by Lewicki (*ibidem*, pp. 23, 361) supports Togan's view.

²²² D. Dunlop, *The History*, p. 205.

²²³ T. Lewicki, *Wczesnośredniowieczne dzieła*, pp. 31-32.

²²⁴ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 7.

²²⁵ Yu. Krachkovsky, *Puteshestvie Ibn-Fadlana na Volgu*, 1939; A. Zeki Validi Togan, *Ibn-Fadlāns Reisebericht*, 1939; A. Kovalevsky, *Kniga Akhmeda ibn-Fadlana o ego puteshestvii na Volgu v 921-922 gg.*, *Stat'i, perevody i kommentarii*, 1956. Cf. A. Kovalevsky, *O stepeni dostovernosti Ibn-Fadlana*, *IZ XXXV*, 1950, pp. 265-293; *idem*, *Chuvashi i bulgary*, p. 33; D. Dunlop, *The History*, p. 114; T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański*, p. 354; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 7, and others.

²²⁶ I.e., in Lewicki's book.

speaking Slavonic.'²²⁷ And these two groups are, after all, far from being the same.

I have noted that the Norse Varangians sojourning in Eastern Europe, used the Slavonic language beside from their own native speech.²²⁸ Ibrahim Ibn Yakub affirms that the Rus', the Pechenegs, the Khazars and other peoples knew Slavonic²²⁹—and there is no reason to doubt that the conditions described by him as current in the 10th century likewise applied to the 9th century. Bury rightly supposes that the Rus'ian negotiations with Byzantium in the 10th century, which yielded the well-known agreements concluded by the two sides, could have been conducted in Slavonic.²³⁰ It is indubitable that the Khazars were a bilingual people, that is to say, they spoke their own language but were also acquainted with the Slavonic speech.²³¹ The same applies to the Pechenegs,²³² the Jews²³³ and perhaps also to the Kabardinians.²³⁴ It is well known that the Lithuanians,²³⁵ as also the Moldavians and the Wallachians (the present-day Rumanians)²³⁶ used Slavonic in their writings for many centuries.

Ibn Khurdadhbih testifies that *as-Saqāliba* eunuchs served as interpreters in dealings with Rus'ian merchants visiting Baghdad. It can be supposed that these slaves were actually Slavs. It may well be that, since they served the Rus' as interpreters, our author came to

²²⁷ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, p. 87.

²²⁸ *OR*, pp. 178–179.

²²⁹ T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere slavico, quae traditur apud Al-Bekri*, *MPHNS* I, 1946, pp. 51–52.

²³⁰ J. Bury, *The Treatise 'De administrando imperio'*, *BZ* XV, 1906, pp. 517–577.

²³¹ D. Dunlop, *The History of the Jewish Khazars*, 1945, pp. 120, 230; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad tzw. Korespondencją Chazarską*, *BZIH*, 1954 (11–12), pp. 3–16; S. Szyszman, *Les Khazars. Problèmes et controverses*, *RHR* CLII, 1957, pp. 174–221.

²³² Cf. T. Lehr-Splawiński, *O pochodzeniu i praojczyźnie Słowian*, 1946, p. 162; P. Chernykh, *Yazyk i pis'mo*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 123; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 384.

²³³ F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian i niektórych innych ludów Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy*, 1956, pp. 25–26 demonstrate that Jewish merchants, acting as middlemen in the trade between East and West, knew Slavonic. See also M. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, 1907 (preface); J. Brutzkus, *Trade with Eastern Europe, 800–1200*, *EHR* XIII, 1943, pp. 31–41; T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Środkowej i Wschodniej Europy w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza (IX–XIII w.)*, *POR* III (XV), 1953, pp. 283–300; R. Lopez and I. Raymond, *Medieval Trade in the Mediterranean World* (The Jewish role in world trade, pp. 29–33).

²³⁴ G. Turchaninov, *Epigraficheskie zametki*, *IANOLY* VII (1), 1948, pp. 77–80 and V. Mavrodin, *Tmutarakanskoe knyazhestvo*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR (IX–XIII vv.)*, 1953, p. 406 consider that the Kabardinian language was written in Slavonic characters; the support given this thesis by the sources is not, however, assured. As for the Kabardinians, see L. Lavrov, *Proiskhozhdenie kabardintsev i zaselenie imi nyneshnei territorii*, *SE*, 1956 (1), pp. 19–28; Kh. Berbekov, *400 let vmeste s narodami Rossii*, *Kom*, 1957 (10), p. 64; *Istoriya Kabardy s drevneishikh vremen do nashikh dnei*, 1957.

²³⁵ The oldest Lithuanian texts date from the 16th century. Cf. *OR*, p. 178. There is an abundant literature on the use of Slavonic in the Grand Duchy of Lithuania. This matter has most recently been discussed by W. Kwiatkowski, *Ze studium o języku urzędowym Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego*, *AMV* V, 1958, pp. 133–160.

²³⁶ The Rumanians first used their own language in writing as late as the 17th century. G. Nandriș, *The Beginnings of Slavonic Culture in the Roumanian Countries*, *SEER* XXIV, 1946, pp. 160–171; P. Panaitescu, *Die Anfänge des Schrifttums in rumänischer Sprache*, *SF* XI, 1946–1952, pp. 3–33.

the conclusion that the Rus' were Slavs too. Such, for instance, is the reasoning followed by Vasil'evsky.²³⁷ The text in question states only that the Rus', having lived amongst the Slavs, knew their language,²³⁸ but this fact does not authorize us to draw conclusions concerning the ethnic origin of the Rus'.

Ibn Khurdadhbih never visited Eastern Europe and had little knowledge of the ethnic relations in lands so distant from Baghdad, nor was he in this respect an exception amongst Arabic writers.²³⁹ Only three of them—Ahmad Ibn Fadhlān, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub and Abu Hamid al-Andalusi²⁴⁰—had travelled in Eastern or Central Europe. All the other writers passed on information they heard from others. Ibn Khurdadhbih, however, enjoys a remarkable reputation in the literature on the subject.²⁴¹ His report is treated as a source of information for many other oriental authors.²⁴²

Krachkovsky emphasizes the attainments of Russian scholars in Arabic studies²⁴³ but is also aware of the shortcomings, and calls for a new critical edition of the texts by Moslem writers.²⁴⁴

It is a characteristic fact—I wrote—that . . . scholars, down to the present time, were continuing to use old and largely uncritical editions of those sources. They obviously should have proceeded in a manner contrary to the one adopted, and before appraising the value of the Oriental writers, they should have carried out such preliminary tasks as establishing the relationship between the various authors, and,

²³⁷ V. Vasil'evsky, *Russko-vizantiiskie issledovaniya*, LZAK IX, 1893, pp. 128–129.

²³⁸ The text has been interpreted in a similar fashion by V. Moshin, *Khristianstvo v Rossii do sv. Vladimira*, in *Vladimirskii sbornik*, 1938, p. 7.

²³⁹ B. Zakhoder, *Sredneaziatsko-kharasanskaya geografiya IX–X vv. o Povolzh'e i Vostochnoi Evrope*, UZIV XIV, 1956, pp. 5–30 rightly draws attention to the hazy and erroneous information given by the Eastern writers about Eastern Europe, as regards its geography, flora and fauna, and the peoples settled there.

²⁴⁰ C. Dubler, *Abu Hamid el Granadino y su relación de viaje por tierras Eurasiáticas*, 1953. Cf. I. Hrbeek, *Nový arabský pramen o východní a střední Evropě* (Abu Hamid al-Andalusi), CE II (2), 1954, pp. 157–174; *idem*, *Arabico-Slavica*, AO XXIII (1–2), 1955, pp. 109–135; O. Pritsak, *Eine altaische Bezeichnung für Kiev*, I XXXII, 1955, pp. 1–13.

²⁴¹ Cf. *OR*, p. 118. It is, if anything, rare to encounter adverse comments regarding Ibn Khurdadhbih. For instance, J. Baker, *A History of Geographical Discovery and Exploration I*, 1937, p. 59.

²⁴² M. Hadj-Sadok, Ibn Khurradadhbih, Ibn al-Faqih al-Hamadhani et Ibn Rustih, *Description du Maghreb et de l'Europe au IIIe–IXe siècle*, in *Bibliothèque arabe-française* (ed. by H. Pérès) VI, 1949 (préface); T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, pp. 50–51; *idem*, *Wczesnośredniowieczne dzieła arabskie i perskie jako źródła do poznania języka Słowian*, SPANK (1957), 1958, pp. 28–29; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie i hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza*, SZ III, 1958, p. 74; I. Krachkovsky, *Arabskaya geograficheskaya literatura*, in his *Izbrannye sochineniya IV*, 1957, pp. 149–150; P. Bulgakov, 'Kniga putei i gosudarstv' Ibn Khurdadbekha (K izucheniyu i datirovke redaktsii), *PaS III*, 1958, pp. 127–128.

²⁴³ I. Krachkovsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi arabistiki*, in his *Izbrannye sochineniya V*, 1958.

²⁴⁴ I. Krachkovsky, *O podgotovke svoda arabskikh istochnikov dlya istorii Vostochnoi Evropy, Kavkaza i Srednei Azii*, in his *Izbrannye sochineniya I*, 1955, pp. 149–156. B. Zakhoder, *Izuchenie v Sovetskom Soyuze vostochnykh istochnikov po istorii stran Vostochnoi i Tsentral'noi Evropy*, *SVo*, 1958 (1), pp. 107–113; *idem*, *Studia nad źródtami orientalnymi do dziejów Europy środkowej i Wschodniej w Związku Radzieckim oraz najbliższe zadania w tej dziedzinie*, *POr II* (XXVI), 1958, pp. 145–154 is of the same opinion.

above all, deciphering the texts of the sources themselves with greater accuracy.²⁴⁵

Much light was recently thrown on Ibn Khurdadhbih's passage concerning the Rus'ian merchants visiting Baghdad by Zakhoder's studies. 'It might have been supposed—he remarks—that this most important text for our historiography had been examined fully and in detail. Unfortunately, even the fundamental problems cannot be considered as having been cleared up. Up to the present, no exhaustive comparison of the texts has been carried out.'²⁴⁶ Zakhoder states that there are in the literature of the Moslem world of the 10th–12th centuries some texts which stand in close and cognate relationship to the relevant fragment of Ibn Khurdadhbih.²⁴⁷ He presents and compares this fragment with other passages by that author as also with other sources (Ibn al-Faqih, al-Mas'udi, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal, *Hudud al-Alam*, etc.). So doing, Zakhoder makes a number of interesting observations: e.g., Ibn al-Faqih's text, the nearest to Ibn Khurdadhbih's, makes no mention of Rus'ian merchants in the analogous passage but writes merely about merchants of the *Saqāliba*.²⁴⁸ It is noteworthy likewise that the other authors do not identify the Rus' with the Slavs but distinctly differentiate one from the other.²⁴⁹ 'In vain—says Garkavi (Harkavy)—should we look to any other Moslem author [except Ibn Khurdadhbih] for the statement . . . that the Rus' were a Slavonic tribe.'²⁵⁰

Zakhoder draws significant conclusions from his analysis of the Arabic sources. He affirms that Ibn Khurdadhbih's fragment dealing with the Rus' in Baghdad is an interpolation. Writers of a later generation than Ibn Khurdadhbih's give the same details as he did but their works also contain other ones which supplement or correct his information. 'The oldest text in Arabic writings which mentions the name of Rus'—remarks Zakhoder— . . . appears to be not an original one, but a borrowing. . . . It follows that the original [text] . . . was older than the works of Ibn Khurdadhbih and of Ibn al-Faqih.'²⁵¹ Zakhoder's opinion is well founded. He is right when he states that this original text was written before the middle of the 9th century—possibly in about 839 (the mention of the Rus' in the Bertinian Annals) and perhaps even earlier.

Summing up, the following observations can be made: (1) Arabic authors denoted not only Slavs but also non-Slavs by the appellation

²⁴⁵ *OR*, p. 117.

²⁴⁶ B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii bytovaniya teksta s drevneishim upominaniem imeni 'rus' v arabskoi pis'mennosti*, *KSIV* XXII, 1956, p. 6.

²⁴⁷ B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii volzhsko-kaspiiskikh svyazei drevnei Rusi*, *SVo*, 1955 (3), p. 112; *idem*, *Iz istorii bytovaniya*, p. 6.

²⁴⁸ B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii bytovaniya*, pp. 9–10.

²⁴⁹ *OR*, p. 120; cf. A. Lewis, Was Eastern Europe European in the High Middle Ages?, *PR* II (1), 1957, p. 19.

²⁵⁰ A. Garkavi (Harkavy), *Skazaniya musul'manskikh pisatelei o slavyanakh i russkikh (s poloviny VII v. do kontsa X v. po r. Khr.)*, 1870, p. 54.

²⁵¹ B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii bytovaniya*, p. 12.

Saqāliba; (2) Ibn Khurdadhbīh states that the Rus'ian merchants came to Baghdad from the northern territories of Eastern Europe, certainly an area of Norse expansion at the time;²⁵² (3) the relevant passage in Ibn Khurdadhbīh regarding Rus'ian merchants in Baghdad is not an original one but a borrowing from some earlier text known likewise to other Arabic writers; (4) this earlier text probably made no mention of Rus'ian merchants since otherwise these later authors would have reported it also; (5) with the exception of Ibn Khurdadhbīh, the Arabic authors do not identify the Rus' with Slavs, and in fact, differentiate between the two.

There is no doubt that Zakhoder's observations undermine the validity of Ibn Khurdadhbīh's report in favour of identification of the Rus' with the Slavs,²⁵³ though this scholar made attempts in his studies to defend this conjecture.²⁵⁴ In the light of this, it would seem that, as an argument in support of the thesis of the Slavonic descent of the Rus', the positive value of Ibn Khurdadhbīh's text is virtually nil.

5. THE NORSE ORIGIN OF THE RUS' IN THE LIGHT OF CONTEMPORARY SOURCES

The Norse provenance of the Rus' is testified to by the very many

²⁵² Writing about the Rus'ian merchants who appeared in Baghdad, Ibn Khurdadhbīh does not state from which country they had come and merely reports that they came from 'the most distant part of the *Saqālibian* country' (in relation to the southern position of Baghdad). T. Lewicki, *Zródła arabskie*, p. 128 points out that an analysis of the itineraries of these merchants 'would appear to indicate that they came from the northern borderlands of Eastern Slavdom, probably from Ladoga or Great Novgorod'. It is at once evident that the territories indicated by Lewicki were strongly affected by Norse expansion in the 9th century. That Novgorod was a great centre of fur-trade see R. Fisher, *The Russian Fur-Trade*, 1943, pp. 1-10; B. Rybakov, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, pp. 322-323.

²⁵³ Zakhoder admits himself that the Rus', according to the oriental writers, were a naval people who undertook expeditions by boat along the rivers, not on horseback on land ('Morskim, korabel'nym, a ne sukhoputnym, "loshadnym" narodom predstavlyalis' rusy tomu raznoobraznomu v etnicheskom otnoshenii prikaspiiskomu miru, s kotorym im prikhodilos' stalkivat'sya. "Rusy-lyudi roslye, vidnye, otvazhnye, no smelost' u nikh ne na sedle-soobshchayut Ibn Ruste i posleduyushchie parallel'nye teksty-vse svoi napadeniya i predpriyatiya oni sovershayut na sudakh.' 'Esli by byli u nikh loshadi i oni byli vsadnikami, stali by oni (t.e. rusy) velikim bichem dla lyudei' 'utverzhdayut Marvazi i Aufi.' B. Zakhoder, *Iz istorii volzhsko-kaspiiskikh svyazei drevnei Rusi*, p. 110). All these features are characteristic of the Norse Varangians, but not of the Slavs.

²⁵⁴ I quote here a noteworthy example: in his review of Minorsky's recent work (V. Minorsky, *A History of Sharvān and Darband in the 10th-11th centuries*, 1958; see also *idem*, *Rūs*, El III, 1936, pp. 1181-1183), Zakhoder reproaches this scholar (in *PV*, 1959, pp. 205-206) that he treats the Rus' as Norse Varangians. For his argument—it must be added: his sole concrete argument—in support of identifying the Rus' with the Slavs Zakhoder quotes the name of the Rus'ian guardsman in Derbend-Balid (the texts published by Minorsky indicate that the Rus'ian guards existed in Derbend, about 988, and played there an important role). A similar name (Valit) appears in later time in the Novgorodian birch-bark tablets and in the Rus'ian chronicles. Zakhoder admits himself that this name was of Balto-Finnish extraction (not Slavonic). One can at the most conclude from this observation that the Rus' in the Caspian region came from Novgorod. This supposition is confirmed by many other sources. Novgorod was at that time a great Varangian centre. In other words, we find no proof in Zakhoder's reasoning which could support his thesis of the identification of the Slavs with the Rus'.

authors who wrote independently of one another during the period under examination. These sources have been dealt with at length in *OR*²⁵⁵ and will, therefore, be discussed here only in brief. Attention will be concentrated on three topics: the Rus' and the Slavs, the native territory of the Rus', and the ethnic character of the Rus'.

A. The Rus' and the Slavs

The writers of the 9th–12th centuries, natives of various countries, consistently differentiated between the Rus' and the Slavs, and it is noteworthy that this differentiation was not limited to a single East-Slavonic tribe but extended to the Eastern Slavs as a whole. The distinction appears first of all in reference to language. Constantine Porphyrogenitus (middle of the 10th century) gives the names of the Dnieper cataracts in Rus'ian and in Slavonic,²⁵⁶ thus testifying to the existence of two different languages there. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub²⁵⁷ mentions the Rus' among the many peoples who knew the Slavonic language.²⁵⁸ If they had been Slavs, no author would have thought of mentioning this: it would have been self-evident. In the relevant passage in Ibrahim's text, the Rus' figure in juxtaposition to the Khazars, Pechenegs and others, clearly, therefore, in the group of non-Slavonic peoples.²⁵⁹ 'Nestor', too, affirms that the language of the

²⁵⁵ *OR*, Part II.

²⁵⁶ G. Moravcsik, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*. English translation by R. Jenkins, 1949. A new edition by Jenkins is in preparation. Cf. D. Khassei and V. Frend, *Vizantinovedenie v Velikobritanii v 1947–1956 gg.*, *VV XIII*, 1958, p. 366. The abundant literature on the Rus'ian names of the Dnieper cataracts is listed by Falk and Stender-Petersen (K. Falk, *Dneprforsarnas namn i kejsar Konstantin VII Porfyrogennetos' De administrando imperio*, *LUA XLVI*, 1951, pp. 257–272; A. Stender-Petersen, *K istorii skandinavskoi slavistiki*, *SSI VI*, 1960, pp. 5–18).

²⁵⁷ The Arabic geographer, al-Bekri (1067–1068) has handed down in his 'On Routes and Kingdoms' the account of a Jewish merchant from Spain, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub (965–966). T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, *S4 V*, 1956, pp. 166–168 remarks that it is not always easy to decide which of the two authors wrote down given passages. See also *idem*, *Z historii polskich badań nad źródłami arabskimi i hebrajskimi do dziejów Europy Wschodniej w okresie średniowiecza*, in *Studia Historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej Henryka Łowmiańskiego*, 1958, p. 427. G. Labuda, Ibrahim ibn Jakub. Najstarsza relacja o Polsce w nowym wydaniu, *RH XVI*, 1947, pp. 100–183, as also J. Dąbrowski, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, *RK XXXIV* (1), 1958, pp. 23–34 adopt a very critical attitude (perhaps, too critical) towards al-Bekri's account; both consider that Ibrahim Ibn Yakub's text has been distorted and, moreover, scattered in various parts of his successor's work. According to Labuda and Dąbrowski, it is hardly possible to speak of al-Bekri's work as containing Ibrahim's text: the text is, if anything, the former's. Restricting attention to the details regarding the Rus', it can be stated that these do not correspond to conditions in the 11th century but to those current in the 10th century, more especially in the middle of that century. It suffices to compare al-Bekri's text with that of Constantine Porphyrogenitus (*OR*, pp. 120–123) to acquire the conviction that both sources reconstruct the same reality and contain many similar details and others which are mutually complementary. I understand here under the name of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub the 10th-century text handed down by al-Bekri, without determining whether this text is actually Ibrahim's text or that of another 10th-century writer.

²⁵⁸ T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere slavico quae traditur apud al-Bekri*, *MPHNS I*, 1946, p. 52.

²⁵⁹ The trustworthiness of this interpretation is confirmed by Ibrahim Ibn Yakub in another passage of his work, where he enumerates the Slavonic States of his time. Though he wrote so much about the Rus', he omits the Rus'ian State (Novgorodian or Kievan) from his enumeration.

Rus' was not a Slavonic one. Writing of the Slavs in general, and of the Polyanians in particular, the chronicler relates that, because of the Varangians, the Slavs began to call themselves Rus'. But this change of appellation was a relatively recent one²⁶⁰ and, most important, did not cause the various East-Slavonic tribes to change their mother-tongue, which remained Slavonic.²⁶¹

Ibn Fadhlān (921–922) ascribes different characteristics to the Slavs and to the Rus'. While the former are humble and recognize the sovereignty of the Khazars with submissiveness, the Rus', according to that author, are men of great strength and valour, well armed, and aggressive to other tribes.²⁶² Al-Mas'udi, in the middle of the 10th century, notes that among the nations supposed to be descended from Japheth there were Rus' and Slavs (a version also given by other authors), that Slavs and Rus' served in the Khazar army, and that the Khazars appointed a special judge for Slavs and Rus'.²⁶³ Ibrahim al-Istakhri remarks (951) that the Rus' inhabit territories situated between the Volga Bulgars and the Slavs.²⁶⁴ The reports of authors who describe Rus'-ian-Slavonic relations, *i.e.*, the conquest of the Slavs by the Rus', are especially important in this context. According to Ibn Rusta (early 10th century) and Gardizi (11th century), 'the Rus' go out to raid the Slavs in boats and they take the Slavs prisoner and sell them to the Khazars and the Bulgars. They have no cultivated lands, and obtain grain from the Slavs'.²⁶⁵ Constantine Porphyrogenitus relates that the Rus' used to come to Constantinople in order to sell slaves who were chained. The same author tells how the Rus' were in the habit of going to live among the Derevlans, Dregovichians, Krivichians, Severians and other dependent Slavonic tribes, before the winter set in, at their cost and to collect tribute. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub speaks of northern peoples who ruled over Slavs, and the Persian author of the treatise *Hudud al-Alam* ('The Boundaries of the World') in the latter part of the 10th century, mentions Slavs as serving the Rus'.²⁶⁶ 'Nestor' constantly stresses the dependency of many Slavonic tribes on the Rus' which finds expression first and foremost in the payment of tribute and participation in warlike expeditions.²⁶⁷

²⁶⁰ . . . 'polyane, yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus'', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 21.

²⁶¹ . . . 'ot varvag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu, a pervoe besha slovene; ashche i polyane zvakhysya, no sloven'skaa rech' be', *ibid.*, p. 23.

²⁶² *OR*, p. 119. Contrary to this fact, Lewicki, in his analysis of Ibn Fadhlān's report, identifies the Rus' with the Slavs (Ibn Fadhlān 'zawiera niezwykle cenne materiały do dziejów słowiańskich zwyczajów pogrzebowych', T. Lewicki, *Obrzędy pogrzebowe pogańskich Słowian w opisach podróżników i pisarzy arabskich głównie z IX–Xw.*, *Arch V* (1952–1953), 1955, p. 133). The correct interpretation of the text is given by I. Andersson, *A History of Sweden* (transl. by C. Hannay), 1956, p. 18.

²⁶³ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 216; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad t. zw. Korespondencją chazarską*, *BZIH*, 1954 (11–12), p. 6.

²⁶⁴ *OR*, p. 120.

²⁶⁵ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 285; *OR*, pp. 128, 156.

²⁶⁶ *OR*, p. 156.

²⁶⁷ This differentiation between Slavs and Rus' is also evident in the so-called Khazarian correspondence (cf. J. Bardach, *O roli Normanów na wczesnośredniowiecznej*

B. The native territory of the Rus'

Many sources for the period under examination demonstrate indirectly though unequivocally that the original homeland of the Rus' was not in South-Eastern Europe. The Bertinian Annals mention that an embassy from the Rus'ian ruler arrived in Constantinople; the Emperor Theophilus was most anxious that the envoys should return safely to their country and therefore directed them through Germany. They arrived in Ingelheim (near Mainz) in 839.²⁶⁸ It is difficult to imagine that the route from Constantinople to South-Eastern Europe should lead through the Rhineland.

Photius calls the Rus' an unknown people who became known only through their expedition against Constantinople, in 860. The Patriarch relates that the attack was as unexpected as a flash of lightning out of a blue sky. According to this author, the Rus' lived 'somewhere far away from us', *i.e.*, from Byzantium. Had it been in the southern regions of Eastern Europe, Photius would not have failed to say so, as these lands were possessions of the Empire or belonged to the sphere of its direct interest.²⁶⁹ In this case, the expedition of the Rus', who were well versed in aggressive undertakings, would not have been such a complete surprise for the Greeks. Photius relates furthermore that the Rus' undertook their bold stroke after having conquered other neighbouring nations which he does not enumerate.²⁷⁰ But again we have to conclude that if the expansion of the Rus' in the Black Sea region had assumed large proportions, the Empire would of necessity have known of it, and reckoned with this peril.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus is interested in the Rus' and contributes a number of details concerning them. He also describes the Black Sea countries, is familiar with their inhabitants, but does not mention the Rus' as living there.

In 943-944, the Rus' plundered the lands situated on the Caspian Sea. Ibn Miskawaih, who lived in the late 10th and early 11th century, left a description of this raid containing several noteworthy details. When speaking of the great abundance of fruit in the Caspian region, he relates how the invaders ate the fruit in great

Słowiańszczyźnie Wschodniej, *KH* LXV, 1958, p. 382), in the *Pravda Russkaya* (J. Bardach, *op. cit.*, p. 384), in the work of the Spanish Jew, Benjamin of Tudela (cf. T. Lewicki, *Świat słowiański w oczach pisarzy arabskich*, p. 350), etc.

²⁶⁸ *OR*, pp. 422-423.

²⁶⁹ Cf. E. Honigmann, *Die Ostgrenze des byzantinischen Reiches*, *CBHB* III, 1935. A. Philippson, *Das byzantinische Reich als geographische Erscheinung*, 1939, pp. 121-123 stresses that the Crimea especially was an important possession for Byzantium since it served as a bastion for the domination of the Black Sea region.

²⁷⁰ For details on the sermons of Photius and on his circular letter to the oriental patriarchs, and on editions of these sources, see A. Vasiliev, *The Russian Attack on Constantinople in 860*, *MAA* XLVI, 1946, pp. 90-91; C. Mango, *The Homilies of Photius, Patriarch of Constantinople. English Translation, Introduction and Commentary*, *DOS* III, 1958, p. 98; A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi tserkvi* I, 1959, pp. 71-72.

quantities, and how their uncontrolled greed for the produce of the newly conquered country brought about a dangerous epidemic among them. And then follows an important commentary by this Arabic author: 'The reason was that the land of the Rus' is very cold and that trees do not grow there. Fruit is brought to them [to the Rus'] only in small quantities from distant parts.'²⁷¹

The report of Ibn Miskawaih contains a clear allusion to the far north. If the Rus' had lived on the banks of the Middle Dnieper, or on the shores of the Black Sea or the Caspian Sea, such a remark on the climate²⁷² and on the lack of fruit in their country would not make sense. This view is strengthened by Constantine Porphyrogenitus who states that the Rus' bought large quantities of horses, cattle, sheep, etc. from the nomadic Pechenegs. If the Rus' had themselves come from the Black Sea steppe, this circumstance could not be explained.

Apart from these accounts of general information concerning the original territory of the Rus', the sources have handed down other data which throw light on the problem in a more concrete fashion.

The expedition of 943-944 to the Caspian region ended in defeat for the Rus', but Ibn Miskawaih does not say by what route the invaders retreated. However, the retreat of the Rus' after the earlier expedition of 912-913 to this region deserves attention. According to al-Mas'udi, they were at that time routed by Burtas²⁷³ and Bulgars,²⁷⁴ a circumstance which shows that they were going northward by boat on the Volga. Ibn Hauqal, in the second half of the 10th century, recounts that after having looted the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, in 969, the Rus' returned to their country by way of Rome (*i.e.*, Byzantium) and Spain. Mas'udi relates that the Rus'ian merchants brought their goods to Spain, to Rome, to Constantinople and to the Khazars. With regard to Spain, attention must be drawn to a report

²⁷¹ OR, p. 127.

²⁷² I. Buchinsky, *Ocherki klimata russkoi ravniny v istoricheskuyu epokhu*, 1954 omits this report by Ibn Miskawaih.

²⁷³ The Burtas lived on the right bank of the Middle Volga, south-west of the Bulgars. Cf. K. Bazilevich, I. Golubtsov and M. Zinov'ev, *Atlas istorii SSSR* I, 1954, Maps 8 and 9. D. Fakos-Fuchs, in *ALASH* II, 1953, p. 239 rightly points out that the problem of the ethnic allegiance of the Burtas has not yet been properly elucidated although several works have been written on this subject; cf. V. Gol'msten, Burtasy, *KSDPI* XIII, 1946, pp. 17-25; A. I. Popov, Burtasy i mordva, *UZLGU* CV, 1948, pp. 199-210; A. Alikhova, *K voprosu o burtasakh*, *SE*, 1949, pp. 48-57; A. Smirnov, *K voprosu o burtasakh*, *KSDPI* XL, 1951, pp. 49-50, and others.

²⁷⁴ The Bulgars lived on the left bank of the Middle Volga and on the Lower Kama. Today extinct, this people had set up a powerful state which played an important political and economic role in the history of the Volga lands from the 9th to the 12th century. As Moslems, they were affected by Moslem cultural influences. The Tartar conquest of Eastern Europe in the 13th century contributed greatly to the decline of the Bulgars. Cf. V. Smolin, *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii narodnosti kamsko-volzhskikh bolgar*, 1921; A. Smirnov, *O vozniknovenii gosudarstva volzhskikh bulgar*, *VDI*, 1938 (2), pp. 99-112; *idem*, *Volzhskie bulgary*, 1951; B. Grekov, *Volzhskie bulgary v IX-X vv.*, *IZ* XIV, 1945, pp. 3-37; B. Grekov and N. Kalinin, *Volzhskaya Bulgariya IX-XIII vekov*, in *Istoriya tatarskoi ASSR* I, 1955, pp. 42-74; G. Yusupov, *K voprosu ob istorii i klassifikatsii bulgaro-tatarskoi epigrafiki*, *EpV* XI, 1956, pp. 44-53; M. Miller, *The Balkars, Some Archaeological Notes*, *CR* VI, 1958, pp. 32, 35, and others.

of al-Ya'qubi (who wrote towards the end of the 9th century) about the looting and destruction of Seville by the Rus', in 843-844. Mas'udi likewise writes of the Rus'ian attack upon Spain and remarks that the raiders came from a gulf of the [Atlantic] Ocean, *i.e.*, from the Baltic.²⁷⁵

All these sources demonstrate that the Rus' were experienced navigators, well acquainted with the geography of Eastern and Western Europe. Their native territory must have been in the north, on the shores of the Baltic,²⁷⁶ whence they sailed along the rivers of Eastern Europe towards the southern seas (the Black Sea, the Sea of Azov and the Caspian) on the one hand, with an alternate route via the North Sea and the Atlantic to the eastern shores of the Mediterranean. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub mentions that the Rus' attacked Sambia from the west,²⁷⁷ which indicates that they sailed from the Scandinavian peninsula, particularly its southern part. This observation agrees with the information regarding the route taken by the Rus' when returning from Constantinople to their country in 839. This route, as the Bertinian Annals relate, extended through Western Germany.

Ibrahim Ibn Yakub reports (*c.* 965-966) that the State of Mieszko (Poland) had Rus' as its neighbour to the east. There is no doubt that this author had Kievan Rus' in mind. We are confirmed in this conviction by Constantine Porphyrogenitus who enumerates the Pechenegs, the Derevlans, the Ulichians,²⁷⁸ etc. as neighbours of Rus'. Both these authors wrote at about the same time and their accounts agree though they derived their information from quite different sources. It must be borne in mind that in their day, *i.e.*, in the middle and the latter half of the 10th century, there were two lands of Rus': one, set up earlier, on the Scandinavian peninsula, and the other, a more recent formation—in Eastern Europe.²⁷⁹ These two phases in the shaping of the geographical-territorial concept of 'Rus'' were perceived by 'Nestor'.²⁸⁰ The eastern expansion of the Rus'—as al-Balkhi, al-Istakhri, Ibn Hauqal and other Arabic authors testify—disposed of bases at several centres ('Slavia', 'Kuyaba', 'Artania').²⁸¹ This aspect will not be examined here in detail because this has already been done in *OR*,²⁸² and also because this expansion

²⁷⁵ *OR*, pp. 125-127.

²⁷⁶ Adam of Bremen states that Sambia (Samland), being part of Prussia, had border contacts with the Rus' by sea.

²⁷⁷ *OR*, p. 121.

²⁷⁸ *OR*, pp. 354-358.

²⁷⁹ *OR*, pp. 120-123, 423-424.

²⁸⁰ *OR*, pp. 137-142.

²⁸¹ Regarding to the most recent works, mention must be made of an hypothesis put forward by I. Hrbek, *Der dritte Stamm der Rūs nach arabischen Quellen*, *AO* XV, 1957, pp. 628-652. The author identifies 'Artania' with Arka-Arkona on the island of Rugia (Rügen) near the mouth of the Odra.

²⁸² *OR*, pp. 146-147, 162-163.

does not directly indicate the original homeland of the Rus'.²⁸³ But it does provide indirect indications inasmuch as it shows that the first large-scale military activities of the Rus' were in North-Eastern Europe.²⁸⁴ Thence, from those northern parts, the expeditions of the Rus' proceeded along the Volga to the distant world.

An analysis of the sources of the period finds full confirmation in the archaeological material. Korzukhina states:

The Arabic geographers had no information regarding the Dnieper. None of them was in Kievan Rus' in the 9th or 10th century, and none of them wrote about it. The identification of Kiev with 'Kuyaba' of the Arabic sources is a complete misunderstanding.²⁸⁵ Firstly, 'Kuyaba' is one of scores of variants of the name of towns situated not far from the [Volga] Bulgars. . . . Secondly, the entire information handed down by the Arabic geographers about the so-called three centres of Rus' refers not to the Dnieper region but to that of the Volga. We have no grounds, therefore, for transposing Arabic information about trade between the Caliphate and Rus' to the Dnieper region.

The second misunderstanding—Korzukhina continues—is based on erroneous ideas regarding the hoards of Cufic coins found in the Dnieper area. It is believed that, as early as the 8th century, the whole Middle Dnieper area was strewn with hoards of Eastern coins, and that the majority of these 8th–9th century hoards were concentrated on the left-bank of the Dnieper. . . . Such assertions are wholly unsupported. Not a single hoard of Cufic coins buried in the 8th century has been found in the Middle Dnieper region. . . . Only 10th-century hoards of Cufic coins have been unearthed on the Dnieper, and those are of no great extent. The majority of finds of 8th and 9th century Cufic coins . . . have been excavated in quite other regions: on the Oka, between the Volga and the Oka, on the Mologa and Sheksna, on the watershed of the Dnieper, Volga and Western Dvina, around Lake Ilmen', and in the region of Lake Ladoga. The hoards of Cufic coins by-pass the middle reaches of the Dnieper area and concentrate along the Volga, the main water-way in the 8th and 9th centuries.²⁸⁶

²⁸³ In connection with the determination of the original homeland of the Rus', we have the reference by Arabic writers to an island said to have been inhabited by the Rus'. This account, however, is rather vague and open to various interpretations. Cf. *OR*, pp. 127–129. The Kievan and Novgorodian chronicles, when speaking of the Varangians, never fail to stress that the Norsemen went by sea to Eastern Europe and returned to their country by sea. This might easily have led people to assume that the land inhabited by the Rus' was an island. There is no reason for being surprised that the Arabic writers should have harboured such a misconception. The Polish chronicler 'Gallus', the contemporary of 'Nestor', often mentions the Baltic. To his mind, the lands lying to the north of Pomerania and Prussia were islands. Even in the 15th and 16th centuries Scandinavia was treated by the Poles as an island. K. Pieradzka, *Genealogia biblijna i rodowód Słowian w pierwszej księdze 'Annales' Jana Długosza*, *NP* VIII, 1958, p. 99. See also G. Labuda, *Źródła, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski*, 1960, p. 59.

²⁸⁴ 'Nestor' enumerates a long series of tribes which pay tribute to the Rus' (the Chud', Merya, Ves', Muroma, Cheremis', Mordva, Perm', Pechera, etc.). D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 13. If we take under consideration the enormous distances between Kiev and, e.g., the lands of the Perm', the Yugra or the Pechera, it is more than probable that the conquest of the northern countries was accomplished by the Rus' in the pre-Kievan period of their history.

²⁸⁵ Recently V. Beilis, *Pro nazvu Kiiva v arabs'kikh geografiv X st. ta sprobi ii tłumachennya v istorichnii literaturi*, *UIZ*, 1960 (1), pp. 81–86 also identifies, in accordance with the generally accepted opinion, Kiev with 'Kuyaba'. V. Minorsky, *Hudud al-Alam*, 1937, p. 434 has treated the problem much more cautiously. P.

C. *The Ethnic Character of the Rus'*

Our considerations so far throw some light on the provenance of the Rus'. Since they were not Slavs and inhabited the northern lands, on the Baltic; since their journeyings—both warlike and commercial—embraced Eastern and Western Europe, only one conclusion can be reached, *viz.*, that they were Norsemen.

Numerous sources confirm the accuracy of this conclusion. When in 839, according to the Bertinian Annals, there came to Louis the Pius, from Constantinople to Ingelheim, certain persons who called themselves Rus' (*qui se, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant*), the Emperor enjoined that their nationality be most diligently investigated: it transpired that they were Swedes (*Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans comperit eos gentis esse Sueonum*).²⁸⁷ Liutprand, Bishop of Cremona (10th century), twice Ambassador to the court of Byzantium, testifies that 'Rus' denoted Norsemen and was their other name (*Rusios quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus; Graeci vocant . . . Rusios, nos vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos*).²⁸⁸

Liutprand's observation demonstrates that there was a duality of designation in the 10th century (Norsemen-Rus'), and this fact is supported by many other authors during the relevant epoch. No matter how cautiously this support is treated, it remains indubitable.

Let us take under consideration two other pieces of evidence. In his letter to Emperor Basil I, dated 871, Louis the German mentions four rulers bearing the title of *chakanus* (*khaqan*), namely those of the Avars, the Khazars, the Norsemen and the Bulgars.²⁸⁹ The second fact to be noted is that the Bertinian Annals, Ibn Rusta and Gardizi, as well as *Hudud al Alam* mention that the ruler of the Rus' was called *khaqan*.²⁹⁰ This title was upheld for a long time (to the middle of the 11th century), as is testified by an inscription in the Church of St Sophia in Kiev²⁹¹ and by Hilarion. The latter applies this title to

Smirnov, *Volžkii shlyakh i starodavni rusi*, ZIFV, 1928, p. 194 has rejected this conjecture.

²⁸⁶ G. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX-XIII vv.*, 1954, p. 34.

²⁸⁷ OR, pp. 124, 423. Cf. L. Musset, *Les peuples scandinaves au moyen âge*, 1951, p. 68.

²⁸⁸ J. Becker (ed.), *Die Werke Liutprands von Cremona, Antapodosis*, 3rd ed., 1915, pp. 9, 137; F. Wright, *The Works of Liutprand of Cremona*, 1930, pp. 38, 185. See also M. Lintzel, *Studien über Liutprand von Cremona*, HS CCXXXIII, 1933, pp. 1-76; W. Baum, *Die politischen Anschauungen Liutprands von Cremona*, 1936; A. Lyublinskaya, *Istchnikovedenie istorii srednikh vekov*, 1955, p. 193.

²⁸⁹ '... Chaganum vero nos praelatum Avarum, non Gazanorum aut Nortmannorum nuncupari repperimus, neque principem Vulgarum, set regem vel dominum Vulgarum.' MGH, Epist. VII, 1928, p. 388; OR, pp. 423, 455, 456. Cf. B. Rybakov, *K voprosu o roli khazarskogo kaganata v istorii Rusi*, SAr XVIII, 1953, pp. 134-135; A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 247.

²⁹⁰ OR, pp. 423, 455.

²⁹¹ G. Læhr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, HS, 1930, pp. 122-123; M. Karger, *Iskusstvo*, in *Ocherki*, 1953, p. 232; B. Rybakov, *K voprosu o roli*, p. 134.

Vladimir and Yaroslav the Wise.²⁹² There were then khaqans among the Khazars,²⁹³ the Avars²⁹⁴ and the Bulgars,²⁹⁵ as well as, characteristically, among the Norsemen. But we know that this was the title of the ruler of the Rus'. The duality of designation (Norsemen-Rus'), as testified to by Liutprand, finds full confirmation.²⁹⁶

Al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi relate that Seville was plundered by the Rus' in 844,²⁹⁷ while the Spanish *Chronicon Albeldense* calls the invaders Norsemen (*Lordomani*).²⁹⁸ In some Western Latin sources the Norsemen are merely called 'pagans', which corresponds to the Arabic *al-Magus* (Madjus). This appellation as applied by the medieval Arabic writers, especially those deriving from Spain, signified the Scandinavian Norsemen.²⁹⁹ Al-Ya'qubi identifies *al-Magus* with the Rus'.³⁰⁰ Al-Mas'udi speaks also of the Rus'.

The Patriarch Photius mentions the incursion of the Rus' (Rhos) against the capital of the Empire in 860, while Joannes Diaconus of Venice speaks of an attack carried out by the Norsemen (*Normanorum gentes*).³⁰¹ This twofold terminology appears also in the narratives of the expedition of the Rus' against Constantinople in 941.

The Hebrew chronicle known as the Book of Yosippon (or Yosi-

²⁹² A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi litteratury I*, 1894, pp. 59, 70, 76. Cf. V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya izucheniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii*, 1925, p. 165.

²⁹³ The titles *khaqan* or *qaghan*, similarly as *khan* (*khaqan-qaghan* signifies the khan-in-chief; cf. S. Malov, *Pamyatniki drevnetyurkskoi pis'mennosti*, 1951, p. 409) were of Mongolian provenance, according to some authors (cf. K. Shiratori, *Khan and Khagan, Proceed, Japan. Acad.*, 1926, unavailable to me; R. Grousset, *L'Empire des Steppes*, 1939, p. 104). The opinion is often expressed in the literature on the subject (Lewicki, Stender-Petersen, etc.) that this was a Turco-Khazarian title borrowed by the Rus' from the Khazars. B. Rybakov (*K voprosu o roli khazarского kaganata*, p. 135) considers that this title passed to the Slavs from the Avars. Avaro-Slavonic relations have recently been discussed by B. Grafenauer, *Die Beziehungen der Slawen zu den Awaren und ihre wirtschaftlich-sozialen Grundlagen bis zur Belagerung von Konstantinopel* (626), *R VII*, 1955, pp. 174-178. For some remarks on the term *qaghan-khaqan*, see also F. Altheim and R. Stiehl, *Qagan und Verwandtes*, *SF XV*, 1956, pp. 69-85.

²⁹⁴ A. Kollant, *Die Awaren*, *Saec V*, 1954, pp. 134-147.

²⁹⁵ Ch. Gerard, *Les Bulgares de la Volga et les Slaves du Danube*, 1939, p. 15.

²⁹⁶ It is noteworthy that the letter from Louis the German does not say that this title was used by the Slavs. They had their own term for a ruler—*knyaz'*. Cf. T. Lewicki, *Wczesnośredniowieczne dzieła arabskie i perskie jako źródła do poznania języka Słowian*, *SPANK*, 1958, p. 30. 'Nestor' indicates that *knyaz'* was the equivalent of the Khazarian title *khaqan-qaghan* ('Ide Svyatoslav na kozary; slyshavshe zhe kozari, izidosha protivu s knyazem swoim Kaganom. . . .', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 47).

²⁹⁷ T. Lewicki, *Bałyk w opisach autorów arabskich IX-X w.*, *POr I* (1948), 1949, p. 61 points out that the writers in question gave the name of Rus' to the Danes who undertook this expedition against Spain.

²⁹⁸ *OR*, p. 125.

²⁹⁹ H. Gibb and F. Kramers, *Shorter Encyclopaedia of Islam*, 1953, p. 300; A. Melvin, *Les premières incursions des Vikings en Occident d'après les sources arabes*, 1955, pp. 85, 127, etc.; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi II*, *SA V*, 1956, pp. 172-173; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, pp. 131, 174, 270; B. Lewis, in *A*, 1957, p. 306.

³⁰⁰ 'The Magus who are called Rus'. *BGA VII*, 1892, p. 354; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie*, pp. 251, 375.

³⁰¹ *MGH*, Script. VII, p. 18. M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, pp. 43, 61 makes vain efforts to minimize the importance of this source for the subject under examination.

phon), compiled in Italy probably in the first half of the 10th century,³⁰² mentions the Rus' together with the Saxons and the Angles.³⁰³ Flusser rightly points out that the author of the Book classified the Rus' as Norsemen.³⁰⁴

'Nestor' relates that the Rus' came to Eastern Europe from Scandinavia and, having the earliest times in mind, allots them to the group of Norse tribes. He consistently links them with the Varangians,³⁰⁵ and there is no doubt that the Varangians were Norsemen. The Slavonic translator of the Chronicle of Georgius Monachus (Hamartolos) likewise testifies that the Rus' were of Varangian provenance.³⁰⁶ The Armenian source of the 11th century also identifies the Rus' with the Varangians.³⁰⁷

Constantine Porphyrogenitus lists the Rus'ian names of the Dnieper cataracts. It is important to ascertain what this author understood by the Rus'ian language, since this may yield data for the determination of the ethnic character of the Rus'. W. Thomsen long ago showed that the names of the cataracts as given by Constantine are Scandinavian, and more recent investigators (R. Ekblom, K. Falk, A. Kalgren, J. Sahlgren, etc.), albeit differing in details, confirm his opinion.³⁰⁸ Even some of the Anti-Normanists do not deny this fact.³⁰⁹ It is likewise indubitable that the names of the great majority of the Rus'ian envoys, who concluded the well-known Greco-Rus'ian treaties of the 10th century, were of Scandinavian

³⁰² G. Flusser, *The Author of the Book of Josiphon: his personality and his age*, Z XVIII (3-4), 1953, pp. 109-126 (in Hebrew; unavailable to me; cf. T. Lewicki, in SZ I, 1957, pp. 289-290); F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian*, 1956, p. 28.

³⁰³ '... the Rossi, the Saqsui and the Inglesusi dwell by the river of the great sea ...', M. Gaster, *The Chronicles of Jerahmeel*, *Oriental Translation Fund*, New Series IV, 1889, p. 67; OR, p. 124.

³⁰⁴ G. Flusser, *Zpráva o Slovanéch v hebrejské kronice z X století*, CCH XLVIII-XLIX, 1947-1948, pp. 238-241. T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi* II, pp. 168-174 believes that Ibrahim Ibn Yakub also considered the Angles as Norsemen. 'Nestor' did so too. It should be added that 'Nestor' was acquainted with the so-called Book of Yosippon in a Slavonic translation. Cf. N. Meshchersky, *Otryvok iz Knigi 'Iosippon' v 'Povesti vremennykh let'*, PaS II, 1956, pp. 58-68; *idem*, *K voprosu ob istochnikakh 'Povesti vremennykh let'*, TODRL XIII, 1957, pp. 57-65.

³⁰⁵ 'Afetovo bo i to koleno: varyazi, svei, urmane, gote, rus', agnyane. ...' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 10; 'I idosha za more k varyagom, k rusi. Sitse bo sya zvakhu t'i varyazi rus' ... I ot tekh varyag prozvasya Ruskaya zemlya ... ti sut' lyud'e nougorod'tsi ot roda varyazh'ska ...', *ibid.*, p. 18; 'ot varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu', p. 23, etc. Cf. the *Nachal'nyi Svod* (the Primary Compilation): 'I ot tekh Varyag ... prozvashasya Rus', i ot tekh slovet Ruskaya zemlya; i sut' novgorodstii lyudie do dнешnyago dni ot roda varyazh'ska.' A Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, p. 106. OR, pp. 141-145.

³⁰⁶ '... ot roda Varyazheska sushchim', V. Istrin, *Khronika Georgiya Amartola v drevnem slavyano-russkom perevode* I, 1920, p. 567; OR, p. 125.

³⁰⁷ K. Yuzbatyan, 'Varyagi' i 'proniya' v 'Povestvovani' Aristakesa Lastiverttsi, VV XVI, 1959, p. 19.

³⁰⁸ Cf. T. Arne, *Die Warägerfrage und die sowjetische Forschung*, AA XXIII, 1952, pp. 138-139.

³⁰⁹ E.g., D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 243: 'The Rus'ian names of the Dnieper cataracts ... bear all the signs of Scandinavian origin.'

origin.³¹⁰ These envoys, be it marked, were Rus' by origin (*ot roda ruskago*).³¹¹

Furthermore, the names of the first Rus'ian princes and their retinues were Scandinavian: Ryurik-Hroerekr, Oleg-Helgi, Igor'-Ingvarr,³¹² Ol'ga-Helga, Rogvolod-Ragnvald, Rogned'-Ragnheid, Askold-Hoskuld, Dir-Dýri, Sveneld-Sveinald, Budy-Bóndi, etc.³¹³ In my opinion, the name Vladimir (Volodimer)-Valdimarr also belongs to this group.³¹⁴ It is an indirect indication of the Norse origin of the so-called Rurikides that these princes gained control of Eastern Europe with the help of Varangian detachments whom they repeatedly recruited. The Rurikides counted more on ethnically alien

³¹⁰A. Solov'ev, *Zametki o dogovorakh Rusi s Grekami*. Varyazhskii element v dogovorakh Olega i Igora, S XV, 1938, pp. 410-411 was right in remarking that among their names there is not one that sounds purely Slavonic. Contrary to Obnorsky's opinion, K. Schmidt, *The Social Structure of Russia in the Early Middle Ages*, Ra, 1960, p. 28 believes the treaties with Byzantium were translated into Slavonic by the group of learned translators at the court of Yaroslav the Wise, in the fourth decade of the 11th century.

³¹¹D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 25, 34. In the document of the Novgorodian prince Svyatoslav, son of Oleg, of 1137, we find a list of ducal estates situated in the territory of Novgorod, the majority of which go by the names of their former owners. Some of these estates bear the names of envoys figuring in the treaties under discussion. This indicates that the Rus', when concluding these agreements with the Empire, were centred on Novgorod (moreover, some of these envoys belonged to the Finnish tribe of Chud' who were settled to the west of Novgorod). M. Tikhomirov and M. Shchepkina, *Dva pamyatnika novgorodskoi pis'mennosti*, 1952, pp. 18-24; *OR*, pp. 170-171. See also B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 133-135, 304; L. Danilova, *Ocherki po istorii zemlevladieniya i khozyaistva v Novgorodskoi zemle v XIV-XV vv.*, 1955, p. 208.

³¹²It is noteworthy that the Scandinavian form of the name Ingvarr (the Slavonic Igor') persisted for a long time. Here are some examples: 'Ingvor', 'Izyaslava Ingvorovitsya'; 'Ingvorov brat'; 'Roman Ingorovich', A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, pp. 58, 63, 74, 267, 286, etc. 'Ingvarya Yaroslavich'; 'Nigvar'; 'Ingvar', M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis'*, 1950, pp. 285, 295, 305. 'Ingvarya Ingorevicha', V. Adrianova-Peretts, *Voinskie povesti drevnei Rusi*, 1949, p. 13, etc.

³¹³A. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 13, 92, 116, 130, 207, 247.

³¹⁴M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch I*, 1953, p. 209 considers the name was Slavonic. This opinion is shared by Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, pp. 116, 130. According to A. Brückner, *Słownik etymologiczny języka polskiego*, 1927, pp. 333, 626, the names Volodimer-Valdimarr may be traced back to both a Slavonic and a Norse stem; cf. A. Jóhannesson, *Isländisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, 1956, pp. 106-107. In any case, the fact remains that these names are treated as identical in the sources. Vladimir the Great used to be called Waldemar. *E.g.*: Olaf Trygvasson came to England 'reversus a Rusciae partibus ubi nutritus et adiutus a Waldemaro rege fuerat'. S. Cross, *La tradition islandaise de saint Vladimir*, *RES XI*, 1931, p. 142. Vladimir Monomakh, too, was called Waldemar. *E.g.*: 'Quos Sueno paterni eorum meriti oblitus, consanguineae pietatis more exceptit, puellamque Rutenorum regi Waldemaro . . . nuptum dedit.' A. Holder, *Saxonis Grammatici Gesta Danorum*, 1886, p. 370. How strong the tradition linking both these names was, appears in the following example: in many sources a son of Algirdas, Grand Duke of Lithuania, always figures as Vladimir; however, in the Lithuano-Livonian treaty of 1367, he appears as Waldemar ('... par Waldemarum filium Olgherdem', *LECU II*, No. 1041, pp. 772-773). I base my opinion on the following observation: Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1126) wrote of himself in his *pouchenie*: 'I, wretched man that I am, named Vasili at my baptism . . . , but commonly known by my Rus'ian name Volodimir' ('rus'kym' imenem' Volodimir', D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 153). The adjective 'Rus'ian' in this text cannot be understood in the ecclesiastical-religious sense, as this ruler bears the Christian name of Vasili. In the first half of the 12th century, as also in earlier times, 'the Rus'ian language' had not yet acquired the significance of a Slavonic language; a 'Rus'ian name' at that time could not, therefore, have been a Slavonic one. Cf. *OR*, pp. 179-180.

elements for the maintenance of their rule than on indigenous Slavonic ones.³¹⁵ 'Nestor's' Chronicle gives many characteristic details which indicate that the various members of the dynasty considered themselves but loosely tied to the territories they had conquered and with the autochthonous population they had subjected.³¹⁶

This accumulation of evidence yielded by the sources, many in number and agreeing in their accounts of the ethnic origin of the Rus' as well as in their references to the original homeland of the Rus' and the territory they later occupied, are more than sufficient to advance credible hypotheses: they enable me to determine actual facts. It must be stressed, however, that these sources have been violently attacked by an extremely large number of authors who do their best to undermine the credibility of the sources and to distort the content of what they report.³¹⁷

It would seem that the entry under 839 in the Bertinian Annals is so clear that it is impossible to harbour doubts whether the Rus' were or were not Swedes.³¹⁸ However, as presented in the literature on the subject, the matter acquires quite another aspect. Yushkov writes: 'Upon a closer analysis of the entry in the Bertinian Annals, it must be concluded that this report cannot serve as proof of the ethnic identity of the Rus' and Swedes (Norsemen), but, on the contrary, testifies to the complete separateness of these two nations.'

³¹⁵ The most trusted members of the retinues of these princes and those who occupied the higher posts were for the most part not Eastern Slavs. Apart from the envoys who negotiated the 10th-century treaties between the Greeks and the Rus', many other examples could be quoted: Varyazhko (D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 55); Put'sha, Talets', Elovit', Lyash'ko (*ibid.*, pp. 90, 92); 'syn ugresk, imenem' Georgi' (p. 91); 'dva varyaga' (p. 91); Goryaser (p. 93); Torchin (p. 93); 'Tuky, brat Chyudin' (p. 114); Chyudin (p. 121); Byandyuk (p. 149); Snovid Izechevich' (p. 173); 'torchin, imenem Berendi' (p. 173); Ulan (p. 173); Turyak (p. 177), and many others.

³¹⁶ It will be shown in the next chapter how few ties Svyatoslav had with Kiev. When his son Vladimir, in 980, conquered the territory of Kiev with the aid of the Varangians, 'he then selected from their number [not from among the Slavs!] the good, the wise and the brave men to whom he assigned cities' (*grady*). Cities (castles) were generally entrusted to the most devoted men and to the most faithful troops. Whoever held *grady*, kept the whole country in his possession. In 1015, riots broke out in Novgorod, directed against the Varangians who had been called in by Yaroslav the Wise. The Prince 'summoned before him the chief men [from among the Slavs!] of the city who had massacred the Varangians, and craftily killed them'. Both these events, of 980 and 1015, throw light on the Slavonic 'patriotism' of Vladimir and Yaroslav which is so underlined in the literature on the subject.

³¹⁷ Considerations of space rule out discussion of all the publications of this kind. Many of them have already been covered; cf. *OR*, pp. 414-418. Only the most characteristic examples and the most recently published opinions have been cited.

³¹⁸ The text of this source reads as follows: 'Venerunt autem legati Graecorum a Theophilo imperatore directi . . . quos imperator [Louis the Pious] XV. kal. Iunii in Ingulenheim honorifice suscepit. . . . Misit [Theophilus] etiam cum eis quosdam quise, id est gentem suam, Rhos vocari dicebant, quod rex illorum, chacanus vocabulo, ad se amicitiae, sicut asserebant, causa direxerat, petens per memoratam epistolam, quatenus benigntate imperatoris redeundi facultatem atque auxilium per imperium suum tuto habere possent, quoniam itinera, per quae ad illum Constantinopolim venerant inter barbaras et nimiae feritatis gentes immanissimas habuerant, quibus eos, ne forte periculum inciderent, redire noluit. Quorum adventus causam imperator diligentius investigans comperit eos gentis esse Sveonum.' Ed. G. Waitz, 1883, pp. 19-20.

Yushkov's line of reasoning is the following: he postulates that there were Swedes in the service of the khaqan of the Khazars; further, he assumes that not all the envoys of the khaqan, but only some of them, the Swedish ones, arrived in Ingelheim.³¹⁹ It is then supposed that they did not admit to being Swedes.

If they had called themselves Swedes (Norsemen)—writes Yushkov—it is doubtful whether they would have been able to reach Ingelheim since they would have been immediately arrested. In order to conceal their nationality, they called themselves Rus'. . . . It follows from the text of the entry that not only was the real nationality of the khaqan's envoys established but that they were arrested under suspicion of espionage. In this way . . . it is possible to ascertain that the Rus' were not identified with the Swedes at the court of the Emperor Louis. The Rus' were received graciously, whilst the Swedes (Scandinavians) were arrested.³²⁰

Yushkov, in company with many other authors, affirms that the Rus' mentioned by the Bertinian Annals were in the service of the Khazars, although this source says nothing of the Khazars. The text unequivocally states that the Emperor of Byzantium was anxious that the envoys should return to their ruler. But the way back from Constantinople to the Khazar country, on the Caspian Sea, can by no stretch of imagination have led through the Rhineland (Ingelheim). The Bertinian Annals clearly state that the khaqan was their ruler (*rex illorum*), i.e., of the Rus'. Yushkov and others disregarded the letter of Louis the German (871) which stresses that the ruler of the Norsemen was called khaqan. These authors likewise make no mention of the testimonies of the Arabic writers to the effect that the khaqan was the ruler of the Rus'. That a hypothesis could have been constructed which inserts the Khazars into the text of the Bertinian Annals can only be explained by a lack of familiarity with the sources.

All that Yushkov writes on the subject: that Swedes constituted only part of the khaqan's embassy to the Emperor Theophilus, that they concealed their nationality when in Germany, giving a false ethnic appellation, that they were arrested under suspicion of espionage, whilst the Rus', contrary to the Swedes, were welcomed in Germany in 839, and so on—all this is pure guesswork unsupported by any evidence; yet the author treats these suppositions as facts and on the basis of these 'facts' distorts the text of the source. It is quite probable that it was the Emperor of Byzantium who first

³¹⁹ Likewise, G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, pp. 180–181 states that Swedes constituted only part of the Rus', i.e., there were Rus' who were not Swedes ('. . . it is most likely that this was the result of the assistance given the Rus' by the Norsemen'. 'From the Bertinian annals we know that there were Swedes among the Russes in 839').

³²⁰ S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 47–48.

called the envoys of the khaqan 'Rus' (as witnesses the Greek version of 'Rus', viz., 'Rhos').

In my opinion, one thing is certain: the Germans of the year 839 were not acquainted with the ethnic connotation of the term 'Rus'—a fact which indicates that this name was relatively new. The envoys of the Rus'ian khaqan may have known the appellation 'Rus' was unknown to the Germans or they may not have known this: after all, the names of nations and peoples are not kept secret. All in all, Yushkov's commentary is remarkable for the artificial and arbitrary constructions erected by him, and his conclusion that the text of the Bertinian Annals justifies the assertion that the Rus' were not Norsemen, must be categorically rejected.

The report handed down by Ibrahim Ibn Yakub receives no better treatment. It was analysed in *OR*, with special attention devoted to the portions dealing with the Rus'. In this connection, Riasanovsky writes in a review of my book: '[Paszkievicz] regards the evidence by Ibrahim Ibn Yakub as particularly important. Actually there is no such evidence. The original text is not extant, and the text that has come down to us is a mere paraphrase of the original. This is not a source to be called upon as evidence in a serious problem of scholarship.'³²¹

Objection to these remarks must be made on several counts. Were we to disqualify all texts which have not been preserved in the original, an absurd situation would result. Nearly all old East-Slavonic sources have been handed down to us by way of copies, not in the original.³²² Moreover, it is pertinent to ask: As the original text of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub has been lost and we cannot, therefore, compare it with the extant version, how can Riasanovsky know that the latter 'is a mere paraphrase of the original'? Al-Bekri drew his information from Ibrahim as well as from other authors. We do not know whether he quoted them accurately, nor do we know which information was derived by al-Bekri from which author. The identification of authorship is less important for the present considerations than the credibility of al-Bekri's report. The method applied in *OR* would appear to be the only correct one: namely, a comparison of al-Bekri's text with what Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote. Such a comparison shows that both authors preserved many identical facts about the Rus' (the items concerning the Rus' are the most important for Riasanovsky and for me). Individually, they also give other details but these, far from being contradictory, are rather complementary.³²³ Riasanovsky's attempt to undermine the credibility of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub (or of some other author from about the middle of the 10th century quoted by al-Bekri) must fail in the absence of

³²¹ V. Riasanovsky, in *RR*, 1956, p. 136.

³²² Cf. N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1956, p. 14.

³²³ *OR*, pp. 120–124.

any justification. Lewis' approach to Ibrahim is quite different to Riasanovsky's and he takes this source into much more serious consideration.³²⁴

Constantine Porphyrogenitus is likewise disqualified as unreliable by many present-day writers.³²⁵ According to Grekov, he was 'a notorious Russophobe and, for this reason, his information about the Rus' could not be objective'.³²⁶ Nevertheless, there is complete lack of evidence to support the charge that Constantine was biased. I have myself often thought that it might be very instructive to make a detailed comparative analysis of Constantine Porphyrogenitus with 'Nestor'. It can safely be stated that, apart from the *Povest'*, Constantine is the most important source for the early history of Eastern Europe. As far as the problem of the origins of the Rus' is concerned, Constantine and 'Nestor' both hand down a number of identical facts whilst the details given are diverse yet complementary.³²⁷ Hence,

³²⁴ B. Lewis, *The Muslim Discovery of Europe*, R VII, 1955, pp. 184–185; *idem*, in *A*, 1957, pp. 307–308.

³²⁵ M. Priselkov, *Kievskoe gosudarstvo vtoroi poloviny X veka po vizantiiskim istochnikam*, *UZLGU* LXXIII, 1941, pp. 215–246 does not share this opinion.

³²⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 281–282. A. Lyublinskaya, *Istochnikovedenie istorii srednikh vekov*, 1955, p. 268 shares Grekov's view, but she simultaneously states: 'The treatise [of Constantine, *De administrando imperio*] . . . was written for Constantine's son, Roman, in 948–952, in order to inform and instruct the future emperor in the problems of international and internal policy.' It follows from the foregoing that if Constantine bequeathed false information about the Rus', it was because he wilfully sought to mislead his own son. 'In the preparation of this treatise by Constantine—writes Lyublinskaya—recourse was had to the Imperial archives, the reports of envoys, historical works, and descriptions of travels—thus greatly enhancing the value of this source.' The last observation is quite correct, and enormously weakens Grekov's attitude.

³²⁷ Both Constantine and 'Nestor' have a people in mind when they use the appellation 'Rus'—a people alien to the Slavs, one which ruled over the Slavs, oppressed them and exacted tribute from them. According to both writers, this people came from the north. Both writers likewise distinguish between two territories of Rus'. 'Nestor' perceives one on the Scandinavian peninsula and the other one in Eastern Europe. Constantine speaks of outer Rus', *exo Rusia* (cf. *OR*, pp. 122–123), being the latter one; he does not state where inner Rus' was situated, but, listing the Rus'ian names of the Dnieper cataracts by giving their Norse equivalents, he indirectly indicates that the older Rus' was in Scandinavia. Constantine's description of the route followed by the Rus' in their journeyings from north to south coincides with 'Nestor's' version of the itinerary 'from the Varangians to the Greeks'. Both authors enumerate a number of the same East-Slavonic tribes (Derevlians, Severians, Krivichians, etc.). The information given by Constantine about the territory of the Ulichians (Oulines) is confirmed by the Primary Compilation (*Nachal'nyi Svod*). Constantine calls the Polyanian country 'Rus', but simultaneously stresses the fluid, not sufficiently established character of this Rus'ian centre. 'Nestor' writes of the Kievan land 'which is now called Rus'; he thus indicates that this name was a relatively new one. Constantine treats the neighbours of the Krivichians as Lyakhs (Poles). 'Nestor' states that the Radimichians and Vyatichians were of Polish stock. Both writers stress that whenever the Rus' undertake distant expeditions launched from the land of the Polyanians, the Pechenegs seize such opportunities to attack Kiev. Both authors knew that Svyatoslav was the son of Igor'. Constantine locates Svyatoslav in Novgorod, whilst the Rus'ian envoys who represented Igor' in the negotiations for a treaty with the Greeks (a treaty cited by 'Nestor') came from Novgorod. Constantine describes (in *De Cereemoniis Aulae Byzantinae*) Olga's arrival in Constantinople; 'Nestor' also knew of this journey. Many similar examples could be quoted. The above-mentioned facts, handed down by Constantine and by 'Nestor' have been analysed in detail in *OR*, pp. 39, 43, 56, 57, 66, 82, 86, 88, 116, 121–124, 133, 137, 138, 155, 161–163, 170, 173, 279, 323, 355, 356, 366, 367, 375, 378, 423, 424, 436, 438, etc.

if Constantine is charged with bias and with being a Russophobe, it would seem 'Nestor' should be subjected to the same charges. But Grekov states that the *Povest'* is 'a source unique in kind, giving not always a complete, but nevertheless . . . a true and consistent reconstruction of the course of the history of the Rus'ian land in its early period'.³²⁸ Thus, Grekov's own words suffice indirectly to disqualify his judgement of Porphyrogenitus.

Apart from sweeping charges of a general nature, Grekov from time to time goes into greater detail when trying to justify his view that Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account is unreliable. This is how he interprets the passage giving the names of the Dnieper cataracts: 'Obviously, some Varangian . . . , serving in the forces of the Byzantine Emperor, gave the Byzantine Emperor the names of the Dnieper cataracts in two languages, both in Slavonic, and the names of some of these cataracts translated into the Scandinavian language.'³²⁹ It may well be asked whence comes this knowledge of Grekov's regarding what can be only a purely hypothetical conversation between the Emperor and a Varangian. In any case, Constantine's text contains not the slightest allusion to information given by a Varangian serving in the Imperial forces. Grekov confines himself in his argumentation to the categorical 'obviously' (*ochevidno*) though his explanation does nothing to throw light on the matter. There are three queries, which Grekov neither raises nor answers, yet which disqualify his surmises: Why should the hypothetical Varangian designate the Scandinavian versions of the names of the Dnieper cataracts as Rus'ian if, according to Grekov, the Rus' were Slavs? If, on the other hand, the Rus' were Slavs, why should this Varangian differentiate the Rus'ian language from the Slavonic tongue? Why, indeed, did the Emperor in his enumeration give the Rus'ian names of the cataracts first and then follow them with the Slavonic equivalents? (Grekov, by the way, reverses the order, although it would seem that Constantine gave the Rus'ian versions first because he considered them more important than the Slavonic ones.)

Levchenko launched a large-scale campaign against Constantine Porphyrogenitus.³³⁰ Just as Grekov uses 'obviously' (*ochevidno*) to present a surmise as a fact, Levchenko uses 'naturally' (*estestvenno*). He states that the Emperor 'naturally, could not be objective in his judgements [about the Rus']'.³³¹ 'As the Dnieper route in the 10th century—writes Levchenko—was one of international significance used for the conveyance of their wares by various nations, naturally

³²⁸ B. Grekov, *Pervyi trud po istorii Rossii*, in his *Izbrannye trudy* II, 1959, p. 515 (*IsZ*, 1943).

³²⁹ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 564–565.

³³⁰ Cf. A. Florovskiy, *K izucheniyu istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, *BS* XX (1), 1959, p. 68.

³³¹ M. Levchenko, *Proizvedeniya Konstantina Bagryanorodnogo kak istochnik po istorii Rusi v pervoi polovine X v.*, *VV* VI, 1953, p. 25.

the merchants of these nations—there were Norsemen among them—assimilated the names of the Dnieper cataracts while in Kiev.’³³² It is certain that the Slavonic names of these cataracts are older than the Varangian equivalents. It may well be asked why Constantine gave only the Norse and the Slavonic names since traders of so many nationalities used the Dnieper in their ventures? Finally, the same queries are left unanswered by Levchenko as by Grekov.

‘Constantine himself—states Levchenko—inserts in his book Rus’ian words: *polyud’e*, *zakon*, *voyevoda*—the Slavonic origin of which arouses no doubt with anyone. These facts testify that the Rus’ of the 10th century spoke Slavonic.’³³³ This observation is quite correct. Writing shortly after Constantine, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub also stated that the Rus’, the Khazars, Pechenegs and others knew the Slavonic tongue. But this does not signify that all these peoples were of Slavonic stock.

There are many other items of information given by Constantine which various authors have tried to discredit without reasonable grounds,³³⁴ but attention can be drawn only to one typical detail. Levchenko affirms that the Emperor committed serious error when he wrote that the Rus’ bought cattle from the Pechenegs. This allegedly proves that Porphyrogenitus was not properly acquainted with the economic life of the Rus’ in those times. And Levchenko adds that there are many proofs that the 10th-century Slavs were primarily agriculturists.³³⁵ Tikhomirov levels a similar charge against Photius: ‘[Photius] allusion to the Rus’ as nomads must be treated critically, because the Slavs had a settled mode of life, and agricul-

³³² M. Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³³³ M. Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

³³⁴ For instance, Shangin considers that the information regarding ‘outer Rus’ (*exo Rosia*) was not in the original text drawn up by Constantine, but was the result of a copyist’s mistake. M. Shangin and A. Vishnyakova, *Sushchestvovala li ‘vneshnyaya’ Rossiya?*, *VV* XIV, 1958, pp. 97–98. That the above piece of information was in line with the reality of those times, see *OR*, pp. 122–123.

³³⁵ M. Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 20. While, long ago, Klyuchevsky and after him, Rostovtsev regarded the Slavs primarily as town-dwellers, more recent research largely based on archaeological findings leads to the conclusion that the principal occupation of the Slavonic population was agriculture from the earliest times (naturally, with certain differences between the northern and the southern areas of Eastern Europe). In connection with the development of agriculture, particularly extensive in the south, the breeding of cattle likewise developed. Cf. P. Tretyakov, *Sel’skoe khozyaistvo i promysly*, in *Istoriya kul’tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, pp. 47–77; V. Dovzhenok, *K istorii zemledeliya u vostochnykh slavyan v I tysyacheletii n.e. i v epokhu Kievskoi Rusi*, in *Materialy po istorii zemledeliya SSSR* I, 1952; *idem*, *Ob urovne razvitiya zemledeliya v Kievskoi Rusi*, *ISSSR*, 1960 (5), pp. 59–74; V. Levasheva, *Sel’skoe khozyaistvo*, in *Ocherki po istorii russkoi derevni X–XIII vv.*, *TGIM* XXXII, 1956, pp. 19–105; V. Mal’m, *Promysly drevnerusskoi derevni*, *ibid.*, pp. 106–138; R. Smith, *The Origins of Farming in Russia*, 1959, and others. In recent times, more attention than hitherto has been directed to the development of hunting and the breeding of cattle among the Slavs; cf. V. Zubareva, *Fauna Kiev 1000 let tomu nazad*, in *Priroda*, No 8, 1940 (unavailable to me); E. Goryunova, *K voprosu ob ‘osteologicheskoi statistike’*, *KSDPI* XXXV, 1950, pp. 60–65; V. Tsalkin, *Materialy dlya istorii skotovodstva i okhoty v drevnei Rusi*, *MIA* LI, 1956, pp. 125–136. See also T. Lewicki, *Średniowieczne źródła arabskie i perskie o hodowli zwierząt domowych u Słowian*, *KHKM* II, 1954, pp. 444–469.

ture was the chief occupation of most of them.'³³⁶ Photius is thus likewise guilty of error, it appears. In answer to Levchenko's assertion, Ibn-Rusta's report can be recalled, namely, that the Rus' had no cultivated fields of their own, but sustained themselves with what they pillaged from the lands of the Slavs. Ibn Miskawaih states that the Rus' were not accustomed to fruit because their country was very cold and fruit-trees did not grow there. Since the Rus' in Eastern Europe did not lead a settled life (Photius), did not occupy themselves with agriculture (Ibn Rusta), nor with fruit-growing (Ibn-Miskawaih) nor with cattle-breeding (Constantine), it would appear that all these items of information are in complete accord with one another.³³⁷ There is hence no ground for questioning the credibility of Porphyrogenitus' account that the Rus' bought horses, sheep, etc. from the Pechenegs since his information is indirectly supported by many other sources.³³⁸

While Constantine Porphyrogenitus is denied credibility, Liutprand of Cremona meets with a happier fate: he is not disqualified, merely misinterpreted. I consider his report as evidence of the Norse descent of the Rus'. Riasanovsky rejects my interpretation of the source and writes: 'It is a moot question whether Liutprand, in using the term *Nordmanni* had in mind "people of the North" in a geographical sense (*a positione loci*), or in particular Scandinavians on the basis of origin.'³³⁹ He considers two possibilities: first, that the Norsemen were exclusively Swedes, Norwegians and Danes, and—secondly—that the term *Nordmanni* was used by any nation to denote people who lived to the north of its own territory.³⁴⁰ Riasanovsky declares himself for the second alternative.

Liutprand's text reads as follows: '*Constantinopolitana urbs, quae prius Bizantium, Nova nunc dicitur Roma, inter ferocissimas gentes est constituta. Habet quippe ab aquilone Hungarios, Pizenacos, Chazaros, Rusios, quos alio nos nomine Nordmannos appellamus.*'³⁴¹ Thus, according to Riasanovsky and other authors,³⁴² the pronoun *quos* relates not only to the Rus', but to all peoples mentioned in the passage. Liutprand states, moreover: '*Gens quaedam est sub aquilonis parte constituta, quam a qualitate corporis Greci vocant Rusios, nos*

³³⁶ M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XVIII v. I*, 1940, p. 21.

³³⁷ Grekov, Levchenko, Tikhomirov and others wrongly transfer the data about the occupations followed by the early Slavonic population to the Rus', and thus fall into disagreement with the sources.

³³⁸ Ibn Rusta reports that the Rus' very valiant fighters, conducted their incursions on boats as they had no horses. Constantine Porphyrogenitus also writes of the boats of the Rus'. S. Azbelov, *Imeli li mesto sukhoputnye pokhody Rusi na Konstantinopol'*, *VLU*, N.8, 1958, pp. 166–170 states that Oleg's and Igor's expeditions against Constantinople were water-borne.

³³⁹ V. Riasanovsky, in *RR XV* (2), 1956, p. 136.

³⁴⁰ Thus, for instance, the Slavs were 'Norsemen' as far as Byzantium was concerned.

³⁴¹ Liutprand, *Antapodosis*, ed. L. Becker, 1915 I, p. 9.

³⁴² E.g., M. Tikhomirov, *Istochnikovedenie istorii SSSR*, p. 25; S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, pp. 46–48.

*vero a positione loci nominamus Nordmannos. Lingua quippe Teutonum "nord" aquilo "man" autem dicitur homo, unde et Nordmannos aquilonares homines dicere possumus.*³⁴³ Liutprand is aware of the Teutonic provenance of the term 'Norsemen' (*Nordmanni*). It is impossible to believe that the Greeks used such a name to determine nations of non-Teutonic descent, or that the Slavs, the Pechenegs, the Hungarians and the Khazars called themselves by a purely Teutonic appellation.

There is no doubt that the term 'Norsemen' is geographical in its implication (people of the north). But this name was at that time universally used to signify Scandinavian peoples. There are too many proofs of this in the sources to quote them. It must suffice to consult any encyclopedia in justification of the above statement. *The Great Soviet Encyclopedia*, which fully supports the anti-Normanist attitude of Riasanovsky, gives the following comment: 'The Norsemen . . . —the name given in Western Europe to the North German tribes inhabiting two peninsulas—Jutland (the Danes) and Scandinavia (the Norwegians, the Swedes)—and undertaking predatory incursions into European countries, in the period from the end of the 8th to the 11th century.'³⁴⁴

In answer to Tikhomirov's view ('the word "Norsemen" could . . . signify not only the inhabitants of Scandinavia, but northern peoples in general, and the Slavs among them'), I have remarked: 'Such opinion cannot be treated seriously unless documentary proof could be provided that the Slavs were, at any time, known under the name of Norsemen.'³⁴⁵ Riasanovsky opposes to my view and writes:

This statement only demonstrates the author's [Paszkievicz's] inadequate knowledge of the pertinent sources and literature. The 'documentary proof' he insists upon has been provided long ago by J. Ewers . . . ; it has been supplemented by Gedeonov. . . . But the author is not acquainted with Ewers or Gedeonov, or with the sources cited by them. The author deals no less superficially with other source material. . . .³⁴⁶

Ewers' work appeared nearly 150 years ago (1814) and Gedeonov's study 100 years ago (1862). Ewers does not quote any sources from the period under consideration which throw new light on the problem of the origin of the Rus'.³⁴⁷ The same must be said of Gedeonov's book.³⁴⁸ I did not mention either of these authors in *OR* because

³⁴³ *Antapodosis*, V, p. 137.

³⁴⁴ *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya* (2nd ed.) XXX, 1954, p. 178.

³⁴⁵ *OR*, p. 417.

³⁴⁶ R. Riasanovsky, in *RR*, 1956, p. 136.

³⁴⁷ J. Ewers, *Kritische Vorarbeiten zur Geschichte der Russen*, 1814, pp. 139, 148.

³⁴⁸ S. Gedeonov, *Otryuki iz issledovaniï o varyazhskom voprose*, 1862, pp. 93–94 thinks, without justification, that Liutprand 'paid little attention to the exactness of his ethnographic testimonies'. I quote only one example but it is characteristic of Gedeonov's methods of interpretation of the source-material, so enthusiastically accepted by Riasanovsky. The *Annales Fuldenses* mention the Bishop (of Hildesheim, in 876–880) Marcquardus who fell fighting with the Norsemen, *MGH I*, 1826, p. 393.

their treatises are now out of date as much in knowledge of the sources as in the methods applied to them. These works have of course some value for the history of Russian historiography, but this is not the subject I intended to investigate. If Ewers and Gedeonov had at their disposal sources of decisive significance for the establishment of the ethnic character of the Rus'—as Riasanovsky affirms—this problem would no longer be controversial at the present day. There is no doubt that the modern Anti-Normanists would make use of this source-material. But they decline to do so. This is the reason why Riasanovsky has to quote such old publications.

Grekov strives to discredit the reliability of Constantine Porphyrogenitus on the grounds that he was an author 'writing from afar'.³⁴⁹ Nevertheless, Grekov constantly refers to authors who lived and wrote in lands more distant from Kiev than Constantinople, provided they serve to back up his conjectures. Furthermore, the *Povest'* and the Novgorodian Chronicle were certainly not drawn up somewhere far distant from the events which occurred in Rus'. In spite of this, they are likewise disqualified, primarily on the grounds that they are 'tendentious'. Writing of 'Nestor', Grekov states:

The chronicler wrote his work with a fixed purpose and under specific political conditions. . . . We must very largely reject the chronicler's concept of the formation of the Rus'ian State not only because we differ from the author of the Chronicle in our theoretical views on the community, the State and, in general, on the whole historical process, but also because the chronicler, having before him an allotted task, made an appropriate selection of facts full of significance for himself but often having secondary importance for us; on the other hand, he omitted what would have first-rate value for us today. In addition, all our chroniclers were cramped by the will of their patrons, who were usually the princes.³⁵⁰

In short, 'Nestor' (and the other East-Slavonic writers of the period) cannot be relied upon: a biased chronicler must be replaced by 'an impartial historian', who, according to an official declaration,³⁵¹ is to

The Annales Hildesheimenses and the *Chronicon Hildesheimense* speak of the same Bishop and state that he was killed by the Slavs, MGH V, 1839, p. 50; IX, 1846, p. 851. Comparing both these reports, Gedeonov (*op. cit.*, p. 99) and Riasanovsky identify the Slavs with the Rus'. Another event can fittingly be mentioned here. It concerns Maslav (Moislav), the leader of the Polish tribe of the Mazovians in the 4th and 5th decades of the 11th century. Maslav fought with the then ruler of Poland, Casimir the Restorer, as well as with the Kievan prince, Yaroslav the Wise. According to the Polish Chronicle of 'Gallus', Maslav was killed by Casimir; according to 'Nestor'—by Yaroslav. Following the analysis of the sources by Gedeonov and Riasanovsky, we have to conclude that Casimir the Restorer was Yaroslav the Wise. It must be added that Widukind (ed. by V. Hirsch, 1935) and Thietmar (ed. by Holtzmann, 1935) also speak of the battle of 880 (Marcquardus' death) and hand down that the Germans were then fighting against the Danes. So, Gedeonov and Riasanovsky appear to have 'proved' not only that the Slavs went under the name of the Norsemen but also that the Danes were Slavs.

³⁴⁹ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 282.

³⁵⁰ *Idem*, *op. cit.*, pp. 14–15.

³⁵¹ See quotations in Chapter I of the present study.

carry out the directives of the Russian Communist Party and Government.

Grekov's concept (shared by many others) was accepted and developed by Rybakov. Here are two typical examples of this specific approach to the Novgorodian Chronicle.

Its author—affirms Rybakov—tried to introduce the name of Novgorod everywhere (sometimes very clumsily) and to tie up the earliest Rus'ian history with the Novgorodian north and its alleged immemorial freedoms. That is why the southern version of the foundation of Kiev was veiled here [*i.e.*, in Novgorod] by the local legend invented by the Novgorodians concerning the voluntary summoning of the princes [Rurik and his brothers] by the Novgorodians.³⁵²

He states in another part of his study:

The aim of the Novgorodians in the 11th and 12th centuries to isolate themselves from the authority of the Kievan princes; Novgorod's widely ramified commercial relations with Scandinavia; the utilization of Varangian mercenary detachments by the Novgorodian princes (Vladimir and Yaroslav at the beginning of their activities) in the struggle with Kiev—all this taken together, in conjunction with the political tendency to elect their prince, produced in the Novgorodian chronicles of the 11th and 12th centuries the fictitious account about the summoning of the Varangian princes, which led to the identification of the Varangians with the Rus'.³⁵³

There is no need to labour the point that the text of the Novgorodian Chronicle in no wise justifies such comments. It will in fact suffice to indicate that these comments are glaringly self-contradictory and vague. If Novgorod in the 11th and 12th century tried to preserve its independence from Kiev, there was no good reason for the Novgorodians—by hook or by crook—to link up their earliest history with the history of Rus', *i.e.*, according to Rybakov, with that of the Middle Dnieper region. One would expect them to have done quite the contrary: if these ties had existed, the Novgorodians would rather have striven to cover them up and not emphasized them. If the rulers of Kiev, the Rurikides, sought to impose their rule upon Novgorod, then why should these self-same Novgorodians create the legend of the voluntary summoning of the ancestors of these princes by Novgorod? Rybakov does not explain why Novgorod's commercial relations with Scandinavia or Novgorod's aim of preserving its own independence should have caused the Varangians to be identified with the Rus'.

Regarding this identification, Rybakov's comment on the text of the *Povest'* is no less open to objection. He writes:

It can be supposed that they [the tendentious interpolations into the original text] were penned by the last of the three authors of the *Povest'*,

³⁵² B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 8.

³⁵³ B. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, pp. 27–28.

by that chronicler who sojourned in Ladoga and in Novgorod, noted down the local legends and acquainted his readers with the northern Ugro-Finnish lands and their folklore. This chronicler's knowledge of the Ugro-Finnish environment, where the word *rootsi* signifies 'north' and *ruotsalainen* 'people of the north', 'Norsemen', could easily have led him to think that the Varangians living to the north of Novgorod and Ladoga were the Rus'. But, for the local, Finnish-speaking population the word *ruotsalainen* as applied to the Scandinavians-Varangians signified only 'people of the north', 'Norsemen'. The similarity in sound with the Slavonic word *Rus'* is in this case merely fortuitous and superficial.³⁵⁴

Any conjecture based on fortuitous circumstances cannot but arouse doubt. It appears that if this third (for that matter, quite hypothetical) compiler of the *Povest'* had not supposedly made a journey to the north and had not allegedly had a liking for collecting legends in the region of Novgorod and Ladoga, and if he had not discerned some element of similarity between the words '*Rus'*' and *Ruotsalainen*, the Rus' would never have been identified with the Norse Varangians. As far as is known, however, neither Constantine Porphyrogenitus, nor Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, nor Liutprand of Cremona nor a great many other authors ever visited Novgorod or Ladoga. Furthermore, it is indeed difficult to believe that they made use of legends collected in the north by the hypothetical third compiler of the *Povest'*—if only because they lived and wrote well before this Chronicle was written.

We can now sum up our findings to draw final conclusions.

Lewicki states that 'the medieval Arabic writers often confuse the East-European Rus' with the Scandinavian Norsemen'.³⁵⁵ Yakubinsky perceives that 'the Greeks linked the notion of the Rus' with that of the Scandinavians. . . . The Greeks made a false differentiation between the Rus' and the Slavs, and even a differentiation between the Rus'ian language and the Slavonic'.³⁵⁶ Levchenko writes that 'in the 10th century, foreign sources begin stubbornly to mention the Varangians and to confuse them with the Rus''.³⁵⁷ According to him, 'in Constantinople, the concept of the Rus' who arrived from Rus' was partly merged with that of the Varangians'.³⁵⁸ The same objections are raised against West-European and East-Slavonic sources. We dispose of accounts by a great many writers who lived at the time under examination, but we are invited to believe that they all fell into error and—though writing independently of one another—that they all erred on the same topic and in the same way.

³⁵⁴ B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955 (4-5), p. 67. Similarly—*idem*, *Spornye voprosy obrazovaniya Kievskoi Rusi*, *Vol.*, 1960 (9), pp. 21-23.

³⁵⁵ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, p. 128.

³⁵⁶ L. Yakubinsky, *Istoriya drevnerusskogo yazyka*, 1953, pp. 337-338.

³⁵⁷ M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 25.

³⁵⁸ M. Levchenko, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

This cannot be explained away as a purely fortuitous circumstance. In fact, the constant distortion and 'correcting' of the sources by the modern literature on the subject is in itself a strong indication of the validity of the 'Normanist theory' and of the irrefutable evidence upon which it is based.

Grekov wrote in 1940: 'It is not easy to do away with the evidence of the Normanists. I am convinced that it will never be completely suppressed. Too many facts have been verified by this school.'³⁵⁹ But in 1942, the same author affirmed that the Normanist thesis was the work of 'fascist falsifiers of history'.³⁶⁰ Between the years 1940 and 1942, no new sources were published nor did any new important work on the subject appear. Why then should Grekov have so radically changed his attitude? Undoubtedly, in connection with the political events of the time.³⁶¹ The former opinion was expressed by Grekov while the Soviet-German alliance was in force, and the latter when the two countries were at war with each other. The polemic on the origins of the Rus' is so prolonged and bitter³⁶² because scholarly considerations are outweighed by political, national, ideological and other non-pertinent elements. Grekov is a classical example of this. In fact, the manner in which opinions based on a precise analysis of the texts are combated does more to weaken and discredit than to strengthen the position of the Anti-Normanists.³⁶³ The peremptory tone of the allegations made by these

³⁵⁹ B. Grekov, *Drevneishie sud'by slavyanstva v prikarpatskikh oblastyakh*, *VAN*, 1940 (11-12), p. 36.

³⁶⁰ B. Grekov, *Na zare russkogo gosudarstva*, *IsZ*, 1942 (7), p. 25.

³⁶¹ H. Łowmiański, *Zagadnienie roli Normanów w genezie państw słowiańskich*, 1957, p. 57 makes a zealous defence of Grekov, uncritically accepting his suggestions. Łowmiański affirms that my charge against Grekov in *OR*, p. 111 lacks precision, though the quotations which back it up speak for themselves and are fully adequate. Moreover, Łowmiański writes: 'It is, however, not at issue whether current political or social problems influenced the direction of [Grekov's] investigations; it can hardly be doubted that historiography has never liberated itself from this influence and that it can never do so. On the other hand, it is of basic significance from the standpoint of research whether the influence of life on a scholarly theory expressed itself by inhibiting the process of revealing the objective scientific truth or by contributing to its determination. If, in connection with political events, the eyes of investigators were opened to certain objective facts which had theretofore escaped their notice, such a circumstance can be accepted as a favourable one from the scholarly point of view even though it led to details sometimes being conceived one-sidedly and not always in accord with objective reality.' These remarks which I have translated literally need no comment.

³⁶² B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, p. 27, writing on the prolonged and bitter nature of this controversy, frankly admits: 'There is nothing strange in this, for the determination of whether the Rus'ian State had an indigenous or foreign origin depends on the manner in which the conflict is decided.' In my opinion, such an attitude is very strange, since the solution of a dispute should depend solely on the analysis of the source-material regardless of any consequences not bearing a scholarly character.

³⁶³ Considerations of space prevent my giving more than a small selection of examples, many of which have been cited, for that matter, previously; cf. *OR*, p. 418. Statements that the Rus' were Norsemen are branded as 'deceitful', 'anti-scientific', 'reactionary', 'fascist', and so on. The authors of these works are: 'Anglo-American falsifiers of history' (B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki*, 1953, p. 76), 'fascist falsifiers of history' (R. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, *SAr* XVII, 1953,

authors is glaringly contradicted by the weakness of the evidence they present.³⁶⁴

Insisting on the Slavonic descent of the Rus', Grekov states that his point of view is supported by 'thousands of new facts, chiefly archaeological ones'.³⁶⁵ These 'thousands of facts' are only *licentia poetica*. It is a misnomer to treat as facts various highly problematical and often mutually contradictory archaeological hypotheses. Grekov's opinion can actually be best refuted by quoting his own words:

In spite of its important successes in recent times, archaeology is frequently powerless in relation to the problems with which we are faced, in consequence of the nature of its material, and its methods. Linguistic studies are limited in their possibilities, and often do not give us as much as they might. The combination of archaeological data and linguistic research, with due regard for folklore, undoubtedly broadens the scope of historical knowledge. But, in the final outcome, all this

p. 27), 'ideologists of American aggression' (I. Mints—L. Cherepnin—E. Druzhinina, *Lzhivaya interpretatsiya istorii*, *Kom* XXXI, 1954 (11), p. 123), 'enemies of our country' (M. Braichev'sky, *Ant'skii period v istorii skhidnikh slov'yan*, *Ar* VII, 1952, p. 21), 'enemies of the Russian nation and its glorious past' (K. Guslisty, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Istoriia ukrainskoi SSR* I, 1956, p. 50), and so on. 'The Normanist theory has now become a weapon of the political struggle in the capitalistic countries' (B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955, p. 58); 'a weapon of Anti-Soviet propaganda' (I. Shaskol'sky, *Normanskaya teoriya v sovremennoi burzhuaiznoi istoriografii*, *ISSSR*, 1960 (1), p. 236; similarly—V. Shusharin, *O sushchnosti i formakh sovremennogo normanizma*, *Vol*, 1960 (8), p. 93); the theory of the Norse origin of the Rus' is 'harmful' (*Istoricheskoe znachenie knigi I.V. Stalina*, *Vol*, 1948 (9), p. 17); 'it is found to be contradicted by historical facts' (A. Sidorov, *Osnovnye problemy i nekotorye itogi razvitiya sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, 1955, p. 32); its object is 'to defame the glorious past of the great Russian nation' (B. Grekov, *op. cit.*, in *Ocherki*, p. 76), and 'to debase the past of the Russian nation' (L. Cherepnin, *Istoriografiya*, in *Ocherki*, p. 30). 'The Normanists are the supporters of the anti-scientific Norse theory of the origin of the Old-Russian State. . . . The Normanist theory is now being exploited by bourgeois historians of the imperialistic camp in order to revile the past of the Russian nation, depress its role in history and to justify a policy of aggression against the Soviet Union' (*Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya*, 2nd ed., 1954, p. 178). 'The Normanist theory has a deeply anti-patriotic meaning' (N. Artemov and V. Lebedev, *Istoriya SSSR*, 1959, p. 87). Those who oppose the Norse origin of the Rus' are described as 'patriots defending the honour of their country' (L. Cherepnin, in *Ocherki*, p. 29). It is claimed they have achieved 'enormous successes'. 'It was only after a prolonged struggle with the Normanists. . . , that the Soviet historians succeeded in routing the pseudo-scholarly Normanist theory' (A. Pankratova, *Nasushchnye voprosy sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, *Kom*, XXX (6), 1953, p. 63). 'The Soviet historians succeeded. . . in cleansing early Russian history from Normanist distortions' (B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 28), and so on and so on.

³⁶⁴ The reviewer of *OR*, in *The Twentieth Century*, London, January, 1955, p. 92 remarks: 'For to most scholars outside the Soviet Union (and even at one time to some within it) it has become sufficiently plain that the original Rus' were the Norsemen who invaded Russia from Scandinavia. . . . But this Norse origin has become anathema to official Soviet thought, since it is derogatory to the Slavs; and even Russian scholars who before the war were practically convinced of the Norman origin of the Rus' have since felt obliged to denounce the Normanist thesis as the work of "fascist falsifiers of history". The reason for this *volte-face* is not obscure. More in sorrow than in anger, Mr. Paszkiewicz quotes the periodical *Bol'shevik* in 1947 to the effect that the Normanist thesis is "politically harmful", because it "denies the ability of the Slavonic nations to form an independent State by their own efforts". Thus, not even the history of the ninth to fourteenth centuries can escape from the categories of political clap-trap.'

³⁶⁵ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 562.

will not suffice to transform controversial opinions into unquestionable evidence.³⁶⁶

Yet it is noteworthy that Grekov and many other authors rely wholly on archaeology.³⁶⁷ In fact, the thesis of the Slavonic origin of the Rus' is based exclusively on that discipline, or, to be more precise, on Soviet archaeology since the results yielded by the research of Scandinavian archaeologists fundamentally differ from those of the Russians. The Anti-Normanist thesis is glaringly contradicted by the testimonies of the written sources of the period.

It is evident that those who favour this theory are making enormous, not to say, desperate efforts to find some support for their pre-conceived views in the preserved texts of the sources. Two of them are considered specially important for our subject. One is the 9th-century Arabic writer, Ibn Khurdadhbih. 'The testimony of Ibn Khurdadhbih—writes Tikhomirov—speaks so eloquently in favour of the Slavonic descent of the Rus' that it does not require any comment.'³⁶⁸ Levchenko is of the same opinion.³⁶⁹ Thus, enthusiastic acceptance of this text serves as a pretext to avoid analysing it. But, when the source in question was finally analysed, it turned out that Ibn Khurdadhbih provided very sparse, if any, data testifying to the Slavonic provenance of the Rus'.

In point of fact, there is only one piece of evidence on which the reasoning of the Anti-Normanists is based. This is 'Nestor's' statement that the Slavonic *yazyk* and that of the Rus' is one and the same. As *yazyk* denotes 'language' and 'people' or 'nation', there were grounds for concluding that the Rus' were Slavs. But the semantic analysis of the word *yazyk* (*ethnos*) indicates that this term—beside its linguistic and ethnic connotations—has also another meaning of an ecclesiastical and religious character. This sense of the word must be applied in 'Nestor's' passage since it is in complete harmony with the whole text of the Chronicle, while the other interpretations of the term are glaringly contradicted by the *Povest'* (and by other sources). Thus, the most important argument in favour of the Anti-Normanists' case fails decisively.

³⁶⁶ B. Grekov, *op. cit.*, pp. 12–13.

³⁶⁷ Cf. A. Mongait, *Arkheologiya i sovremennost'*, *SAr*, 1960 (4), pp. 213–214.

³⁶⁸ M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii 'Rus' i 'Russkaya zemlya'*, *SE VI-VII*, 1947, p. 77.

³⁶⁹ M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii rusko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 207.

CHAPTER IV

OLD RUS'IAN OR EAST SLAVONIC NATION

THE prevalent view is that the Rus'ian State arose in Eastern Europe in the course of the 9th century and that approximately at that time the so-called Old-Rus'ian nation (*drevnerusskii narod*) was formed. The two problems—of the State and of the nation—will be dealt with separately if only because the existence of the Rus'ian State, confirmed by numerous sources, is beyond all doubt. Whether the same certainty exists regarding the Old-Rus'ian nation will be elucidated in the following considerations.

The contemporary sources most frequently use the word *zemlya* ('land') when referring to the Rus'ian State, a term which also has other meanings but in this case bears a political implication.¹ Thus, *Ruskaya zemlya* was an entity differentiated from other States: the Polish (*Lyad'skaya zemlya*), the Bulgarian (*Bolgar'skaya zemlya*), the Greek or Byzantine (*Gretskaya zemlya*), and so on.

According to the maxims of the 'classics of Marxism-Leninism', which Soviet historians place on an equal footing with texts of contemporary sources or above them, the rise of a State is the result of social and economic transformations upon a given area, an act of the broad masses of the population, an expression of their needs and aspirations. Without attempting to appraise the validity of this hypothesis, it suffices to confirm that the relevant sources contain much valuable material relating to the rise of the Rus'ian State within its extensive boundaries.² According to these sources, this State arose through conquest by the Rus' and their princes, contrary to the desires and notwithstanding the determined opposition of the various Slavonic tribes. Ample reliable evidence of the ruthless domination of the conquerors towards the subjected peoples is provided by Arabic authors, by Ibn Rusta particularly. Constantine Porphyrogenitus, 'Nestor' and others also record these facts.

¹ Cf. W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, JGO III, 1940, pp. 25, 70; N. Chubaty, The Meaning of 'Russia' and 'Ukraine', UQ I, 1944-1945, p. 358; D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 204; N. Chubaty, The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe, PSSS I, 1951, p. 17; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, p. 208; A. Soloviev, Der Begriff 'Russland' im Mittelalter, WAGSO II, 1956, p. 144, and others.

² B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 26; *idem*, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, VMU, 1955 (4-5), p. 73 is quite wrong when he states: 'It is most unfortunate that the *Povest' vremennykh let* has not in its present form handed down information regarding the means whereby this State, one of the most extensive in Europe, was formed.'

We need give only a few examples from the *Povest'* to demonstrate that there was active resistance to the Rus' on the part of tribes considered by Russian historians as East-Slavonic. Let us begin with the Derevlans. As Oleg had to wage war on them (*Pocha Oleg voevati derevlyany*),³ it is clear they did not voluntarily submit to him. Igor' also conducted a campaign against this tribe and defeated it (*i pobediv a*).⁴ Hence there was fighting, there was resistance. The Derevlans compared Igor', despoiling their country, to a wolf who preys on sheep and destroys the whole flock if the sheep do not kill him themselves (*Ashche sya vvadit' volk v outse, to vynosit' vse stado, ashche ne ub'yut' ego*).⁵ Ol'ga warred against the Derevlans to avenge the death of her husband and these came out to meet her troops (*I izidosha derevlyane protivu*).⁶ Again, the resistance of the Derevlans is indubitable. The same can be said of the Ulichians and the Tivertsians, on whom Oleg made war (*a s ulichi i tevertsi imyashe rat'*),⁷ and of the Severians whom he defeated (*i pobedi severyany*).⁸ Svyatoslav must have fought the Vyaticians, since it is stated he defeated them (*Vyatichi pobedi Svyatoslav*).⁹ Vladimir also fought against them (*Volodimer . . . vyatichi pobedi . . . Zaratishasya vyatichi, i ide na nya Volodimir, i bobedi ya vtoroe*).¹⁰ It was solely by force of arms that Vladimir crushed the resistance of the Radimichians and forced them to submit to his rule (*Ide Volodimer na radimichi. Be u nego voevoda Volchii Khvost . . . i pobedi radimiche Volchii Khvost*).¹¹ Fully in agreement with 'Nestor' is Hilarion. According to him, Vladimir was an outstanding ruler who subjected neighbouring tribes—some by force of arms and others by peaceful means (*Vladimer . . . edinoderzhets' byv zemli svoei, pokoriv pod sya okrugnya strany, ovy mirom a nepokorivyya mechem*).¹²

The non-Slavonic peoples likewise resisted the Rus', in many cases no less desperately than the Slavs. 'Nestor' and the Novgorodian Chronicle contain many references which provide conclusive proof of these conquests.

Basing his view on this source-material, Nasonov affirms that the territory of the Rus'ian State was extended chiefly by the conquests of the Rurikides.¹³ This view was contested by Tikhomirov who considers that the expansion of this territory should not be pre-

³ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 20–21.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ p. 42.

⁷ p. 21.

⁸ p. 20.

⁹ p. 47.

¹⁰ p. 58.

¹¹ p. 59.

¹² A. Ponomarev, *Pamyatniki drevne-russkoi tserkovno-uchitel'noi literatury* I, 1894, p. 70.

¹³ A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya' i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, 1951, pp. 52, 217.

dominantly ascribed to the activities of the princes and their troops since otherwise 'nothing would be left for the nation, the actual creator of history'.¹⁴ Pashuto attacked Nasonov more vehemently, accusing him of basing his work on the texts of sources 'which consistently present history in a most incomplete and tendentious manner'. He added: 'Actually, therefore, the author [Nasonov] collected material not referring to the formation of the territory of the [Rus'ian] State but material which reflected this process as seen in the [East-Slavonic] chronicles. These are, of course, two quite different things.'¹⁵

Pashuto doubts the credibility of the written sources merely because they clash with the doctrine of the 'Marxist-Leninist classics'. Research on the epoch is left with two alternatives: either to accept the thesis that the Rus'ian State was created by the broad masses of the Slavs and to reject the source-material as tendentious—or to regard these sources as basic, accept the conquest of Slavonic lands by the Rus' as a fact and to disqualify as tendentious all the publications which disagree with the reports of the chroniclers.

Faced by the choice between 'Nestor' supported by many other sources and Pashuto with his ideological masters, I declare myself for 'Nestor'.

Apart from the Pashuto-Nasonov controversy, the question of the

¹⁴ M. Tikhomirov, *Znachenie drevnei Rusi v razvitii russkogo, ukrainskogo i beloruskogo narodov*, *VoI*, 1954 (6), p. 20.

¹⁵ V. Pashuto, in *VoI*, 1953 (8), p. 168, opposed Nasonov on many other grounds, too. He writes: 'Nasonov's book does not indicate the feudal and semi-feudal territories as also those of the tribal princes who, in consequence of the development of feudalism and an intensification of the class struggle, were obliged to submit to the superior authority of Kiev as the defender of their interests; no mention is made, either of those lands held by the personally free peasants who inhabited vast areas within the territory united by Kiev . . . ; in addition, territories populated by peasants who fell into feudal dependency in the course of the 9th century and are also not indicated' (p. 167). Nasonov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii drevnerusskoi gosudarstvennoi territorii*, *VoI*, 1954 (12), p. 113, replied to the above charges as follows: 'Anyone acquainted even only to a limited extent with the sources to the history of the ancient Rus' will understand that such a picture [of various categories of territory] can only be the product of imagination.' His observation is certainly correct, as the sources contain no data in support of Pashuto's allegations. On the other hand, other pronouncements by Nasonov seem much less justified. 'In accordance with the description [of events] by the chronicler—he writes in the above-mentioned article—the rise of the Old-Rus'ian State coincided with the appearance of the "Varangian" princes. . . . I came to the conclusion that the Old-Rus'ian State, bearing the name of "the Rus'ian land", arose before Oleg and Igor', although such a conclusion clashes with the concept advanced by the chronicler. The territory of the [Rus'ian] State was formed out of the broad expanses of the East European plain not in the way believed and handed down by the chroniclers but as an outcome of a prolonged internal [social and economic] process . . .' (p. 112). It is clear that Nasonov is in conflict with himself: on the one hand, he bases his work on the texts of sources whilst on the other hand he rejects these sources and builds up quite another, 'Marxist' course of events. Pashuto, by the way, likewise attacked Nasonov on quite another count, bringing the most serious charge that can be directed against a Soviet historian, *viz.*, that Nasonov was not really a communist. The Pashuto-Nasonov controversy was taken up by the periodical of the Russian Communist Party, *Kommunist*, acting as the supreme authority for Soviet historians. It must be supposed that Nasonov was saved only by his disqualification of the chroniclers' reports. The verdict of the Party was published by M. Gefter, Yu. Pokataev and G. Shakhnazorov, *Kritika i bibliografiya v nauchnom zhurnale*, *Kom XXXI* (15), 1954, p. 113.

relation between the Rus'ian State and the Rus' nation has often been discussed in the literature on the subject. Grekov, in company with many other authors,¹⁶ traces the rise of Rus'ian Statehood from the inner needs of the Rus' people and hence postulates that this nation existed before the Rus'ian State arose.¹⁷ Rybakov believes that the creation of the State and the formation of the nation were approximately simultaneous events. 'The rise of the Old-Rus'ian State in the 9th century reinforced the formation of the Old-Rus'ian nation', he affirms.¹⁸ Other authors suggest more or less concretely that the Rus'ian State brought about the formation of the nation. M. Shakhmatov, stressing the differentiations among the various East-Slavonic tribes at that early epoch, states 'nothing but the princely power could remove this dismemberment of the nation and assure essential unity to the Rus'ian land'.¹⁹ Mavrodin emphasizes that 'the various Rus'ian tribes within the Kievan State differed from one another in point of language, way of life and culture', while it was 'the Kievan State which politically united the East Slavonic, Rus'ian tribes and linked them together within a community of political life, culture and religion'.²⁰ According to this author, 'the Kievan State played its part by helping to fuse the East Slavonic tribes, to unite them into a united Rus'ian nation able, thanks to the existence of the State, to defend its independence'.²¹

It is universally accepted that the main criterion for the formation of a nation is its language. Avanesov states that 'with the creation of the Kievan State, which united all the East-Slavonic lands, a process of unification in the development of the language began: features which embrace all or nearly all the East-Slavonic dialects began to appear'.²² Levin, whose standpoint is similar, writes: 'The disintegration of the clan system, the passage to the stage of a class community, the rise of the Rus'ian [Kievan] State—all these facts were decisive in the formation of the Old-Rus'ian nation.'²³ In one word, there are

¹⁶ A list of this literature can be found in H. Łowmiański, *Stan badań nad podłożem gospodarczym i społecznym genezy państwa ruskiego*, *PH* XLIII (1), 1952, pp. 34–59; *idem*, *La genèse des États slaves et ses bases sociales et économiques*, in *La Pologne au X-e Congrès International des Sciences Historiques à Rome*, 1955, pp. 29–53; A. Sidorov, *Hauptprobleme und einige Entwicklungsergebnisse der sowjetischen Geschichtswissenschaft*, in *R* VI, 1955, pp. 418–419; F. Vercauteren, *Rapport général sur les travaux d'histoire du moyen âge de 1945 à 1954*, in *R* VI, 1955, p. 76; A. Vukich, *The First Russian State*, in C. Black (ed.), *Rewriting Russian History*, 1956, pp. 123–142, and others.

¹⁷ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, *passim*.

¹⁸ B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 39.

¹⁹ M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongol'skogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti*, 1926, p. 131.

²⁰ V. Mavrodin, *Obrazovanie russkogo natsional'nogo gosudarstva*, 2nd ed., 1941, pp. 4–5.

²¹ V. Mavrodin, *Sotsial'no-politicheskii stroi*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 18. See also *idem*, *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, 1956.

²² R. Avanesov, *Ocherki russkoi dialektologii* I, 1949, p. 35.

²³ V. Levin, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii russkogo yazyka v svyazi s istoriei naroda*, *RYS* XIII, 1952, p. 15.

fundamental differences of opinion as to whether the Rus'ian nation formed the State or whether the State formed the nation.

It is common practice in historical studies to use the expression 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' (*drevnerusskii ili vostochno-slavyanskii narod*). This expression would, however, automatically classify the Old-Rus' as Slavs and yet the source-material quoted in the preceding chapter rules out the use of this term.

While the origin of the Rurikides remains controversial (some authors consider they were Slavs contrary to the testimonies of the sources and the Norse names of the first members of the dynasty), there is universal agreement that the Varangians were Norsemen. The view is likewise unanimously held that the Rurikides (if they were not Slavs) and the Varangians exceedingly quickly became Slavonicized.

Reviewing *OR* in which I expressed a different opinion,²⁴ Vernadsky writes: 'The Norsemen themselves [by which he means the Kievan princely clan as well as a considerable part of the princely retinue] were rapidly Slavicized. The *Povest*' states that "the Slavs and the Russes are one people", ... in the original text: *a slovenskyjazyk i ruskyj jedno est*.'²⁵ This argument is, however, very wide of the mark, for it depends on an erroneous interpretation of the word *yazyk*. The text quoted by Vernadsky gives absolutely no justification for the conclusion he draws.

Vernadsky goes on to state: 'The Rus' spoke Slavic and used Slavic script in writing.' This is quite true but it lends no support to the belief that the Rus' or their princes were swiftly Slavonicized. The Pechenegs, Khazars, Jews, Lithuanians, Moldavians, Wallachians and others also knew Slavonic. Some of these peoples not only spoke the Slavonic language but even wrote it. But this does not mean that they had therefore lost their national character. The source-material provides too much evidence to the contrary for such conjectures to be taken seriously.

Finally, the next argument purporting to prove the Rus' were quickly Slavonicized is based on the Slavonic names of the Rurikides. Modern authors ascribe special significance to the name of Svyatoslav,²⁶ son of Igor' and Ol'ga, and consider that the process of

²⁴ *OR*, pp. 179-181. See also Chapter II of the present study.

²⁵ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 296.

²⁶ M. Florinsky, *Russia I*, 1953, pp. 8-9, B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 565; Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, pp. 13, 14, 116, 129; G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 297, and many others. I. Lopatin, in his review of *OR*, advances as an argument in favour of the quick assimilation of the Norsemen, that they were voluntarily invited by the Novgorodians and other peoples; he also expresses the view that Norse-Slavonic relations at that time were amicable and peaceful ('From the chronicles, especially from the "Russian Primary Chronicle" so often quoted by Paszkiewicz, it is clear that the Norsemen came to the Novgorodian Slavs not as invaders and conquerors but at the request of the native Slavs. No conquest was made at that time. The Norsemen founded the dynasty of the Rurikides which lasted from 862 to 1598. The first Rurikides soon became Slavocized and the fourth prince of the dynasty already had the purely Slavic name "Sviatoslav"', *WAI*, 1955, p. 108). Many other authors, who likewise

Slavonicization had definitely ended by the middle of the 10th century. Rybakov regards Svyatoslav as a Rus' (in the sense of a Slav from the middle reaches of the Dnieper) 'by birth, by conviction and by name',²⁷ though the sources lend no support to this supposition. We do not know where Svyatoslav was born but we do know his parents bore purely Norse names and that, according to the testimony of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, he stayed for some time in the great Varangian centre of Novgorod. He had only loose ties with Kiev to the end of his life. It is indeed difficult to perceive any proof of his 'Rus'ian (Slavonic or Kievan) patriotism' in his decision to transfer the capital of his domain to Pereyaslavets on the Danube merely because this would enhance his revenues.²⁸ None of Svyatoslav's campaigns against distant lands (those of the Khazars, Yasians, Kasogians, Volga Bulgars, etc.) had any connection with the direct interests of the Kievan State,²⁹ which he clearly neglected.³⁰ The expeditions were simply an expression of Norse conquest dictated by the desire for ever more plunder.³¹

To take the case of Svyatoslav as proof of the Slavonicization of the Rurikides is to select a particularly unfortunate example. Though he bore a Slavonic name, he was a typical Rus'-Varangian. He did not choose this name himself; it was given him by his parents or rather by his mother, a Christian (according to the rite of Cyril

consider the Varangians were quickly assimilated by the Slavs, categorically reject the legend of Rurik and his brothers having been called in by the native population: hence they do not consider this legend is a convincing argument favouring the thesis they support.

²⁷ B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, VMU, 1955 (4-5), p. 76.

²⁸ The chronicler explains the reasons for this decision on the prince's part: 'I do not care to remain in Kiev, but should prefer to live in Pereyaslavets on the Danube, since that is the centre of my realm, where all riches come to: gold, silks, wine and various fruits from Greece, silver and horses from Hungary and Bohemia, and from Rus' furs, wax, honey and slaves.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 48.

²⁹ V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya izucheniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii*, 1925, p. 167, discussing Svyatoslav's expeditions against the Volga lands, rightly remarks: 'Svyatoslav withdrew from the Khazar lands under the influence of the Byzantine Emperor's request that he provide help against the Danubian Bulgarians. This had enormous significance for the history of Rus': if the Rus' had remained on the Volga at the time, they would certainly have submitted to Moslem culture. Svyatoslav would have sacrificed Kiev for Itil' [Itil], the capital of the Khazar State, at the mouth of the Volga, just as he later thought of abandoning it for Pereyaslavets [on the Danube].

³⁰ Vladimir reflected that it was not good that there were so few towns round about Kiev, so he founded cities on the Desna, the Osetr, the Trubezh, the Sula, and the Stugna.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 83. Vladimir's statement indicates that his father cared little for the construction of strongholds in the Middle Dnieper region for defence against the raids of the Pechenegs and other steppe nomads. Svyatoslav did not exert himself to extend the territory of the Kievan State. When, towards the end of his life, he made over Kiev to one of his sons and the Derevlian country to another, it seems clear he had no other territories in his direct possession. (Vladimir was called in by the Novgorodians on their own initiative and quite voluntarily.) Cf. *OR*, p. 152.

³¹ 'Svyatoslav's expeditions—I wrote—though undertaken with great energy and dash, were dispersed in many directions. They extended to such great areas and such distant centres that they cannot be treated as ventures bringing real territorial gains. They offer rather the aspect of sudden predatory raids. It was impossible to maintain permanent positions on the Oka, or the middle course of the Volga, or on the Caspian, and in the Caucasus, and, at the same time, to place the centre of gravity of this political structure in the Balkans.' *OR*, p. 154.

and Methodius)³²—and this Slavonic name was to presage the hoped-for baptism of her son.³³ 'Nestor' mentions that Ol'ga strove, though without success, to bring about the conversion of Svyatoslav to the Christian faith.

The Slavonic names of the Rurikides were an expression of Slavonic-Christian influences on the Dnieper; but they were also in the interests of the dynasty which, ruling over large numbers of Slavs, considered it expedient to bear names suggesting greater affinity with their subjects.³⁴ Thus, it was that religious factors were joined with political ones. When Christianity spread to the Polovtsians, the names of Gleb, Yuri (George), etc. came into use among them.³⁵ A like state of affairs was observed among the Lithuanian princes, members of the Eastern Church in Rus'. They had the same names as the Rurikides: Dimitri, Fedor, Andrew, Ivan, Vladimir, etc.³⁶ But no one has ever suggested that these rulers—members of the dynasty of Gediminas—were Slavs. Hence, the Slavonic names of the Rurikides do nothing to advance the hypothesis of their rapid Slavonicization.

Yet another observation must be made. Dvornik is inclined to accept Stender-Petersen's hypothesis³⁷ that the above-mentioned Svyatoslav had a second name, the Scandinavian one of Sveinald.³⁸ It is not necessary to ponder this point as we are concerned not with this single case but with the broader aspects of the matter. It is a fact that many Rurikides in the 11th and 12th centuries bore two names, one of them Christian. However, the East-Slavonic chroniclers, though ecclesiastics, very rarely mentioned these Christian names and nearly always gave the secular names of these princes. We learn of the double names borne by the Rurikides for the most part from non-chronicle sources and, as few of these have survived, this source-material is sparse.³⁹ It is not out of the question—though

³² OR, p. 43.

³³ It can be supposed that the pagan Igor' and the Christian Ol'ga came to an understanding whereby their son would, on reaching maturity, himself decide about his faith.

³⁴ The analogy offered by later Polish-Lithuanian relations comes to mind in this connection. When in 1386 Jogaila, Grand Duke of Lithuania, became King of Poland and accepted baptism together with his younger brothers, the three sons of Algirdas were given the names of the most honoured members of the old Polish dynasty of the Piasts. Undoubtedly, the intention was to smooth out differences between Poles and Lithuanians and to gain over the broad masses of the Polish population for the new rulers. Jogaila assumed the name of Władysław to commemorate King Władysław I the Short (Łokietek) whilst his brothers: Korigaila—Casimir (Casimir the Great) and Svidrigaila—Bolesław (Bolesław the Great). Cf. H. Paszkiewicz, *O genezie i wartości Krewa*, 1938, p. 253. There is no reason to believe that, because of their assumption of these Polish names, Jogaila, Korigaila and Svidrigaila ceased to be Lithuanians and became Poles.

³⁵ OR, p. 51. Cf. A. Popov, *Kypchaki i Rus'*, *UZLGU CXII*, 1949, pp. 104–105.

³⁶ OR, pp. 208, 210, 214, 215, etc.

³⁷ Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Die Varägersage als Quelle der altrussischen Chronik*, *AJ VI*, 1934, p. 15.

³⁸ F. Dvornik, *The Slavs. Their Early History and Civilization*, 1959, p. 202.

³⁹ N. Tupikov, *Slovar' drevne-russkikh sobstvennykh imen*, *ZORSA VI*, 1903, pp. 61–63 gives a list of this material. See also V. Yanin, *Pechat' smolenskogo knyazya Vyache-*

some historians reject the possibility—that the Rurikides bore beside their secular Slavonic names also names of Norse origin. As regards the latter, they did after all use such names as Igor', Rurik, Oleg and Vladimir, though due significance has not been attached to this fact. Thus, for instance, Vladimir Monomakh's son had three names: George (Christian), Mstislav (Slavonic) and Harald (Norse). Likhachev writes on this subject: 'Sometimes, when a child's mother was a foreigner, it would be given a third name indicative of the mother's nationality.'⁴⁰ Considering that the Rurikides very often married foreign women,⁴¹ there could have been many instances (though few are mentioned) of princes bearing such third names, Norse ones among them. Numerous Norse elements reflecting the traditions of the princely court have been handed down in 'Nestor's' Chronicle.⁴² It cannot be safely assumed that these were merely echoes of the already distant past and that these traditions had died out by the 11th and early 12th century.

Contrary to the belief harboured by many authors,⁴³ it is not so easy to decide whether the Rurikides and the Rus' actually were quickly Slavonicized. The very concept of Slavonicization is very broad and relative. There is no evidence that the Norsemen were Slavonicized during the 9th–11th centuries in the ethnic sense. Such a hypothesis is incompatible with two facts: in the 11th and 12th centuries many East-Slavonic lands (Novgorod, Smolensk, Polotsk, Ryazan', etc.) belonged to Rus' (in the religious meaning) and simultaneously were opposed to Rus' (in the national sense). This differentiation between the Rus' and the Slavs proves that there existed at that time the feeling of separateness between both these different ethnic elements. Moreover, a Finnish, non-Slavonic and, in the political sense, anti-Kievan Rus' arose on the territory of the Finnish Merya in the 12th century. Its most renowned leader at that epoch was Andrew Bogolyubsky, famous for his terrible plundering expedition against Kiev, in 1169, and the attempts he made to establish his own Metropolitan See independently of Kiev.⁴⁴ However, from

slava Yaroslavicha (1054–1057), *KSDPI* LV, 1954, pp. 150–152. Cf. A. Selishchev, *Proiskhozhdenie russkikh familii, lichnykh imen i prozvizhch*, *UZMU* CXXXVIII, 1948, p. 135; V. Chichagov, *Voprosy russkoi istoricheskoi onomastiki. Ob otnoshenii russkikh imen k grecheskim v russkom yazyke XV–XVII vv.*, *VY*, VI 1957, pp. 64–80; *idem*, *Iz istorii russkikh imen, otechestv i familii*, 1959, pp. 11–28; V. Komarovich, *Kul't roda i zemli v knyazheskoi srede XI–XIII vv.*, *TODRL* XVI, 1960, p. 89.

⁴⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 432. The author gives another example: Andrew Bogolyubsky, son of George Dolgoruky and a Polovtsian woman (a daughter of the Khan Aepa), also bore the Polovtsian name of Kitai.

⁴¹ During the period between the 10th and the second half of the 13th century, there were 73 marriages between members of the Rurik dynastic house. Nevertheless, the unexpectedly large number of foreign spouses among them is likewise noteworthy. Thus, there were 34 Polish marriages, 15 Hungarian, 13 German, 13 Scandinavian and English, 12 Byzantine, 6 Czech, etc. See N. Baumgarten, *Généalogies et mariages occidentaux des Rurikides russes du Xe au XIIIe siècle*, *OC* IX (1), 1927; *OR*, p. 101.

⁴² Cf. Stender-Petersen's studies.

⁴³ *OR*, pp. 180–181.

⁴⁴ *OR*, pp. 286–287.

the 10th–11th century onwards, the Norsemen underwent a gradual process of linguistic (and cultural) Slavonicization, as was inevitable in view of the enormous numerical preponderance of the Slavs over the Varangian-Rus'. For that matter, this process affected not only the Rus' but also other ethnic elements, the Finnish tribes first of all (particularly in later times). This later-day Slavonicization, apart from other factors, was primarily and chiefly bound up with the Church: the use of Slavonic in the liturgy, the establishment and development of an ecclesiastical organization, and the missionary efforts of the clergy intent on evangelizing the non-Slavonic peoples.

The progress of linguistic (and cultural) Slavonicization is incompatible with the views, once widely held, that Norse civilization and culture were superior to the Slavonic. Conquests by force of arms cannot automatically be accepted as evidence of cultural preponderance, though it may be so in some cases. During the post-Norse period, for example, little Lithuania extended her rule over enormous stretches of Slavonic soil though the Lithuanian culture was undoubtedly inferior to that of the Slavs at the time.

The hypothesis of the swift ethnic and political Slavonicization of the Rus' and their rulers was hastily accepted by many authors for two reasons: according to them, it explained much and, most important, it seemed to remove glaring inconsistencies between the fact of the Norse origin of the Rus', as confirmed by the source-material, and the thesis of the existence of an 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation'. Actually, this hypothesis explains nothing and clears up no inconsistencies for the simple reason that it finds no confirmation in the texts of the sources.

Having established the ethnic character of the Rus' and the Rus'ian dynasty, attention can now be directed to the 'Old-Rus'ian nation'. Several matters in this connection require elucidation: the elements which contributed to the formation of the nation, the period during which it arose, the territory it inhabited, etc.

Cherepnin writes: 'The Old-Rus'ian nation arose from separate Slavonic tribes. . . . It can be stated that in the period of ancient Rus' there was a certain community of territory, language and psychological turn (evident in a community of culture) of the Old-Rus'ian nation.'⁴⁵ 'Undoubtedly, the formation of the common language and culture of the Old-Rus'ian nation was possible only on the basis of a certain . . . economic community.'⁴⁶ 'Stronger and stronger [as time passed] grew the realization of the unity of the Rus'ian nation, speaking the same language, producing common cultural values, fighting

⁴⁵ L. Cherepnin, *Vozniknovenie drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 252.

⁴⁶ *Ibidem*, p. 258. The author reverts to this subject time after time in his studies. Cf. L. Cherepnin, *Skladyvanie russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Ocherki II*, 1953, p. 314; *idem*, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 113, 176; *idem*, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX v.*, 1957, p. 35.

for the independence of its native land.'⁴⁷ All elements—territorial, economic, political, linguistic and cultural—which combined to bring about the emergence of the Rus'ian nation require close examination.

Grekov considers that the linguistic, political and other ties said to have existed in the 8th, 9th or 10th century were so strong that, despite the later disintegration of the Old Rus'ian nation, they lost nothing of their vitality and current significance even as late as the 20th century.⁴⁸ Cherepnin is not so categorical; his views are therefore more carefully expressed: appreciating the risky nature of the hypothesis defended by him, he makes reservation after reservation. Thus, the territorial, cultural, etc. communion was only 'relative' (*otnositel'nyi*),⁴⁹ and the economic communion was 'very relative' (*ochen' otnositel'nyi*);⁵⁰ he accepts that there was a linguistic communion among the East-Slavonic tribes but he lays stress on the firmness (*stoikost'*) of the dialectal differences in the language. His approach to East-Slavonic political unity is more than cautious: 'Though the unity of the Old-Rus'ian State was highly relative (*ves'ma otnositel'nyi*), despite all the economic and territorial separateness (*razobshchennost'*) of the component parts of this State, the various territories were joined, let us suppose, provisionally and unstably (*pust' vremennoe i neprochnoe*).'⁵¹ It is indeed difficult, on the basis of Cherepnin's studies, not to conclude that all the various factors said to have contributed to the rise of the Rus'ian nation are of very doubtful value.

Similar conclusions are reached in connection with Mavrodin's statements already quoted above: 'The various Rus'ian tribes which composed the Kievan State differed from one another in respect of language, mode of life and culture' (*razlichnye russkie plemena, vkhodivshie v sostav Kievskogo gosudarstva, otlichalis' drug ot druga po yazyku, bytu i kul'ture*), until 'the Kievan State politically united the East-Slavonic, Rus'ian tribes and bound them together by a communion of political life, culture and religion' (*Kievskoe gosudarstvo politicheski obedinilo vostochnoslavyanskije, russkie plemena, svyazalo ikh obshchnost'yu politicheskoi zhizni, kul'tury i religii*).⁵²

⁴⁷ L. Cherepnin, *Razvitie russkoi narodnosti v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti*, in *Ocherki I*, p. 472.

⁴⁸ 'The Ukrainians, the White-Rus' [Belorus'] and the Russians have never forgotten their ancient kinship [the author considers these nations are descendants of the Old-Rus'ian nation] and have lived [throughout their history] in hopes of reunification. This dream was realized in September 1939.' B. Grekov, *Drevneishie sud'by Zapadnoi Ukrainy*, *VAN*, 1939 (10), pp. 158–159.

⁴⁹ *Ocherki I*, p. 252; *idem*, *Osnovnye etapy razvitiya feodal'noi sobstvennosti na Rusi (do XVII v.)*, *VoI*, 1953 (4), p. 51. Similarly—A. Presnyakov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, *VKP*, 1918 (7), p. 17.

⁵⁰ *Ocherki I*, p. 258.

⁵¹ *Ocherki I*, p. 472.

⁵² Cf. I. Smirnov, *Obshchie voprosy periodizatsii istorii SSSR*, *VoI*, 1950 (12), p. 94 ('*Vremya Kievskogo gosudarstva kharakterizuetsya . . . otsutstviem ekonomicheskogo edinstva territorii i raionov, vkhodivshikh v sostav Kievskogo gosudarstva. . . . Poetomu*

The concept of territorial unity, often used by many authors, is a hazy one and can be variously interpreted. Dmitriev affirms: 'Stable territorial community should be understood to mean not the politico-State unity of a territory but as the stable habitation of the main bulk of a given nation upon a given territory.'⁵³ Mavrodin considers that the characteristic feature for the rise of the territorial unity of the Old-Rus'ian nation was the coincidence of the ethnic and political boundaries—those of the area inhabited by the Eastern Slavs and those of the Old-Rus'ian State.⁵⁴ Both observations are, however, erroneous. As regards Dmitriev's theory, not all the tribes considered as East-Slavonic by Russian historians had lived since time immemorial wherever they were later encountered.⁵⁵ It would seem hence that special significance should not be attached to the territorial element as a factor in the formation of the Rus'ian State. After all, every people and nation must have occupied some territory or other. Some peoples remained on their particular territory for long but never became nations and never formed strong State organizations. The question of time is not of decisive importance in such cases. The Bulgarians created their own State in the Balkans though the Slavonic population subjected by them had inhabited the area longer. The same applies to the Hungarians on the Danube, and so on. Restricting ourselves to the period when the Eastern Slavs were in control of the areas occupied by them in historical times, it can merely be stated that they might have established themselves as a nation within their own State—but not necessarily.

Mavrodin's opinion—that the boundaries of the Old-Rus'ian State coincided with the extent of East-Slavonic habitation—is untenable for many reasons. First, these frontiers were not the same at various times. During the 10th and 11th centuries, they spread beyond the limits of East Slavonic habitation as is evident in the western, northern and north-eastern regions. To make his hypothesis more acceptable, Mavrodin advances a second one, a corollary upon which he bases his surmise that the State and the ethnic boundaries coincided. Thus, he affirms that the territories comprising the Rus'ian State had been colonized by Eastern Slavs and quickly Slavonicized by them. However, the source-material for the period under consideration gives no support to this conjecture but rather contradicts it.⁵⁶

It is often accepted that the Old-Rus'ian nation formed itself upon

Kievskoe gosudarstvo nikak ne mozhet rassmatrivat'sya kak svoego roda rannee tsentralizovannoe gosudarstvo, kak politicheskoe vyrazhenie ekonomicheskogo edinstva russkikh zemel', obedinennykh v etom gosudarstve').

⁵³ S. Dmitriev, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii i osnovnykh etapakh razvitiya russkoi natsii*, *VMU*, 1955 (1), p. 37.

⁵⁴ V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, 1956, p. 261.

⁵⁵ Cf. G. Korzukhina, I. Lyapushkin, M. Artamonov, in *Vol*, 1956 (3), p. 203; *OR*, pp. 354–358, 373–380.

⁵⁶ V. Mavrodin, *op. cit.*, pp. 261–262.

a common economic basis and that this community of economic life (*obshchnost' ekonomicheskoi zhizni*) did much to bring about the rise of the nation. As the written sources provide exceedingly little information on this point, these conjectures rely almost exclusively on the findings of archaeologists. But, even these are of very doubtful value and many authors strive to extract more from them than they can offer. Tikhomirov states: 'Naturally, economic ties between the various Rus'ian territories were very feeble in the 11th–13th centuries but—nevertheless—they did exist.' And here he advances an archaeological argument: in nearly every burial site (*gorodishche*), from the Pripet' to the Volga and from Ladoga to the middle reaches of the Dnieper, there have been excavated large quantities of small, pink-slate discs for spindles (*pryaslitsa*). These were produced in the Ovruch region of Volynia where this slate is quarried.⁵⁷ 'This fact—concludes Tikhomirov—testifies not only to the wide-spread use of these discs but also to the existence of common tastes among the Old-Rus'ian population.'⁵⁸

This observation is quoted merely to show what far-fetched arguments are applied in an effort to back up the theory of common economic ties which enabled the Rus'ian nation to arise. Tikhomirov is evidently not acquainted with the Polish archaeological literature, which very often reports finds of such Ovruch slate discs in Poland. It could, therefore, be stated with equal justification that this evidence points to the formation not of the Rus'ian but of the Polish nation. The tastes and likings of the populations of many different lands are often similar. When a given product is found at points distant from one another, a development of trade is the natural inference rather than some ethnic affinity among dissimilar peoples.⁵⁹

For that matter, Tikhomirov himself evidently ascribes little importance to his argument since he goes on to state that 'care should be taken not to overrate the significance of economic ties between the various Rus'ian territories in the 10th–13th centuries'.⁶⁰ As regards earlier times, Tret'yakov stresses that 'it is impossible to speak in any case of complete uniformity of life among the East-Slavonic tribes in the 7th–9th centuries. During this period, considerable local differences, tribal . . . as well as social and economic, came to light among the East-Slavonic masses'.⁶¹ Nasonov was not alone⁶² when he concluded, after studying the formation of a Rus'ian State

⁵⁷ Cf. B. Rybakov, *Remeslo*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, pp. 112–113; *idem*, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, *ibidem*, pp. 354–356.

⁵⁸ M. Tikhomirov, *Znachenie drevnei Rusi v razvitii russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, *Vol.*, 1954 (6), p. 20.

⁵⁹ Cf. K. Moszyński, *Pierwotny zasięg języka prastłowiańskiego*, 1957, pp. 9–14.

⁶⁰ M. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

⁶¹ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, pp. 261–262.

⁶² Cf. V. Ivanov, *Obsuzhdenie voprosov formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, *VY*, 1954 (3), p. 134.

(and indirectly of the nation), that the rôle of the economic element in this process was barely perceptible.⁶³

We can now pass to the chief argument intended to prove the existence of the Rus'ian nation, *viz.*, the Rus'ian language, as it is universally called.⁶⁴ Mavrodin remarks: 'The [Rus'ian] language is the prime factor pointing to the unity of the Rus'ian nation', because 'language is the basis of the nation'.⁶⁵ Other authors write in similar vein of a Rus'ian linguistic community.⁶⁶ Yet, in the 9th–10th as well as in the 11th–12th centuries, the 'Rus'ian' language did not exist unless we understand by this the Norse speech of the Rus', which Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor' plainly stated was not a Slavonic tongue.⁶⁷ The proper expression is the 'Slavonic language'⁶⁸ if only because it was so called in the source-material of that epoch.⁶⁹

The Eastern Slavs spoke their language during the tribal period. The linguistic community of the Eastern Slavs provides indubitable proof of their differentiation from the Western and the Southern Slavs. But it proves nothing else. It might have been a factor which facilitated the rise of the 'Rus'ian' nation under favourable circumstances, but it did not necessarily play such a rôle.⁷⁰

The history of the development of the East-Slavonic languages is controversial.⁷¹ While, for instance, S. Smal'-Stots'ky⁷² or Kovaliv⁷³ believe that these languages were independent of one another—direct off-shoots from Old-Slavonic, other authors state that a common 'Rus'ian' linguistic unity existed at one time. A. Shakhmatov, especi-

⁶³ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*' i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, 1951, pp. 216–218.

⁶⁴ The term 'Rus'ian language' arose in the literature on the subject on the strength of 'Nestor's' statement: 'the Slavonic *yazyk* and that of Rus' is one [and the same]'. However, the chronicler wrote neither of languages nor of nations in this sentence.

⁶⁵ V. Mavrodin, *Formirovanie russkoi natsii*, 1947, pp. 14, 24.

⁶⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 399; D. Miroshkin, *Russko-ukrainskie kul'turno-istoricheskie i yazykovye svyazi*, RYS, 1954 (2), p. 7, etc.

⁶⁷ *OR*, pp. 50, 124.

⁶⁸ To stress the differences already then existing between the language of the Eastern Slavs and those of the Western and the Southern Slavs, it might be advisable to speak of 'the East-Slavonic language'.

⁶⁹ In Chapter I of the present study attention was drawn to the importance of a precise terminology in this connection.

⁷⁰ It must be taken into consideration that the Western as well as the Southern Slavs, in spite of their linguistic community, did not form one but several nations, in the course of their history. Similarly, the linguistic community of the Eastern Slavs does not automatically exclude the possibility of the formation of many East-Slavonic nations.

⁷¹ Cf. T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Stosunki pokrewieństwa języków ruskich*, RS IX (1), 1921, pp. 23–24; S. Smal'-Stots'ky, *Rozvitok poglyadiu pro semyu slov'yans'kikh mov i ikh vzaemni sporidnennya*, 2nd ed., 1927.

⁷² S. Smal'-Stots'ky, *Pitannya pro skhidn'o-slov'yans'ku pramovu*, ZNTIS CLV, 1937, pp. 1–5. Cf. V. Shcherbakiv's'ky, *Formatsiya ukrains'koi natsii*, 1941, p. 135 (also in *UQ* IV, 2, 1948).

⁷³ P. Kovaliv, *Ukrains'ka mova ta ii stanovishche sered inshikh slov'yans'kikh mov*, *Sl* XX, 1954, pp. 1–46; *idem*, *The Problem of the Formation of the Ukrainian Language*, *PSSS* II, 1955, pp. 23–30.

ally, developed this theory.⁷⁴ His successors did not fully accept it and have modified some of its details;⁷⁵ above all, they prolong the period during which a common 'Old-Rus'ian' language is said to have existed. In any case, the prevailing view today is that the three living East-Slavonic languages derive from a single stem common to all Eastern Slavs—the 'Old Rus'ian' language.⁷⁶

There were tribal or regional dialects within the 'Old-Rus'ian' language.⁷⁷ Shakhmatov believes the three East-Slavonic tongues developed from three dialect groups formed in prehistoric times. This view is opposed today.⁷⁸ An editorial article in *Voprosy Yazykoznaniya* states the following:

Though the language of the Old-Rus'ian nation was a unifying factor, it could not at the time overcome the centrifugal dialectal tendencies which gained in force owing to the growing process of feudal political disruption. . . . The disintegration of the Old-Rus'ian State . . . increased territorial division and cultural separateness within the Old-Rus'ian community. All this led to the isolation of local regional dialects and their regrouping. . . .⁷⁹ Already by the 12th and 13th centuries, the various dialects began to crystallize out and provided the foundations for the later three national languages: those of the Great Rus'ians, the Ukrainians and the White-Rus'ians.⁸⁰

⁷⁴ A. Shakhmatov, *Ocherk drevnyago perioda istorii russkogo yazyka*, 1915; *idem*, *Vvedenie v kurs istorii russkogo yazyka. Istoricheskii protsess obrazovaniya russkikh plemen i narechii*, 1916; *idem*, *Drevneishie sud'by russkogo plemeni*, 1919. Cf. A. Presnyakov, *Vzglyad A. A. Shakhmatova na drevneishie sud'by russkogo plemeni*, *RIZ*, 1921.

⁷⁵ R. Avanesov, *Voprosy obrazovaniya russkogo yazyka v ego govorakh*, *VMU*, 1947 (9), pp. 109–158; V. Petrus', *Slavyanskaya yazykovaya obshchnost' i slavyanskie yazyki*, *IANOLY* X (4), 1951, pp. 354–366, etc.

⁷⁶ V. Levin, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii russkogo yazyka v svyazi s istoriei naroda*, *RYS* XIII, 1952 (3), pp. 13–23; L. Bulakhovsky, *Voprosy proiskhozhdeniya ukrainskogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1953 (2), pp. 101–104 (and many other studies of this author); V. Orlova, *Izmeneniya v kharaktere russkogo yazyka v svyazi s istoriei naroda*, *VY*, 1953 (1), pp. 52–70; N. Kondrashov, *Slavyanskii yazyki*, 1956, p. 13, and many others.

⁷⁷ Cf. T. Lehr-Splawinski, *Wschodni Słowianie*, *BSSUJ*, 1946, pp. 10–11. According to B. Unbegaun, *A Bibliographical Guide to the Russian Language*, 1953, pp. 16–17, Soviet scholarship has so far made no pronouncement on the question of the formation of the East Slavonic dialects. F. Filin, *Leksika russkogo literaturnogo yazyka drevnekievskoi epokhi* (po materialam letopisei), *UZLGPI* LXXX, 1949 found great heterogeneity among these dialects, particularly during the pre-Kievan period. Cf. E. Cherkasova, *Voprosy russkoi leksikologii v rabotakh epigonov 'novogo ucheniya' o yazyke*, in *Protiv vul'garizatsii i izvrashcheniya marksizma v yazykoznanii*, 1951, pp. 342–347; I. Pan'kevich, in *S* XXV (1), 1956, pp. 82–98. Under political pressure, Filin had to change his views. See F. Filin, *O nekotorykh vazhneishikh oshibkakh v razrabotke istorii russkogo yazyka*, in *Protiv*, p. 355. Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Russian Studies*, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 23 affirms the differences were very slight.

⁷⁸ R. Avanesov, *Moskovskoe gosudarstvo i voprosy obrazovaniya russkogo yazyka v ego govorakh*, *IANOLY* VI, 1947, pp. 534–536; P. Kuznetsov, *Russkaya dialektologiya*, 2nd ed., 1954, pp. 14–17, and others. Cf. Y. Šerech, *Problems in the Formation of Belorussian*, *W.*, Monographs No 2, 1953.

⁷⁹ Similarly: R. Avanesov, *Ocherki russkoi dialektologii* I, 1949, pp. 34–37; P. Chernykh, *Yazyk i pis'mo*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 122; V. Ivanov, *Obshchedenie voprosov formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, *VY*, 1954 (3), p. 134; R. Avanesov, *Problemy obrazovaniya yazyka russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, *VY*, 1955 (5), p. 26; *idem*, *Voprosy istorii russkogo yazyka v epokhu formirovaniya i dal'neishego razvitiya russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, 1958, pp. 168–169, and others.

⁸⁰ Za dal'neishee tvorcheskoe razvitiye marksistskogo yazykoznaniya, *VY*, 1953 (3), p. 10.

Obnorsky supposes, chiefly on the basis of the language used in the 'Rus'ian Law' (*Pravda Russkaya*)—a relic of the 11th century handed down in 15th-century copies—that there was a still older type of literary language, simple in structure and containing elements of the 'Rus'ian' tongue spoken in the north and dating from before the formation of the 'Old-Rus'ian' literary language as a product of the Old-Slavonic tongue. It is postulated that this language had not been affected by southern Slavonic borrowings and influences.⁸¹ This hypothesis, affirming that the 'Rus'ian' literary language derived from spoken 'Rus'ian' (and not Old-Bulgarian), was opposed by Selishchev. He did not, it is true, deny that there were certain 'Rus'ian' elements in the East-Slavonic written documents of those times, but he considered that the basis of these writings was nevertheless the Old-Slavonic (*i.e.*, Old-Bulgarian) language.⁸²

Other controversial questions have arisen concerning the linguistic development during this period, but it is not necessary to dwell upon them. It is rightly stated that language is inextricably bound up with the history of a nation. It is possible that the considerations on the history of the 'Rus'ian nation' (or rather of the Eastern Slavs) which I present on later pages, may yield useful data for linguists. It is hoped that this will help to reduce the number of outstanding problems still subject to controversy.

Resuming, the conclusion is reached that there are no sound reasons for affirming that economic, territorial, political and other factors were decisive for the formation of the 'Rus'ian nation'. The various authors who adopt a contrary attitude express their opinions categorically but without any argumentation, or base their views on the doctrine of the 'Marxism-Leninism's classics' which amounts to the same. It is equally possible to take the view, for example, that the territorial and political factors did not facilitate but—on the contrary—hindered national consolidation.

It is often stated that the feeling of a community of interests within a nation appears most strikingly when an external danger is being combated in defence of national independence. 'The extensive Kievan State... arose during uninterrupted fighting against external foes', Pankratova writes.⁸³

The East-Slavonic settlements were spread over a long, relatively narrow belt of territory along the Dnieper, Dvina and Lovat' (including their tributaries); this territory did not constitute a com-

⁸¹ S. Obnorsky, *Ocherki po istorii russkogo literaturnogo yazyka starshego perioda*, 1946. Cf. D. Likhachev, *Vozniknovenie russkoi literatury*, 1952, p. 24; V. Vinogradov, *Voprosy obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo literaturnogo yazyka*, VY, 1956 (1), pp. 8-10; N. Gudzy, *U istokov velikoi slavyanskoi literatury*, RL, 1958 (3), p. 40, and others.

⁸² A. Selishchev, *O yazyke 'Russkoi Pravdy' v svyazi s voprosom o drevneishem tipe russkogo literaturnogo yazyka*, VY, 1957 (4), pp. 57-63.

⁸³ A. Pankratova, *Velikii russkii narod*, 2nd ed., 1952, p. 9.

pact, self-contained entity and, apart from forest wildernesses and marshes which were not insuperable obstacles in the final resort,⁸⁴ had natural defences at only a few places along its boundaries. The East-Slavonic tribes were scattered over exceedingly large expanses, loosely connected with one another; this ruled out effective defence and hence facilitated the foreign conquests (Norse, Lithuanian and Tartar), so characteristic of the period under examination.⁸⁵ The Novgorodians fought against the Ugro-Finnish tribes, against Scandinavians, against the Livonian Knights of the Sword (installed on the Lower Dvina), and often against the Lithuanians. Other tribes (principalities and provinces, in later times), such as the Polochians, the Krivichians and the Dregovichians, resisted the pressure of the Lithuanians. The Derevlians and the Polyanians clashed with Poland, whilst the Polyanians and the Severians fought incessantly against the steppe nomads, and so on. Considering only two major centres of the Eastern Slavs—Kiev and Novgorod—it is indisputable that their interests did not coincide and that they likewise had different external enemies.

The source-material shows unequivocally that, faced by the conquests of the Varangian Rus', every East-Slavonic tribe fought in isolation. The resistance put up—often very determined, as in the case of the Derevlians, the Vyatichians and some others—never exceeded the limits of individual tribal organization. There is not a single proof dating from the 9th, 10th or 11th century that all the Eastern Slavs—the whole 'Rus'ian nation'—ever united on the field of battle to defend the common cause. In the 12th and 13th centuries the lack of internal consolidation can be explained by the political disintegration at the time—but it is noteworthy that even the invasions of Batu Khan did not evoke united counteraction.

True, the sources mention incidents on the middle reaches of the Dnieper in which, *e.g.*, the Novgorodians participated. Vladimir had settled them in newly founded strongholds on the borders of the steppe to strengthen the defence of his State against nomad raids, chiefly Pecheneg ones. But these garrisons comprised other peoples apart from Novgorodians: Vyatichians, renowned for their enmity and resistance to the Kievan State, as well as other Slavs and non-Slavs, such as members of the Finnish tribe of the Chud'.⁸⁶ These garrisons were recruited either by force (Yaroslav the Wise, *e.g.*, forcibly settled on the river Ros' some Poles kidnapped from Poland⁸⁷) or were well-paid mercenaries. Yaroslav the Wise, by the way, overthrew Svyatopolk with the help of the Varangians and Novgorodians, thus gaining control of Kiev,⁸⁸ and it is certain that he paid large

⁸⁴ *OR*, p. 83.

⁸⁵ *OR*, pp. 28–30, 253–254.

⁸⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 83.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 96.

sums for this help.⁸⁹ On another occasion, this ruler used Varangian and Novgorodian forces to defend Kiev against a Pecheneg attack.⁹⁰ All these facts clearly indicate the character of the Novgorodian or Varangian 'patriotism'.

The most important factor in the consolidation of the nation—the language of the Eastern Slavs—could not play as powerful a role as it might have done in other circumstances (cf. the Western and the Southern Slavs) in the face of these difficult territorial and political conditions. Nevertheless, the power and vitality of this factor is best demonstrated by the spread of the Slavonic language in later times, with the evident assistance of the Church.

There are underlying reasons behind the insistence with which stress is laid on the importance of the above-mentioned elements in the formation of the Rus'ian State. It does not suffice to adopt a purely negative attitude, *i.e.*, simply to reject the so-called Norse theory. The opponents of this thesis feel they must advance positive arguments of their own to explain how it was that this State arose. However, the authors who reject the source-material are faced with a vacuum which cannot easily be filled. Archaeologists, linguists and historians claim to find the beginnings of Rus'ian State in the internal East-Slavonic life, in its economic, social, political, geographical and territorial, cultural, etc. relations. However, these factors could have exercised only indirect influence, *viz.*, they could have facilitated or hindered the historical process under examination, but they could never have directly evoked it.

Posing the query whether the Rus'ian State was formed by the Rus'ian nation or whether the State created this nation, I have drawn attention to the fundamental differences of opinion in Soviet historiography. Some authors prefer the second eventuality. Once accepted, two corollaries must automatically follow. First, that the social, economic, cultural and other elements to which so much attention is devoted, acquire secondary importance and, if they played any significant part in the process discussed here, it could have been only an auxiliary one. The second inference to be drawn concerns the period when the 'Rus'ian nation' was formed.

'Nestor' indicates that the State only began to arise under Oleg, Igor' and Svyatoslav.⁹¹ The rule of Kiev over the various East-Slavonic lands was at that time still vague and sporadic. It was not until the times of Vladimir and Yaroslav that some small measure of State consolidation and stabilization began to appear, but care should be taken not to overrate what was then attained.⁹² The Rus'ian State

⁸⁹ A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 15.

⁹⁰ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, pp. 101–102.

⁹¹ *OR*, pp. 151–154.

⁹² S. Bakhrushin, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii Kievskoi Rusi, IM*, 1937 (3), pp. 167–168 remarks: 'Until the last quarter of the 10th century we do not observe any symptoms indicating that a durable State was in process of formation. . . . But even at the end

reached the peak of its power between the last quarter of the 10th and the middle of the 11th century. It was only then that the unifying trends of Kiev could begin to reach to the East-Slavonic tribes in the proximity and farther afield. Hence, the process of the formation of the Rus'ian nation could not have started before the 11th century.⁹³ Nevertheless, many historians came out in favour of some earlier period: they lack unanimity in many details and their differences as to the relevant period extend over several hundred years,⁹⁴ ample proof that their arguments are feeble and arbitrary.

Yet another fact merits attention. The political and territorial disintegration of the Kievan State began in the middle of the 11th century.⁹⁵ It can therefore be accepted that two conflicting processes,

of the 10th century there can be no question of the definite formation of a State.' F. Koneczny, *Dzieje Rosji* I, 1917, pp. 88-92 writes similarly: 'It was a specific feature of Varangian rule that it did not extend uniformly and uninterruptedly throughout a compact territory but spread as if leap-frogging, by-passing large areas. . . . It is but an empty phrase to pass on from text-book to text-book the traditional opinion that Vladimir and Yaroslav allegedly ruled over the limitless expanses between the Gulf of Finland and the Caucasus, from the Middle Volga to the Carpathians. To do so is to perpetuate a misunderstanding arisen from combining all the successful forays of the Rurikides and assuming that they would naturally incorporate within their State those lands in which they had won victories.' M. Pokrovsky, *Russkaya istoriya s drevneishikh vremen*, 1920, p. 170 is of the same opinion: 'To speak of a united Rus'ian State during the Kievan era is possible only on the basis of an evident misunderstanding.' V. Zaikin, *Rus', Ukraina i Velikorosiya*, in *Dzvoni*, 1931, pp. 210-211 remarks: 'there was no unified Rus'ian State under Yaroslav nor before him'. V. Parkhomenko, *Kharakter i znachenie epokhi Vladimira prinyavshego khristianstvo*, *UZZGU* VIII, 1941, p. 214 considers the State of the Rurikides fell apart before it reached its flower. According to this author, the unity of the Kievan State, even under Vladimir, must be regarded as a fiction.

⁹³ Cf. S. Platonov, *Lektsii po russkoi istorii*, 1913, p. 102; I. Lappo, *Derzhava Vladimira Svyatogo*, in *Vladimirskii Sbornik*, 1938, p. 64.

⁹⁴ B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki* I, 1953, p. 79; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 447 suggests that the Rus'ian nation existed long before the 9th century. According to A. Pankratova, *Nasushchny voprosy sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, *Kom* XXX (6), 1953, p. 63 and B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, p. 103, the Rus'ian nation was formed, entirely or partially, in the 6th and 7th centuries. According to V. Pashuto, in *VoI*, 1953 (8), p. 165—in the 6th-8th centuries. According to A. Kozachenko, *Drevnerusskaya narodnost'*—obshchaya etnicheskaya baza russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov, *SE*, 1954 (2), p. 13—in the 7th and 8th centuries. According to V. Mavrodin, *Formirovanie russkoi natsii*, 1947, pp. 15-16—in the 9th and 10th centuries. According to V. Orlova, *Izmeneniya v kharaktere razvitiya russkogo yazyka v svyazi s istoriei naroda*, *VY*, 1953 (1), p. 61—in the 9th-11th centuries. L. Cherepnin, *Vozniknovenie drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, in *Ocherki* I, 1953, p. 256; *idem*, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 113, 178 shares this view. M. Tikhomirov, *Znachenie drevnei Rusi v razvitiiji russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, *VoI*, 1954 (6), p. 21 considers that the Rus'ian nation was already formed at the beginning of the 10th century. R. Avanesov, *Problemy obrazovaniya yazyka russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, *VY*, 1955 (5), p. 24 declares himself for the 10th and 11th centuries. The last author remarks: 'There is no agreement among Soviet historians as to the time of the Rus'ian nation's formation. Some of them suppose that this process began already in the pre-feudal period, at the time of consolidation of tribal unions. . . . Other authors relate it to the feudal period.' Avanesov quotes Rybakov as an upholder of the first thesis, Mavrodin and Cherepnin as followers of the second one.

⁹⁵ 'The disintegration of the Kievan State of Vladimir I, son of Svyatoslav, began during the rule of his son, Yaroslav the Wise—during the first half of the 11th century', D. Likhachev, *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, 1950, p. 229; 'During the second half of the 11th century, the Old-Rus'ian State . . . was showing clear signs of disintegration', B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, p. 282; ' . . . as from the middle of the 11th cen-

of consolidation of the nation and of disintegration of the State, were under way in these territories simultaneously. The growing enfeeblement of the Kievan State must, in this case, obviously have exercised a destructive influence on the character and tempo of the transformation of the East-Slavonic tribes into one nation. Moreover, the formation of any nation is never a short and sudden but always a prolonged process by nature of things. The lifetime of the powerful Kievan State was exceedingly short, even if maximum allowance is made for the merits of Vladimir and Yaroslav. It was too short to produce a fundamental change in the psychological and political attitude of the Eastern Slavs, scattered over extensive areas and having behind them long centuries of tribal traditions and particularism. This period of the political unity of the Kievan State lasted barely seventy years—actually still less if allowance is made for internal upheavals during the reigns of Vladimir and Yaroslav (struggles between Vladimir and Yaropolk, Yaroslav and Svyatopolk, Yaroslav and Mstislav, etc.) which inhibited the progress of national unification. The statement that the formation of the Rus'ian nation was due to the Rus'ian State neither finds support in the source-material nor has it even the backing of general probability.

It might appear, at first sight, that the contrary theory has more in its favour, namely, that the Eastern Slavs ('the Rus'ian nation') created their own State. Many authors believe that initially only the Kievan land was known as Rus' and it was thence that the name spread to the remaining East-Slavonic lands. This conjecture is, however, unacceptable because 'Nestor' plainly declares that the appellation 'Rus'' applied to the Polyanians was of relatively recent origin. He states clearly: 'The Polyanians, who now [*i.e.*, during the lifetime of the chronicler⁹⁶] are called Rus' . . . ' (*polyane yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus'*).⁹⁷

Those who support the theory of the Rus'ian-Kievan land accept the premiss that the East Slavonic sources, 'Nestor' especially, are not very trustworthy ('tendentious') and that research should rather be based on the reports handed down by Arabic writers and on archaeological evidence. However, recourse to Arabic authorities does not help, because all of them agree with 'Nestor' in differentiating the Rus' from the Slavs; we have found that even Ibn Khurdadhbih's text, when precisely analysed, does not justify the identification of the Rus' with the Slavs.

The archaeological arguments come out no better. The opinion that the works of the Arabic authors are the most important as

tury . . . the united [Rus'ian] State . . . fell apart into a number of separate, mutually hostile principalities . . .', B. Rybakov, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, p. 318.

⁹⁶ *OR*, p. 32.

⁹⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 21.

reliable guides to the beginnings of the Kievan State is based on the conviction that Kiev in these early times was a great centre for trade with the East. Proof of this is supposedly provided by finds of very many hoards of 8th and 9th centuries Eastern coins in the Middle Dnieper region. However, the latest archaeological research (quoted in Chapter III) invalidates such surmises. Korzukhina's work must be specially mentioned in this connection.

The Arabic geographers—she states—were quite uninformed about the Dnieper lands. None of them sojourned in Kievan Rus' in the 9th and 10th centuries and none wrote about it. . . . We have . . . no grounds for linking Kievan Rus' with Arabic mentions of the trade between the Caliphate and the Rus'. . . . The hoards of Cufic coins by-pass the Middle Dnieper region, and are concentrated chiefly along the Volga, that main waterway of the 8th and 9th centuries. . . . The reaches of the Middle Dnieper were far distant from the international trade-routes in these times.⁹⁸

Korzukhina's observations are most valuable since their general approach and conclusions are in agreement with 'Nestor' and the other sources for the period.

The literature on the subject gives a detailed picture of supposed far-reaching social, economic and other transformations said to have occurred among the Slavs, especially among those of the Dnieper regions, in the course of many centuries. These transformations allegedly led to the formation of the Rus'ian nation and the Rus'ian State. Hypotheses are built on hypotheses, for the very existence of Slavonic settlements on the Middle Dnieper before the 8th century is merely a supposition propounded by some authors, the validity of which is questioned by many archaeologists (Artamonov, Korzukhina, Lyapushkin, etc).⁹⁹ There are no grounds for locating the original territory of the Rus' in the Kiev region; there are no grounds for identifying the Rus' with Slavs—and hence, there are no grounds for affirming that the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' created its own State.

This nation is said to have arisen from the fusion of a number of Slavonic tribes settled on the wide expanses of Eastern Europe.¹⁰⁰ The acceptance of this premise implies two corollaries which again are universally taken for granted in the literature on the subject: (1) the dissolution of tribal organizations, hence the decay of tribal appellations and their replacement by an all-national one, and (2) the formation of more or less durable supra-tribal confederacies as a

⁹⁸ G. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.*, 1954, p. 34. Cf. V. Yanin, *Numizmatika i problemy tovarno-denezhnogo obrashcheniya v drevnei Rusi*, Vol. I, 1955 (8), pp. 137–138.

⁹⁹ See Chapter III of the present study. Cf. L. Golubeva, *Kievskii nekropol'*, MIA XI, 1949, pp. 103–104.

¹⁰⁰ For a list of tribes usually considered as East-Slavonic as also of the territories they inhabited, see *OR*, Chapter II.

transitional stage between the tribal structure and the nation. Both inferences require searching examination.

The East-Slavonic tribes are not regarded as presenting an exceedingly important problem in itself but rather as an auxiliary element necessary to support the theory of the rise of the 'Old-Rus'ian nation'. In order to give its existence the semblance of greater probability, this nation is allotted as great a space in time as possible. Thus, the period of its existence is artificially extended at either end: the early one (the centuries before the 9th and 10th centuries) and the late one, *i.e.*, after the 11th and 12th centuries.

A. Shakhmatov and Spitsyn look upon the tribes mentioned by 'Nestor' and other sources as separate ethnic groups.¹⁰¹ Klyuchevsky and Seredonin, however, treat the tribal appellations only in the territorial, geographical sense.¹⁰² Rybakov and others advance the thesis that these names refer to unions of minor tribes, using the analogy of the relations among the Western Slavs, in particular the Lutichians.¹⁰³ According to Rybakov, the tribal terminology in the *Povest'* is artificial.¹⁰⁴ Mavrodin affirms that at the time 'when the *Povest'* was written . . . , many tribes no longer existed and the tribal unions had been replaced by territorial and political ones. It was then that the tribal names fell into disuse'.¹⁰⁵ Tret'yakov suggests that the tribal organizations were already losing their original aspect during the period A.D. 500–1000 and tended to become an outmoded system.¹⁰⁶ Grekov, basing himself on Tret'yakov and Rybakov, considers that from the 7th century on the tribes began to lose their ethnic identity and their names became merely geographical con-

¹⁰¹ A. Shakhmatov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei*, ZMNP, 1899 (4), pp. 325–356; *idem*, *Vvedenie v kurs istorii russkogo yazyka I* (Istoricheskii protsess obrazovaniya russkikh plemen i narechii), 1916; A. Spitsyn, *Rasselenie drevne-russkikh plemen po arkheologicheskim dannym*, ZMNP, 1899 (8), pp. 301–340. See also *idem*, *Istoriko-arkheologicheskoe razyskaniya*, ZMNP, 1909 (1), pp. 67–98; *idem*, *Arkheologiya v temakh nachal'noi russkoi istorii*, in *Sbornik statei posvyashchennykh S. F. Platonovu*, 1922, pp. 1–12.

¹⁰² V. Klyuchevsky, *Sochineniya, Kurs russkoi istorii I*, 1956, pp. 109–113, 136–138; S. Seredonin, *Istoricheskaya geografiya*, 1916, p. 152.

¹⁰³ B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, SAR XVII, 1953, pp. 25–26; *idem*, *Obrazovanie drevne-russkogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 35; *idem*, *Sud'by vostochnoslavianskikh plemennykh soyuzov v epokhu feodalizma*, in R. Rozenfel'dt, *II Mezhdunarodnyi arkheologicheskii seminar, posvyashchennyi izucheniyu slavyanskikh plemennykh soyuzov v I tys. n.e.*, SAR, 1959 (2), p. 296 (*idem*, *Seminar arkheologov-slavistov*, VAN, 1959 (3), pp. 99, 101); G. Solov'eva, *Slavyanskii soyuz plemen po arkheologicheskim materialam VIII–XIV vv. n.e. (vyatichi, radimichi, severyane)*, SAR XXV, 1956, pp. 138–170.

¹⁰⁴ B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie*, p. 35.

¹⁰⁵ V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, VoI, 1950 (4), p. 57. In his other study, the author states that tribal traditions died out very early in Kiev and Novgorod, long before the 9th century. But, continuing his remarks, Mavrodin maintains that tribal particularism still existed among the Dregovichians, the Radimichians, Vyatichians and Derevlans in the 9th and 10th centuries. V. Mavrodin, *Sotsial'no-politicheskii stroi*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi II*, 1951, p. 12. On the basis of the above statements, it is indeed difficult to agree that the 'Old-Rus'ian nation' formed itself in the 9th century or earlier, since Kiev was separated from Novgorod by extensive territories inhabited by peoples still keeping to their old tribal aloofness.

¹⁰⁶ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 227–228. Similarly—W. Hensel, *Pochodzenie Slowian*, WA XX (3), 1954, p. 213.

cepts. He states that such appellations as 'the Polyanians', 'the Krivichians', etc. in the 9th and 10th centuries no longer referred to old tribes; these names designated only the populations of territories once inhabited by these tribes. Grekov affirms that 'the [tribal] terminology of the chronicler ['Nestor'] is absolutely obsolete'.¹⁰⁷

The opinions quoted above are, however, quite erroneous. Three arguments will demonstrate this:

(1) 'Nestor' clearly differentiated between the peoples and the tribes (Slavonic and non-Slavonic) who once inhabited Eastern Europe and those who lived there in his time. Of the first group, it suffices to recall what he wrote of the Avars, Dulebians, Ulichians, Tivertsians, etc.¹⁰⁸ His approach to the tribes in existence in his own time is quite different.¹⁰⁹ This distinction excludes the possibility that none of the tribes mentioned in the *Povest'* still existed in the 12th century.

(2) There are proofs that many East-Slavonic tribes continued to exist in 'Nestor's' days and thereafter. Tret'yakov states that the Polyanians appear for the last time in the *Povest'* under the year 944,¹¹⁰ he passes over the mention in the introduction to the Chronicle, where 'Nestor', recording the legend of Kii, the founder of Kiev, and his brothers, notes: 'they were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day'.¹¹¹ Thus, we have clear proof that the Polyanians did exist at least up to 'Nestor's time'.¹¹² Similar conclusions appear to be justified as regards the Radimichians and Vyatichians. The former paid tribute to Rus', i.e., to the Kievan State, 'an obligation which they maintain . . . to the present day'.¹¹³ As for the Vyatichians, they preserved their pagan customs 'to this day'.¹¹⁴ Many tribes are mentioned in sources much later in date than 'Nestor's' writings. We find the last mention of the Dregovichians in chronicles under the year 1149, the Krivichians under 1162,¹¹⁵ the Radimichians under 1169 and the Vyatichians under 1197.¹¹⁶ In view of these facts, I believe—and in

¹⁰⁷ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 330.

¹⁰⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14.

¹⁰⁹ *OR*, pp. 31–33.

¹¹⁰ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, p. 249.

¹¹¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13.

¹¹² A. Nasonov, *'Russkaya zemlya'*, p. 22 is right when he remarks that the population of Kiev in the 11th century was considered to be Polyanian. The author does not, however, prove his hypothesis that the Polyanians were already losing their tribal character at the time.

¹¹³ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 59.

¹¹⁴ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

¹¹⁵ Traces of their existence are perceptible as late as the 14th century. Peter of Duisburg relates that in 1314 the army of the Teutonic Order 'venit ad terram Criwicie et civitatem illam, que parva Nogardia [Novogrodek] dicitur, cepit', *SRP* I, pp. 180–181.

¹¹⁶ N. Barsov, *Očerki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii*, 1885, pp. 79–80, 92–93 states that the Dregovichians, the Radimichians and the Derevljians existed until the middle of the 12th century, consequently, later than 'Nestor's' lifetime. Cf. I. Rusanova, Drevlyane, in R. Rozenfel'dt, II Mezhdunarodnyi arkhéologicheskii seminar, posvyashchenniy izucheniuyu slavyanskikh plemennykh soyuzov v I tys. n.e., *SAr*, 1959 (2),

this I am not alone¹¹⁷—that the East-Slavonic tribes were not peoples of the past for 'Nestor', not an echo of traditional hearsay, nor a vague memory of bygone days, but a living and current reality observed and reported by him.

(3) The next argument is provided by Constantine Porphyrogenitus' report. The Byzantine Emperor quite clearly writes that in his time (*i.e.*, in the middle of the 10th century) the East-Slavonic tribal organizations were full of vitality and represented the sole autochthonous (*i.e.*, not imposed by intruders) forms of collective life among the Eastern Slavs. It is for this reason that he uses only tribal appellations and concepts in his work. It must be stressed that he knew of the Rus', distinguishes them from the Slavs and places them in opposition. Constantine's data make untenable all the hypotheses which maintain that there was an 'Old-Rus'ian or East Slavonic nation' in Eastern Europe before the middle of the 10th century. His statements are in complete agreement with 'Nestor'.¹¹⁸ Mavrodin believes that the information received by the Byzantine Emperor was 'somewhat out-of-date and not quite accurate'.¹¹⁹ A similar argument was used in an effort to discredit the *Povest'*, *viz.*, that 'Nestor's' data were obsolete. It is out of the question that two sources¹²⁰ written

p. 295. A. Artsikhovskiy, *V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov*, *SAr* IV, 1937, pp. 53–54 says the same of the Radimichians and Severians. As to the Severians see, for instance, M. Tikhomirov, *Vologodsko-Permskaya letopis'*, *PSRL* XXVI, 1959, p. 85 ('*rodом Severyanin'*, under the year 1245), p. 135 ('*iz Severy*').

¹¹⁷ We know that in later centuries the names of the tribes disappear. The population is called after the name of its chief town. Instead of the Slavs, the Novgorodians appear; instead of the Severians, the Chernihovians, etc. The observations of many scholars on these matters are noteworthy. N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii. Geografiya Nachal'noi (Nestorovoi) letopisi*, 1885, pp. 93–94 says that the population subject to the princes of the Rurik dynasty took part in their contests during the period of division, in defence of the integrity of its tribal territories. A. Shakhmatov, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii russkikh narechii i russkikh narodnostei*, p. 354 states: 'It was not under the system of regional principalities that the territory of Rus' broke up; this system could exist only because the country had no sense of unity, and old tribal animosities survived under the new form of political division into principalities.' A. Pypin, *Istoriya russkoi etnografii* IV, 1891, pp. 4–5 also affirms that though the names of the Polyanians, Derevlans, Radimichians and others begin to appear in the sources in the guise of a new political terminology—*i.e.*, under the name of the corresponding principalities—they nevertheless remain Polyanians, Derevlans, etc., according to their old tribal distinctions'. A. Artsikhovskiy, *V zashchitu letopisei i kurganov*, p. 60 is right when he says that 'the principalities . . . from the 11th to the 13th century were short-lived creations, and had no traditions behind them; the frontiers of these principalities often changed in the course of a century, and depended on the outcome of feuds among the princes'. Rybakov himself admits (in *VAN*, 1959 (3), p. 101) that the territorial boundaries of the old East-Slavonic tribes (tribal unions, according to him), which initially disappeared within the new principalities of the Rurikides, later reappeared when these principalities began to disintegrate. The above facts demonstrate that tribal traditions were still very strong in later times, thus indirectly confuting Rybakov's thesis that the tribes were already extinct before the 10th century.

¹¹⁸ When the Rurikides march out to war upon some tribe—a very frequent mention in the *Povest'*—and this tribe puts up desperate resistance, it is difficult to imagine a more convincing proof of the separateness felt by the members of this tribe.

¹¹⁹ V. Mavrodin, *Sotsial'no-politicheskii stroi*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 13.

¹²⁰ Actually, there are more sources since 'Nestor's' successors for a time continued to write of the East-Slavonic tribes in the same way as he did.

quite independently of each other, in different centuries and in different countries, should both be mistaken in identical fashion.

As regards the time-factor, an analysis of the source-material leads to the conclusion that the 'Old-Rus'ian nation' embracing all the Eastern Slavs, could have arisen not earlier than in the 12th and 13th centuries,¹²¹ i.e., after the decline of the tribes and when the tribal names had fallen into disuse. At that time the Kievan State had already behind it a long period of political and territorial disruption. The authors who, contrary to myself, uphold the theory of the existence of the 'Old-Rus'ian nation', lay the beginnings of this nation's disintegration in the 13th century. In consequence, there is no time left for its existence.

We can now proceed to the last argument usually presented in support of the theory in question, viz., to the tribal leagues or confederacies said to have been formed before the 9th and 10th centuries in various East-Slavonic territories. These supra-tribal organizations are treated as a transitional stage between the tribal structure and the nation, as a first step towards the formation of the 'Old-Rus'ian nation'.¹²² Most attention is devoted in this connection to the Dulebian or Volynian league.

Klyuchevsky writes: 'We find among the Eastern Slavs of the Carpathian foot-hills in the 6th century a great wartime union presided over by the prince of the Dulebians. . . . This tribal league is a fact which may be placed at the very beginning of our history.'¹²³ Grekov is of the same opinion: 'We have . . . the earliest mention of a political formation among the eastern branch of the Slavs.'¹²⁴ Likewise Mavrodin maintains, 'there is no doubt that the "Volynian State" was the most powerful inter-tribal union, the direct predecessor of the Kievan State'.¹²⁵ Tret'yakov accepts the above point of view but formulates it more cautiously: ' . . . the old Dulebo-Volynian State . . . , which embraced several Slavonic tribes, still remains obscure and evokes some doubts owing to the lack of factual data'.¹²⁶ Stender-Petersen and Kuczyński consider the hypothesis of the Dulebian league an improbable one,¹²⁷ and I fully share this opinion.¹²⁸

¹²¹ It is not possible to accept the latest date under which a tribe appears in the chronicle as the end of its existence. The lack of further information may be quite fortuitous, the more so as the material contained in the sources is extremely scanty. Taking into account the general rules of probability, at least fifty years must be added to this last date. The tribal organization had behind it secular traditions, and changes could not occur suddenly.

¹²² P. Kuznetsov, *Voprosy sravnitel'no-istoricheskogo izucheniya slavyanskikh yazykov*, VY, 1952 (5), p. 51; B. Rybakov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1955, p. 40; A. Sidorov, *Osnovnye problemy i nekotorye itogi razvitiya sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, 1955, pp. 32-33.

¹²³ V. Klyuchevsky, *Kurs russkoi istorii*, in his *Sochineniya* I, 1956, p. 110.

¹²⁴ B. Grekov, *Istoricheskie usloviya obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki* I, 1953, p. 58.

¹²⁵ V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, p. 57.

¹²⁶ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, p. 299.

¹²⁷ Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 14; S. Kuczyński, *Stosunki polsko-*

Those authors who declare themselves for the existence of the Dulebian league rely on a mention by Mas'udi (who wrote in the first half of the 10th century). He states that in the old days (*i.e.*, some centuries before his time) the Slavs were subject to the *Valinana* or *Velinana*, a tribe ruled by *Majak*.¹²⁹ This tribe is identified with 'Nestor's' Volynians, and on the strength of the same source is substituted for the Dulebians.¹³⁰ However, the reading *Valinana* (or *Velinana*) in Mas'udi's text is doubtful: in the Leyden manuscript the name is written without diacritical marks. It may be read in various ways depending on the commentator's choice: *Veliamana*, *Veliamata*, *Velinamia*, etc. In the manuscript of al-Bekri's work, the name is spelt *Velinbaba*. Some scholars adopt the form *Veletaba* (*Velitaba*, *Vlitaba*) and identify that tribe with the Veletians, settled between the lower reaches of the Odra and the Elbe.

Even if we were to agree that the form *Valinana* is correct, a new difficulty appears. There were Volynians not only on the Bug, but also in Bohemia¹³¹ and at the mouth of the Odra.¹³² It cannot be assumed that Mas'udi's mention refers exclusively to the people on the Bug, especially as that author was writing also about Western Slavs.

'Nestor' very clearly implies that the appellation 'Volynians' belonged to his own time and that it was of relatively recent origin.¹³³ It is doubtful whether Mas'udi could have known this appellation. Klyuchevsky, Grekov and others assume that the Dulebian State in Volynia comprised several East-Slavonic tribes, but it is difficult to affirm that a distinction between the Eastern and the Western Slavs

ruskie do schyłku wieku XII, *SO VII* (2), 1958, pp. 224-231. Cf. G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 322.

¹²⁹ *OR*, pp. 362-364.

¹²⁹ There has been much etymological speculation regarding the term *Majak*. Two different opinions were expressed recently. T. Lewicki, *Jeszcze o Wioletach w opisie Słowiańszczyzny arabskiego pisarza z X w. al-Mas'udi'ego*, *PS*, 1951, pp. 113-116 considers the word is of Slavonic provenance, but G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 82 ascribes Alanic origin to it.

¹³⁰ 'Nestor' writes: 'The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug, where the Volynians are now found.' But the chronicler states also: 'The Buzhians [were thus called] because they lived on the Bug, and later the Volynians [were derived from them].' *OR*, p. 64. It is, therefore, possible with equal chances of probability to identify the Volynians with the Dulebians as with the Buzhians. It can be supposed that both, the Dulebians and the Buzhians occupied the same territory (in the river Bug region) but at different times. *OR*, pp. 60-62.

¹³¹ E. Šimek, *Důlebi, Volynané, Lučané, Češti Chorvaté a Čechové*, *SA I*, 1948, p. 349.

¹³² The so-called Bavarian Geographer knows a tribe of the Velunzani. The Chronicle of Widukind speaks of the Vuloini. The Chronicle of Poland Major (*Kronika Wielkopolska*) mentions the locality of Welunecz (Wolin) at the mouth of the Odra. According to T. Lehr-Splawiński, *O nazwie pomorskiego grodu Wolin-Julin u ujścia Odry*, *RG VII-VIII*, 1935, pp. 37-43, the name 'Volyn', on the Odra and on the Bug, was identical. See also Z. Wojciechowski, *Polska nad Wisłą i Odrą w X w.*, 1939, pp. 25, 46-47; R. Kiersnowski, *Plemiona Pomorza Zachodniego w świetle najstarszych źródeł pisanvch*, *SA III*, 1952, p. 73; A. Poppe, *W sprawie początków miast staroruskich*, *PH XLVIII* (3), 1957, p. 565; Z. Sułowski, *O syntezę dziejów Wioletów-Luciców*, *RH XXIV*, 1958, p. 114.

¹³³ *OR*, pp. 60-66.

existed already in the 6th and 7th centuries. The *Povest'* does not classify the Bug region in historical times as an East-Slavonic territory and does not number the Dulebians amongst the Eastern Slavs.¹³⁴ Mentioning this tribe (in connection with the Avars),¹³⁵ 'Nestor' writes absolutely nothing that could be taken to bear out the role attributed to the Dulebians by many historians, though the given passage would have offered him an obvious opportunity of recording facts of this kind. The chronicler enumerates a series of East-Slavonic tribes which produced fairly strong organizations,¹³⁶ but the Dulebians (and Volynians) do not figure among them.

Modern authors write of yet other supra-tribal confederacies. Rybakov, for instance, speaks of a Polyanian one said to have been formed before the 6th century¹³⁷ and to have been supplanted by a new tribal union under the leadership of the Rus'.¹³⁸ Likhachev writes of a league between the Radimichians and Vyaticians.¹³⁹ Mavrodin deals with a Novgorodian league (about the 9th century) composed of the Novgorodian Slavs, the Krivichians, the Chud', the Merya and the Ves'.¹⁴⁰ Mavrodin suggests also the existence of a Krivichian supra-tribal union, at the same or nearly at the same time.¹⁴¹ All these and similar conjectures¹⁴² are made to explain the total lack of relevant information in the sources.

¹³⁴ *OR*, pp. 52-75.

¹³⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14.

¹³⁶ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

¹³⁷ B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, *Sar* XVII, 1953, pp. 45-48 identifies arbitrarily the Polyanians with various peoples mentioned by sundry other authors ('Spori' of Procopius, 'Spali' or 'Spali' of Jordanis, 'Spalei' of Pliny, etc.), but any such identification requires proof before it can be accepted. Rybakov considers that the Polyanian tribal union extended 'to the Vistula Polonians'. He seems unaware of the fact, however, that the Polonians, a Polish tribe, lived not on the Vistula but on the Warta, a tributary of the Odra. It is claimed that the Polyanian tribal confederacy embraced the Derevlans, the Volynians, the Croats, the Severians, the Ulichians, the Tivertsians, etc. The source-material gives absolutely no support to Rybakov's conjecture. See also *idem*, *Problèmes en cours sur la formation de la Russie de Kiev*, *ReC*, 1960, pp. 90-91.

¹³⁸ B. Rybakov, *op. cit.*, pp. 48, 49, 91, 100-104, etc. affirms without proof that the Polyanians, the Severians, the Ulichians and other tribes belonged to this Rus'ian supra-tribal union. According to Rybakov, the territory of the Rus'ian confederacy stretched as far as the Lower Danube. In an effort to prove his theory, he refers to the so-called List of Rus'ian towns. A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis' starshego i mladshego izvodov*, 1950, p. 475; *Voskresenskaya letopis'*, *PSRL* VII, p. 240. 'The List of Rus'ian towns' was written towards the end of the 14th century. Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Spisok russkikh gorodov blizhnikh i dal'nich*, *IZ* XL, 1952, pp. 214-259. On the basis of this source Rybakov reconstructs ethnic relations more than five or six centuries earlier. N. Derzhavin, *Istoriya Bolgarii* I, 1945, p. 205 also asserts that the Rus'ian settlements reached the Danube in the 9th and 10th centuries. All these assumptions are contradicted by Svyatoslav's statement, during his sojourn in Bulgaria (971), that a great distance separated the Danube from the Rus'ian land ('A Ruska zemlya dalecha'. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 51).

¹³⁹ Likhachev's explanation of 'Nestor's' text (D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14; II, p. 221) is merely a surmise and has no evidence to support it.

¹⁴⁰ V. Mavrodin, *Sotsial'no-politicheskii stroi*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 12 advances this hypothesis, basing it on the well-known tale of the summoning of Rurik and his brothers, though the text does not justify such an assumption. Many other Soviet historians reject this legend as unworthy of credence.

¹⁴¹ V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, 1956, p. 24. B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy*, p. 26 suggests the name of the Krivichians should be traced

It must be emphasized that 'Nestor' never goes beyond the primary organization of the individual tribes and makes absolutely no mention of tribal confederacies, *i.e.*, supra-tribal bodies, among the Eastern Slavs. It would seem, at times, that opportunities to mention such organizations abounded, but the chronicler passes them over in silence.¹⁴³ Stender-Petersen rightly remarks that the idea of supra-tribal East-Slavonic unions is merely 'a hypothesis which still needs to be proved'.¹⁴⁴

Writing of 'Nestor', Grekov states that 'neither the chronicler nor his readers knew many facts which indicated that a State-entity existed in Rus' long before, according to the Kievan author, the summoning [of the Varangians] took place'.¹⁴⁵ This observation merits attention, since 'Nestor' was 'a master in his own speciality, a man who had learned much and had known many things'. After listing the numerous sources used by the chronicler, Grekov says of him: 'He knows folk legends, historical songs and other folklore material.' 'Nestor's' work was a book from which successive generations—as Grekov assures us—'learned to know their national and cultural unity, to respect and love their past'.¹⁴⁶

What conclusions are to be drawn from all these statements by Grekov? The Kievan chronicler sedulously amassed all kinds of material regarding the past of his country, yet nowhere did he find even a trace of information on supra-tribal confederacies or of inter-

back to that of the Lithuanian divinity *Krive*, and thereupon bases the theory that the Lithuanians likewise belonged to the Krivichian confederacy. Etymological studies (cf. A. Preobrazhensky, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka* I, 1910-1914 (1958), p. 385; M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 1953, p. 663) do not support Rybakov's view.

¹⁴² I will quote one more example to demonstrate how hypotheses about the existence of East-Slavonic supra-tribal confederacies are erected upon more than flimsy foundations. V. Mavrodin, *Ocherk istorii drevnei Rusi do mongol'skogo zavoevaniya*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, p. 10 writes: 'Arabic writers mention three separate East-Slavonic State-entities: Kuyaviya . . . , Slaviya . . . , Artaniya.' Similarly —B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* I, 1953, p. 70. Actually, the Arabic writers mention three centres of the Rus' but not of the Slavs—and state nothing which could imply that these centres embraced a number of Slavonic tribes.

¹⁴³ In the well-known passage dealing with the exodus of the Slavs from the Danube region, 'Nestor' mentions the Moravo-Czech group of tribes, after which he at once passes on to the Polish tribes, stating one of them, the Lyakhs, settled on the Vistula. And from these Lyakhs—writes the chronicler—the Polanians called themselves [Lyakhs], and other Lyakhs [were] the Lutichians, and others—Mazovians, and others—Pomeranians' ('i ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyakhove družii lutichi, ini mazovshane, ini pomoryane', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 11). For several tribes to have adopted the name of one of their number was certainly not a voluntary action but a compulsory one, an outcome of the subjection of nearby or more distant neighbours by the dominant tribe. This happened in many countries where States with a supra-tribal character arose. 'Nestor', therefore, clearly ascribes to the Lyakhs the formation of a supra-tribal body. The chronicler's next passage deals with the East-Slavonic tribes: his report is restricted solely to listing the names of the various tribes (with an explanation of the derivation of some of the names) and indicates which territories they inhabited. And that is all.

¹⁴⁴ Ad. Stender-Petersen, in *A*, 1957, p. 293.

¹⁴⁵ B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, p. 73.

¹⁴⁶ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, pp. 420, 422.

tribal organizations. It is certain that he was interested in the subject, for he handed down many a mention of the various East-Slavonic tribes, and he lived in a time when those tribes were not mere memories of the past, but living reality. However, neither 'Nestor' nor his successors could have written about what never existed. The 'many facts', as Grekov calls them, sprang from the imagination of modern authors and are not even likely surmises.

Hence, I must fully reject the hypothesis that East-Slavonic supra-tribal confederacies existed and that they allegedly represent the first stage in the formation of the 'East-Slavonic or Old-Rus'ian nation'. The process said to have given rise to this nation, from whatever angle examined and at every step, is contradicted by the facts recorded in the sources and fails to satisfy even the most elementary requirements of critical investigation.

While there was no 'Rus'ian' (in the Slavonic sense) nation, it is certain that in Eastern Europe during the period under examination there was a people known as the Rus' who erected a State embracing extensive territories. It was shown in Chapter III of the present study that the Rus' were not Slavs, but Norse Varangians. 'Nestor' reports that the Novgorodian Slavs adopted the name of Rus' from the Varangians (*I ot tekhn varyag prozvasya Ruskaya zemlya, novugorod'tsi* . . .¹⁴⁷), as did also the Polyanians (*ot varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu, a pervoe . . . polyane zvakhushya*¹⁴⁸), and that for both of them the name of Rus' was something new (*Ruskaya zemlya, novugorod'tsi . . . prezhe bo besha sloveni; polyane yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus'*¹⁴⁹). The Kievan chronicler, discussing other, analogous cases, mentions that those who effected the conquests and settled among the autochthonous population, imposed their name upon the latter.¹⁵⁰ It was thus with the Bulgarians,¹⁵¹ the Hungarians,¹⁵² with Tur (who sup-

¹⁴⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 18. Though the Primary Compilation (*Nachal'nyi Svod*), preserved in the First Novgorod Chronicle, speaks in the legend concerning the summoning of Rurik and his brothers solely of Varangians, not of the Rus' (as 'Nestor' does), nevertheless, this source likewise confirms that the Slavs took over the appellation 'Rus' from the Varangians ('*I ot tekhn Varyag, nakhodnik tekhn, prozvashasya Rus'*, *i ot tekhn slovet Ruskaya zemlya*'), A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 106. Cf. *OR*, pp. 141-142.

¹⁴⁸ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, I, p. 23.

¹⁴⁹ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, pp. 18, 21.

¹⁵⁰ A similar process took place in many other European countries; cf. M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, 1955, p. 551.

¹⁵¹ 'Now while the Slavs dwelt along the Danube . . . , there came . . . a people called Bulgarians, who settled on the Danube and oppressed the Slavs' ('*Sloven'sku zhe yazyku . . . zhivushchyu na Dunai, pridoshia . . . rekomii bolgare i sedosha po Dunaevi i naselnitsi slovenom bysha*'). D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14. S. Cross and O. Sherbo-witz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 55. Thenceforth this country, formerly called 'the Slavonic land' (*zemlya Sloven'ska*), is called by 'Nestor' 'the Bulgarian land' (*zemlya Bolgar'ska*), *ibid.*, pp. 11, 19, 23, 34, etc. Using this last term, the chronicler had in mind both the victorious Bulgarians and the Slavs subjected by them.

¹⁵² 'The Magyars . . . began to fight against the neighbouring Vlaks and Slavs. For the Slavs had settled there first, but the Vlaks had seized the territory of the Slavs. The Magyars subsequently expelled the Vlaks, took their land, and settled

posedly subjected the Turov region),¹⁵³ and the Lyakhs whose name was adopted by the many tribes,¹⁵⁴ and so on. When, therefore, 'Nestor' states that certain East-Slavonic tribes began to call themselves Rus', it was because they had fallen under the domination of the Rus'.¹⁵⁵

Important in studies of the Rus'ian problem is the fact, clearly revealed in the sources that from the 10th century onwards and particularly during the next few centuries thereafter the expression 'Rus'' when applied to a given territory was used in two senses: a narrower one, restricted to the region of Kiev, Chernihov and Pereyaslavl',¹⁵⁶ and a broader one which embraced the extensive territories of Eastern Europe. The fact of this dual meaning of the term 'Rus'' is universally accepted but commentators have failed to reach unanimity about its explanation.

The question arises: Which of these two meanings of the territorial applications of 'Rus'' was the original one? Likhachev states:

The earliest, basic meaning of the words 'Rus'' and 'Rus'ian' is a general one applied to all the Rus'ian lands and to the Rus'ian nation as a whole. . . . The narrower meaning of 'Rus'' and 'Rus'ian' refers only to the Kiev region (but not to the Kievans), and is a later one which gained acceptance during the 12th and 13th centuries, in connection with the general decentralization of Rus' in process of feudalization. Attention is drawn, however, to the fact that this narrower

among the Slavs, whom they reduced to submission. From that time this territory was called Hungarian' ('ugri . . . pochasha vovati na zhivushchaya tu volokhi i sloveni. Sedyakhu bo tu prezhe sloveni, i volokhove priyasha zemlyu sloven'sku. Posem zhe ugri prognasha volkhi, i nasledisha zemlyu tu, i sedosha s sloveny, pokorivshe ya pod sya, i ottole prozvasya zemlya Ugor'ska'), *ibid.*, p. 21. S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

¹⁵³ 'Now Rogvolod had come from overseas, and exercised authority in Polotsk, just as Tury, from whom the Turovians get their name, had done in Turov' ('Be bo Rogvolod prishel i-zamor'ya, imyashe vlast' svoyu v Polot'ske a tury Turove, ot nego zhe i turovti prozvasasya'), *ibid.*, p. 54. S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, p. 91.

¹⁵⁴ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 11.

¹⁵⁵ 'Nestor' states that the Slavs were the indigenous population of Novgorod ('per'vii nasel'nitsi v Novogorode slovene', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 18). Rurik assigned Novgorod and other cities to the Varangian newcomers ('I po tem gorodom sut' nakhodnitsi varyazi', *ibid.*, p. 18). Since that time the Novgorodian land was called Rus'ian (from the Rus'-Varangians dominating there). It does not follow from this fact that the Slavonic population of Novgorod ceased to exist. It continued to exist and preserved its consciousness of separateness from the Varangians ('varyazi byakhu mnozi u Yaroslava, i nasil'e tvoryakhu novgorodtsem. . . . Vstavshe novgorodtsi, izbisha varyagy', *ibid.*, p. 95) and their own name (e.g., 1018. 'Yaroslav zhe, sovokupiv . . . slovene . . .', *ibid.*, p. 96; 1036. 'Yaroslav sbra voi mnogy, varyagy i sloveni', p. 101, etc.). It must be added that Varangian names among the Novgorodian population were very scarce in later times. After conversion, the Varangians had for the most part Christian names. Moreover, the Varangian element in the Slavonic and Finnish lands was never very pronounced. Cf. A. Baecklund, *Les prénoms scandinaves dans la tradition médiévale de Velikij Novgorod*, RES XXXIII, 1956, pp. 26-33; *idem*, *Personal names in medieval Veliky Novgorod. I. Common names*, EPS IX, 1959, pp. 1-195; G. Stökl, *Russische Geschichte von der Entstehung des Kiever Reiches bis zum Ende der Wirren* (862-1613), JGO VI (2), 1958, pp. 484-485. See also A. Pogodin, *Neskol'ko voprosov po metodologii 'drevnostei'*, SRAO I, 1927, pp. 12-13.

¹⁵⁶ The chronicles of the period confirm beyond any doubt that neither Halicz (Galich) nor Volyn', neither Smolensk nor Polotsk, neither Murom nor Ryazan', Rostov, Suzdal' or Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, nor Novgorod regarded itself as belonging to Rus', and they were not considered to be Rus'. Cf. *OR*, pp. 6-10.

meaning did not elbow out the general, broader and basic one. Both meanings are found side by side [in the writings of] one and the same chronicler and for him are evidently not inconsistent. . . . The narrower sense disappears from the chronicles directly when Kiev and the Kievan south were no longer regarded as the centre of Rus' (after the terrible destruction of Kiev by the forces of Batu Khan, from the middle of the 13th century).¹⁵⁷

Soloviev likewise considers that 'the appellation '*Ruskaya zemlya*' which had for two centuries (911–1132) been applied to the whole extensive country and later to the whole Metropolitan See, becomes now [*i.e.*, during the period of the political and territorial disintegration of the State] ever more closely bound up with the Kiev region'.¹⁵⁸

Contrary views are, however, also often expressed in the literature on the subject, namely, that the term *Rus'* in the narrower sense was first formed in the south, and that the appellation was only later also applied to the vast territories of Eastern Europe. Tikhomirov writes: 'It is highly probable that only the land of Kiev was initially called *Rus'*, and that the name spread thence to the remaining lands of the Eastern Slavs.'¹⁵⁹ According to Nasonov:

The expression '*Russkaya zemlya*', once used to signify only southern Rus'ian land, in the course of time spread to the whole country. In this new, all-Rus'ian sense it held its sway even when the southern Rus'ian land no longer ruled over the other 'lands'. The whole country retained the 'Rus'ian' name with which was linked the concept of the great unifying role of the southern Rus'ian land, of Kiev's role.¹⁶⁰

Rybakov opposes Likhachev's theory and considers it most unconvincing: 'This view wholly lacks the historical approach to the problem of the rise of a nation.'¹⁶¹ The formation of *Rus'* in the narrow sense, Rybakov insists, should be shifted many hundreds of years before the period of the 10th–12th centuries. On the other hand, Yushkov believes that the Kievan land of the Polyanians was given the name of *Rus'* as late as the middle of the 10th century.¹⁶² Tret'yakov maintains that the name of *Rus'* was applied to all the Eastern Slavs at the earliest in the second half of the 10th century.¹⁶³ Tikhomirov and others consider that initially '*Rus'*' was the name given to the land of the Kievan Polyanians, whilst Nasonov states that, on the contrary, 'the sources do not imply the expression "the land of *Rus'*" signified the land of the Polyanians'.¹⁶⁴ Thus, we are

¹⁵⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, pp. 241–242.

¹⁵⁸ A. Soloviev, *Der Begriff 'Russland' im Mittelalter*, *WAGSO* II, 1956, p. 148.

¹⁵⁹ M. Tikhomirov, *Proiskhozhdenie nazvanii 'Rus'* i '*Russkaya zemlya*', *SE* VI–VII, 1947, p. 62.

¹⁶⁰ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*' i *obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1951, p. 220. See also *idem*, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, *VAN*, 1951 (8), pp. 69–70.

¹⁶¹ B. Rybakov, *Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, *VoI*, 1952 (9), p. 45; *idem*, *Drevnie rusy*, *SAr* XVII, 1953, p. 28.

¹⁶² S. Yushkov, *Istoriya gosudarstva i prava SSSR* I, 2nd ed., 1947, p. 68.

¹⁶³ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, p. 210.

¹⁶⁴ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', p. 16.

faced with a picture of complete chaos in the literature on the subject although all these authors are defending the thesis of the existence of the one 'Old-Rus'ian nation'.

Likhachev's observations are not so nonsensical as many of his opponents consider, though it must be admitted that his arguments are untenable. The 'Bavarian Geographer' (9th century) cited by Likhachev provides absolutely no support for the view that the term *Ruzzi* used in that source¹⁶⁵ can be understood to bear the broad territorial significance.¹⁶⁶ Another argument advanced by Likhachev—the text of the Rus'ian-Greek treaties in the first half of the 10th century—is undoubtedly a more valid one though it must be treated very cautiously as the agreements have been handed down not in their original form but in later versions. The treaty mentioned by the chronicler, under 907, is the basis for Likhachev's argumentation (though many authors doubt whether this treaty ever existed); it enumerates the following Rus'ian towns: Kiev, Chernihov, Pereyaslavl', Polotsk, Rostov and Lyubech.¹⁶⁷ In the treaty of 911, Rus' figures without any territorial indication,¹⁶⁸ whilst in that of 944–945, Rus' is presented as including Kiev, Chernihov and Pereyaslavl'.¹⁶⁹

It may be doubted whether Pereyaslavl' already existed in the times of Oleg and Igor'. In any case, Constantine Porphyrogenitus (middle of the 10th century) does not mention Pereyaslavl' in his list of towns in the Dnieper region. 'Nestor' ascribes the foundation of Pereyaslavl' to Vladimir (992).¹⁷⁰ It is possible that the name of this town¹⁷¹ derives from that of Pereyaslavets on the Danube which Svyatoslav at one time planned to make his capital. If, however, this prince founded Pereyaslavl', the town could not have been in existence during his father's time (or earlier). But the question of Pereya-

¹⁶⁵ B. Horák and D. Trávníček, *Descriptio civitatum ad septentrionalem plagam Danubii* (t.zv. Bavorský geograf), *RCAV* LXVI (2), 1956, p. 3.

¹⁶⁶ The so-called Bavarian Geographer enumerates a number of tribes which inhabited Central and Eastern Europe. Among these are the Rus' mentioned between the Khazars (*Caziri*) and the Derevlans (*Forsderan liudi*; cf. *OR*, pp. 39, 426). It is supposed that the Rus' were neighbours of both these peoples. The Khazar State stretched in the 9th century as far as the Oka in the north. Hence, the Rus' settled—as 'Nestor' relates—at the sources of the Volga, Dvina and Dnieper, could well have been neighbours of the Khazars. The 'Bavarian Geographer' does not mention the Dregovichians, and that is why the Derevlans were given as living next to the Rus'. Apart from this observation, there is another fact: the tribes mentioned in this source are not listed in geographical order. Thus, for example, though the Buzhians (*Busani*) and the Derevlans lived alongside each other, they are entered on the list of tribes at quite different places, as if a vast space separated one from the other; similarly with the Vistulians (*Vuislane*) and the Lyakhs (*Lendizi*, cf. *OR*, pp. 366–371), and so on. All that can be learnt from the 'Bavarian Geographer' is that the Rus' lived somewhere in Eastern Europe during the 9th century. This, however, is nothing new. Many other sources, including 'Nestor', state the same.

¹⁶⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 24.

¹⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 25–29.

¹⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 34–39.

¹⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 84–85.

¹⁷¹ Regarding the name of Pereyaslavl', see A. Vaillant, *La ville de Perejaslavl', O II* (2), 1948–1949, pp. 111–112; V. Brakhnov, *Pro mistsevi nazvi Pereyaslav-Khmel'nits'kogo raionu na Kiivshchini*, *M XIV*, 1957, p. 45.

slavl' is a minor detail, particularly as it cannot be categorically decided. More important is another matter: the envoys, of Rus'ian stock (*ot roda ruskago*), who concluded the treaties with the Greeks were not connected with Kiev but with Novgorod.¹⁷² It follows hence that at least some of the princes who issued their credentials¹⁷³ must also have been connected with the Novgorod region. It must be borne in mind, too, that the great majority of these Rus'ian princes and their envoys had purely Scandinavian names. It is not fortuitous that Constantine Porphyrogenitus gives Novgorod as the seat of Svyatoslav, the son of Igor'. If Novgorod was not, therefore, the capital of Rus' at that time, it must have been at any rate one of the principal Rus'ian centres¹⁷⁴ and could not but have figured in the treaties with the Greeks. The *Povest'*, however, does not mention the town. It, therefore, seems highly probable that, in the relevant agreements, Rus' was mentioned only in general form (*i.e.*, without the various cities being enumerated) and that the more detailed territorial definition of Rus' derives from later times.¹⁷⁵

The fact remains that the treaties with the Greeks indicate that in the first half of the 10th century there were many Rus'ian centres in Eastern Europe ruled by the princes mentioned in these agreements who recognized the overlordship of Oleg or Igor'. 'Nestor' could not have imagined the names of the Rus'ian princes or of their envoys, nor invented many other details. For that matter, early 10th-century Arabic writers confirm that different Rus'ian centres existed at the time.

I share the opinion that the broad territorial concept of Rus' arose earlier, primarily in the north and east,¹⁷⁶ than the narrower application of the name to the region of the Middle Dnieper. The earliest mentions in the sources are of various Rus'ian centres scattered here and there, over extensive areas and situated at important river-waterway junctions¹⁷⁷ (the Norse expansion proceeded along the

¹⁷² *OR*, p. 171.

¹⁷³ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 24-26, 34-35.

¹⁷⁴ This follows from the very title of the *Nachal'nyi Svod* (A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, p. 103), from the tale of Rurik's installation in Novgorod (*ibid.*, p. 106) and from other facts (*ibid.*, pp. 159, 164, etc.), 'Nestor's' attitude is the same. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 18, 54, 83, etc.

¹⁷⁵ *OR*, pp. 165-171.

¹⁷⁶ Several facts support the view that it was in Northern and Eastern Europe: the Norse names of the princes and their envoys in the treaties with the Greeks, and the connections of these envoys with Novgorod. 'Nestor' calls 'Rus'' the region of the sources of three rivers—the Volga, the Dvina and the Dnieper. He also quotes a long list of northern tribes who paid tribute to the Rus'. These conquests could not be undertaken from Kiev. V. Bartol'd, *Arabskie izvestiya o rusakh, SVo I*, 1940, p. 19 likewise states that the term 'Rus'' gradually spread from the north to the south of Eastern Europe.

¹⁷⁷ Gnezdovo, near Smolensk, was one of these centres; it provides the subject of a controversy between the Russian (cf. D. Avdusin, *Raskopki v Gnezdove, KSDPI XXXVIII*, 1951, pp. 72-81; *idem*, *Vozniknovenie Smolenska*, 1957; *Arkheologicheskie raskopki v Smolenske* 1954 g., *VMU X*, 1, 1955, pp. 144-146; A. Artsikhovsky, in *A*, 1957, p. 285, and others) and the Scandinavian (cf. T. Arne, *Schweden in Russland in der Wikingerzeit*, in *Congressus Secundus Archaeologorum Balticorum*, 1930, pp.

rivers from the Baltic to the southern seas¹⁷⁸). These centres were far distant from one another and by no means constituted a compact territorial entity.

Obviously, my understanding of the broader concept of Rus' differs fundamentally from the views expressed by Likhachev and Soloviev. For both these authors, the concept bears features of marked durability and signifies a compact territory inhabited by an ethnically compact population ('the Rus'ian nation'). I consider that these oldest Rus'ian centres were transient, short-lived organizations which arose in various ethnic areas—Slavonic and Finnish—and which were founded neither by Slavs nor by Finns but by alien intruders and by force of arms. When this armed power declined, these centres with their Rus'ian names disappeared.

The differences between the views of Likhachev and Soloviev and those of my own refer not only to the content of the broader concept of Rus' but also to the period when the concept of Rus', in the narrower sense, was formed. Both authors believe that this smaller Rus' did not arise until the 12th century, but Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor' indicate that this happened earlier.¹⁷⁹

The narrower application of Rus' disappears in the second half of the 13th century. On this point, Likhachev is right. But it is doubtful whether the explanation of this fact as given by him (the destruction of Kiev by the Tartars in 1240) fully clears up the matter. Kiev had been sacked and pillaged many times before. The point may be argued whether Andrei Bogolyubsky's invasion of 1169 was more (or less) ruinous and far-reaching in its consequences than the devastation wrought by the forces of Batu Khan.¹⁸⁰ Yet at that time the concept of a smaller Rus' continued to exist. The population of the town and land of Kiev—as in the other Rus'ian principalities—

225–232; *idem*, Die Warägerfrage und die sowjetische Forschung, *AA* XXIII, 1952, pp. 138–147; *idem*, Det vikingatida Gnezdovo Smolensk föregångare, *Arkeologiska forskningar och fynd*, 1952, pp. 335–344; H. Arbman, *Svear i Österviking*, 1955, pp. 82–89, and others) archaeologists. There is no need to discuss this controversy in detail since 'Nestor' definitively decided the matter by calling the Gnezdovo region 'Rus'' (D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 12). Beloozero and some other localities belong to the same category. As regards geographical position of Beloozero, see A. Kopanев, *Istoriya zemlevaleniya Belozerskogo kraya XV–XVI vv.*, 1951, pp. 13–14; N. Voronin, *Sredstva i puti soobshcheniya*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* I, 1951, pp. 281, 303; T. Lewicki, *Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi*, *SA* III, 1952, pp. 162–166; *idem*, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* I, 1956, pp. 135–136, and others.

¹⁷⁸ S. Cross, *The Scandinavian Infiltration into Early Russia*, *Sp* XXI, 1946, pp. 505–519; F. Balodis, *Handelswege nach dem Osten und die Wikinger in Russland*, *AS* III, 1948, pp. 317–365; M. Mitchell, *The Maritime History of Russia*, 1949, pp. 44–51; R. Lopez, *The Evolution of Land Transport in the Middle Ages*, in *Past and Present* No 9, April 1956, pp. 22–23, and others. The Varangian expansion in Eastern Europe was due to commercial reasons; cf. A. Attman, *Russland och Europa*, 1946, pp. 7–15; S. Bolin, Mohammed, Charlemagne and Ruric, *SEHR*, 1953 (1), pp. 5–39.

¹⁷⁹ Cf. H. Łowmiański, in *KH* LXIV (6), 1957, pp. 137–139.

¹⁸⁰ N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, *PSSS* I, 1951, p. 19; O. Martovych, *800 Years of Russia's March to World Conquest*, 1953, p. 10.

survived the Tartar massacres.¹⁸¹ If then, according to both authors, the concept of Rus' in a narrower territorial sense arose in consequence of the disruption of the Kievan State, it might be expected that after 1240 this process of decline would have gained force, and hence have favoured the consolidation of the narrower entity, rather than bring about its liquidation.

It is also not possible to agree with the many authors who consider the narrower application of Rus' to be the older one and who state that as the Kievan State developed, its territory and the feeling of ethnic community among the 'Rus'ian nation' grew steadily. The sources provide no proof of this and very clearly disprove the hypothesis. The only argument worth taking up is the author's attempt to draw an analogy between the primary Rus' of the Middle Dnieper region and relations in Poland, Bohemia and elsewhere. In these cases, a single tribe subjected the others and imposed its name upon them. Following this line of reasoning, it might be supposed that Rus' in the narrower sense (Kiev, Chernihov and Pereyaslav') arose as an outcome of the conquest of the Severian country by the Polyanians, or *vice versa*. But the supra-tribal union which actually existed was given neither the Polyanian nor the Severian name, but the Rus'ian one.¹⁸² This alone suffices to demonstrate that there is no analogy between the rise of the Czech or Polish nation and relations on the Dnieper.

I do not intend, however, to restrict myself to the rejection of the views expressed in the literature on the subject. The problem can now be approached in positive fashion by dealing with the scattered Rus'ian centres in the north and east during the earliest phase—a phase about which we unfortunately have only fragmentary information, however. We have more material with regard to Novgorod and its later rival, Kiev, which by the middle of the 10th century was well on its way to becoming the leading centre.¹⁸³ This predominant position of Kiev was due to the strengthening of the Rurikides on the Middle Dnieper as also to the rising importance of that river as a commercial water-way to the detriment of the Volga which had then been the chief trade route of Eastern Europe.¹⁸⁴

¹⁸¹ *OR*, pp. 257–258, 301–302; cf. A. Baranovich, *Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI v.*, *IZ XXXII*, 1950, p. 230. V. Mavrodin, *Levoberezhnaya Ukraina pod vlast'yu tataro-mongolov*, *UZLGU XXXII*, 1939, pp. 39–65 stresses that the land of Pereyaslav' was especially cruelly devastated by the Tartars.

¹⁸² Rybakov realizes this and, to make his hypothesis more probable, he accepts the existence of the mythical tribe of Ros'-Rus', on the river Ros'—in opposition to the source-material.

¹⁸³ *OR*, pp. 152–154, 161–164, 170–171.

¹⁸⁴ G. Kozukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.*, 1954, p. 34 emphasizes that the region of the Middle Dnieper from the beginning of the 8th to the early 9th century was far removed from the international trade routes, that the oriental coins found on the Dnieper (in sparse quantities) appeared in the 10th century. V. Yanin, *Numizmatika i problemy tovarno-denezhnogo obrashcheniya v drevnei Rusi*, *Vol.*, 1955 (8), p. 137 remarks that the Dnieper, north of Kiev, began its life as a trade route early in the 10th century and that no traces of commercial activity in earlier times (825–900) can

In my opinion, both the broader and the narrower application of the political and territorial concept of Rus' existed simultaneously in the second half of the 10th and in the first half of the 11th century. In its broader sense, Rus' was already on the decline since it was based on a geographically artificial foundation. Kiev and Novgorod were the chief supporters of this structure. But too great a distance lay between them and too many tribal territories which the Rus'ian Varangians had not yet succeeded in subjecting.¹⁸⁵ The bonds between these territories and Rus' were limited chiefly to payments of tribute, collected by force, and interrupted time after time owing to the resistance of the indigenous population.¹⁸⁶

Once the capital of Rus' was stabilized in Kiev with a consequent decline in Rus'ian pressure on Novgorod, the latter slowly began to recover its erstwhile position in line with the old tribal traditions. True, the Novgorodians were later to invite one of Svyatoslav's sons, but they did so with evident reserve.¹⁸⁷ Whenever the circumstances

be perceived. According to that author, the influx of larger quantities of Byzantine coins in Eastern Europe began in the latter half of the 10th century. T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów środkowej i wschodniej Europy w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza (IX–XIII w.)*, *POr*, No 3 (15), 1955, p. 86 states that, in the middle of the 10th century, important international trade routes passed through Kiev. Trade with the East was then chiefly in the hands of Jewish merchants from the West (Verdun, Mainz, Regensburg). Cf. J. Bratskus, *Trade with Eastern Europe*, *EHR* XIII, 1943, pp. 31–41.

¹⁸⁵ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', p. 25 rightly considers that 'the Kievan State, evanescent in its unity, embraced territories scattered over vast expanses of the East-European plain and not fully subjected. Within the limits of this extensive expanse, there were great areas to which the authority of the [Rus'ian] State did not actually extend; it might have extended to some regions nominally or in temporary form'.

¹⁸⁶ Soviet authors (B. Rybakov, *Nachalo russkogo gosudarstva*, *VMU*, 1955 (4–5), p. 70; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, p. 35; H. Łowmiański, *O znaczeniu nazwy 'Rus'* w wieku X–XIV, *KH* LXIV (1), 1957, p. 89, and others) divide the East-European peoples of that time into two groups: the 'Rus'ian' (i.e., East Slavonic) and non-Rus'ian tribes subjected by the Rus'. 'Nestor' describes this subjection in the following way: 'they are under Rus' or 'they pay tribute to Rus'. This ethnic division is unacceptable for two reasons: (1) the chronicler excludes nearly half of the East-Slavonic tribes from Rus' ('Se bo tokmo slovenesk yazyk v Rusi: polyan, derevlyane, nougorod'tsi, polochane, dregovich, sever, buzhan.' D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 13. The analysis of this passage is given in Chapter II of the present study)—and (2) he defines the relation of the Slavs to Rus' in the same terms as in the case of the Ugro-Finns and Balts. To quote some examples: After his expedition against the Derevlians, Igor' addressed his warriors thus: 'Go home with tribute', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 40. Ol'ga, after defeating the Derevlians 'imposed heavy tribute upon them', *ibid.*, p. 43. The Derevlians stated after the death of Igor', that they had killed 'the Rus'ian prince', *ibid.*, p. 40; this means that the Derevlians did not consider themselves to be Rus'. The land of the Buzhians, conquered by Vladimir in 981, remained 'under Rus'', i.e., under the rule of Rus', *ibid.*, p. 58. The Radimichians, after Vladimir's victory over them, 'pay tribute to Rus'', *ibid.*, p. 59. In 981, 'Vladimir... conquered the Vyatichians and imposed tribute upon them according to the number of their ploughs, just as his father had done', *ibid.*, p. 58; and so on. In exactly the same words, 'Nestor' states that many Ugro-Finnish and Baltic peoples (enumerated by him) 'pay tribute to Rus'', *ibid.*, p. 13. All these—Slavonic and non-Slavonic—tribes who were 'under Rus' or 'paid tribute to Rus' were not Rus'. Thus, the thesis of Likhachev and Soloviev (according to which, the term 'Rus' in the 10th century embraced all the Eastern Slavs and was then used in the broader sense only) fails. 'Nestor's' reports are fully supported by Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

¹⁸⁷ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 49.

were favourable, they refused to pay tribute to the rulers of Kiev.¹⁸⁸ In the political sense, Novgorod was still considered to be Rus', but more and more often differentiated from it. It sank to the level of the numerous territories, such as Volynia, Polotsk, Ryazan', etc., where Rus'ian rule had never been firmly established and where the indigenous population did not consider itself to be Rus'ian.

The process of political and territorial consolidation of the Kievan State was still far from complete when centrifugal and disruptive forces began to exercise their predominant influence from the middle of the 11th century onwards. The separatist trends of the individual tribes and the newly created Rus'ian principalities outstripped in decisive manner the unificatory aims of the rulers of Kiev. The attainment of these aims implied a set plan backed up by an enormous reserve of power, energy and endurance. Its success primarily depended on solidarity among the members of the dynasty.¹⁹⁰ The gradual disintegration of the State should have led step by step to the disappearance of the concept of Rus' in the broader territorial sense: it had, after all, never been strongly or clearly defined nor consolidated.

But events took another course. Rus' in the broad territorial sense not only continued to exist during the period of the political and territorial disintegration of the Kievan State but even gained in power since it elbowed out and finally liquidated (at the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries) the narrower concept of Rus' bound up with the region of the Middle Dnieper. Historians see in this fact excellent proof of the vitality of the Rus'ian nation, which did not lose its unity and solidarity even under the most difficult political conditions.¹⁹¹

Before passing to a more detailed examination of the matter, I advance two objections of a general nature to such views. The broad

¹⁸⁸ Since even Yaroslav the Wise, ruling over Novgorod during the lifetime of his father, ceased paying tribute to Kiev (D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, pp. 88-89), it is difficult to suppose that, when taking this decision, he had not been influenced by the population of Novgorod.

¹⁸⁹ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 54.

¹⁹⁰ The difficult situation at that time is faithfully depicted in the testament of Yaroslav the Wise in which he appealed to his sons to preserve peace and love among them ('Se az otkhozhyu sveta sego, synove moi; imeite v sobe lyubov', ponezhe vy este brat'ya edinogo ottsa i matere. Da ashche budete v lyubvi mezhny soboyu, bog budet' v vas, i pokorit' vy protivnyya pod vy. I budete mirno zhivushche. Ashche li budete nenavidno zhivushche, v raspnyakh i kotorayushchesya, to pogybnete sami, i pogubite zemlyu otets' svoikh i ded svoikh, yuzhe nalezosha trudom' svoim' velikym.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 108). Vladimir Monomakh left similar instruction in his *Pouchen'e*, *ibid.*, pp. 153-167.

¹⁹¹ V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, Vol. I, 1950 (4), p. 70; A. Nasonov, *Russkaya zemlya*, 1951, p. 220; L. Cherepnin, *Vozniknovenie drevnerusskoi narodnosti*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, pp. 252-256; *idem*, *Razvitie russkoi narodnosti v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti*, *ibid.*, pp. 472-475; *idem*, *Skladyvaniye russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, *ibid.*, II, pp. 314-316; *idem*, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX v.*, 1957, pp. 51-52; B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 9; B. Rybakov, *Drevnie rusy, SAr XVII*, 1953, p. 28; A. Kozachenko, *Drevnerusskaya narodnost'*—obshchaya etnicheskaya baza russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov, *SE*, 1954 (2), pp. 13, 16, 19, and others.

concept of Rus' during the period in question embraced Slavonic and non-Slavonic territories;¹⁹² it did not, therefore, imply a homogeneous ethnic or national unity. In order to bolster up their hypothesis of the 'patriotism' of the Rus'ian nation, the authors in question erect a second hypothesis: they state that all the territories called Rus'ian at the time had been previously colonized by Slavs, though the source-material gives them no support on this point.¹⁹³ The second objection which can be raised is that these authors place the beginnings of the formation of the three Rus'ian nations—the Great Rus', the Ukrainians and the Belorus'—in the 13th and 14th centuries. Yet, it must be at once evident that this interpretation clashes with the theory that the consolidation of the Old-Rus'ian nation became an accomplished fact in the 12th and 13th centuries. The Tartar invasions and domination, which according to these authors caused the disruption of the nation, do not explain away the contradictions in question. The cruel rule of the Mongols, imposed by force, tended to strengthen rather than weaken the unity and solidarity of the Rus'ian nation in face of the common danger. It is noteworthy that the same authors who admit the disintegration of the Old-Rus'ian nation in the 13th and 14th centuries and who state that the three Rus'ian nations began to crystallize during the Tartar period, simultaneously write much about the flourishing solidarity among the whole Old-Rus'ian nation during the events of the 14th and 15th centuries. The battle of Kulikovo Pole (1380), as reconstructed by Russian historiography, is a classical example.¹⁹⁴

Actually, if it be postulated that the broad territorial concept of Rus' proves the existence of one consolidated Rus'ian nation—a concept which constantly appears in the source-material of the 14th–16th centuries—it must then be admitted that the three Rus'ian nations could not have arisen before the 17th century, the more so since the sources in question do not at that time apply a different ethnic terminology to each of the three Rus'ian nations.

In my opinion, not ethnic but ecclesiastical factors played the decisive role in the maintenance and development of the broader territorial application of the name 'Rus', observed in the 11th–14th centuries. This view is supported by the results of the analysis of the sources reported on in Chapter II of the present study.

'Nestor' and other authors of the period give clear indications of

¹⁹² E. Golubinsky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* I (1), 1901, p. 172 rightly distinguishes the Slavonic Rus' from non-Slavonic Rus' ('Rus' inorodcheskaya i inoplemennaya').

¹⁹³ This is demonstrated in Chapter V of the present study.

¹⁹⁴ K. Bazilevich and L. Cherepnin, *Bor'ba russkogo naroda protiv tataro-mongol'skogo iga i litovskoi agressii*, in *Ocherki* II, 1953, p. 225; M. Tikhomirov, *Kulikovskaya bitva 1380 g.*, Vol. 1, 1955 (8), pp. 11–25. See also A. Karasev and G. Os'kin, *Dimitrii Donskoi*, 1950; P. Karyshkovsky, *Kulikovskaya bitva*, 1955, etc. The sources describing the battle of Kulikovo Pole are published by M. Tikhomirov, V. Rzhiga and L. Dmitriev, *Povesti o Kulikovskoi bitve*, 1959. See also M. Skripil', *Russkie povesti XV–XVI vekov*, 1958.

the time when this new, broad Rus' began. It was at the time of the conversion of Ol'ga and of Vladimir to Christianity. Both grandmother and grandson were the creators of this Rus' (*nachal'nitsa Rusi*, *nachal'nik Rusi*), who gave it a beginning (*nachatok*). Kiev became the centre of the new ecclesiastical organization,¹⁹⁵ and the Metropolis founded in it was to be called, not the Polyanian nor the Slavonic one, but the Rus'ian one (*mitropol'ya rus'skaya*). From then on, when the earlier broad meaning of the term 'Rus'' (based solely on the Varangian conquests) underwent a gradual decline, the new, ecclesiastical name of 'Rus'' spread to the whole of Eastern Europe from Kiev, and solely from Kiev.

The Eastern Church fully appreciated the important role of the Varangian Rus' and their princes in the erection of the State organization. The Church desired and in fact had to regard the Rurikides as its *bracchium saeculare*. Though the Rus'ian State on the Dnieper was still passing through a somewhat unstabilized phase, it was nevertheless the only organization which exceeded the limits of the individual East-Slavonic and non-Slavonic tribes. The Church, by principle and design, did not seek to confine its activities solely to the conversion of the Slavs. The term 'Rus'' answered these aspirations better as it could embrace not only the Slavs but also various other, different ethnic elements which had been or were to be conquered by the Norse Varangians.

Thus, we are faced with a twofold Rus' in Kiev: one, which came from the north (the Rus'-Varangians and their State, *i.e.*, the ethnic and political concept); the other, the southern or rather south-western one, which had an ecclesiastical and religious meaning.¹⁹⁶ One and the other, though implying something quite different, were referred to in the same terms: *Ruskaya zemlya* (*strana*) or *ruskyi yazyk*.

The history of Kievan' Rus', the State entity, and of Kievan Rus', the ecclesiastical organization, at first proceeded along the same course, mutually supplementing and aiding each other. Christianity in Eastern Europe became the State religion. The Church, with an eye on the attainments of the Rurikides up to those times, sanctioned their conquests of Slavonic and non-Slavonic lands: the successes of the princely dynasty presented great possibilities for the spread of

¹⁹⁵ This fact decided on the capital character of Kiev, similarly—as in later times—of Moscow. Cf. W. Philipp, *Die religiöse Begründung der altrussischen Hauptstadt*, *SF IX*, 1956, pp. 375–387.

¹⁹⁶ Hypotheses have been advanced by Brim, Presnyakov, Vasiliev and others (cf. *OR*, pp. 109–110)—chiefly to reconcile the Normanist with the Anti-Normanist theory—regarding the existence of two Rus', a northern and a southern one, which allegedly established contact in Kiev. According to these authors, each of them represented different ethnic elements. These suppositions have failed to gain acceptance in the literature on the subject not only because the sources give them no support but also because they depend over-much on the element of chance (two different tribes bear the same or very similar names, exist in the same period, establish contacts at the same place, etc.).

Christianity. All the religious and political concepts peculiar to Constantinople were transferred to the banks of the Dnieper, first and foremost the idea of a monarchy graced by God's particular blessing. The people were henceforth taught the duty of humility and of obedience to their rulers.¹⁹⁷ The fluid conditions resulting from the foreign conqueror's domination over vanquished tribes entered upon a new phase, and acquired qualities of enduring stability.

The acceptance of Christianity fundamentally changed the relation between the princes and their subjects. Dissimilar ethnic elements—the Varangians and the Slavs as also the non-Slavs who were converted—acquired a bond which in those early times played an exceedingly important role: they were bound together by their faith and became 'brethren in Christ'. The Varangian Rus' gave East European Christendom their name (through the Rus'ian Metropolis, hence indirectly). The Slavs gave this Metropolis their language for its liturgy. On this common ground, the feeling of disparity, which had kept the hitherto dissimilar and mutually inimical Norse and Slavonic elements apart, now became less keen.¹⁹⁸ Life itself provided a consciousness of solidarity, particularly against the enemies of the Church.

But the lines of development of political Rus' and of ecclesiastical Rus' relatively quickly began to diverge because the Church passed through a flourishing period at the time when the enfeeblement of the State became increasingly evident. The term 'Rus'', used with regard to the extensive territories of Eastern Europe, was from the

¹⁹⁷ Cf. J. Danzas, *La Russie et l'expansion du Christianisme*, *RC*, 1937 (1), pp. 13-14; S. Yushkov, *Pro derzhavnii ustroii Kiivs'koi Rusi*, *NZUAN*, 1943 (2), pp. 116-117; N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, pp. 87-89; V. Mavrodin, *Sotsial'no-politicheskie stroi*, *ibid.*, p. 17; N. Il'in, *Prinyatie khristianstva, in Ocherki istorii SSSR (IX-XIII vv.)*, 1953, pp. 102, 106-109; A. Pashkov, *Ekonomicheskaya mysl' v Kievskoi Rusi i ee klassovaya differentsiatsiya*, in A. Pashkov (ed.), *Istoriya russkoi ekonomicheskoi mysl'i* I (1), 1955, pp. 51, 55; K. Guslisty, *Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo v kontse X—pervoi polovine XI v.*, in *Istoriya ukrainskoi SSR* I, 1956, pp. 59-60; I. Eremin, *O khudozhestvennoi spetsifike drevnerusskoi literatury*, *RL* I, 1958, pp. 81-82; K. Kasper, *Die Zeitverbundenheit der altrussischen Predigt-literatur*, *ZS* III (2-4), 1958, p. 339, and others.

¹⁹⁸ It would be useful to carry out a comparative study of the relations on the Dnieper and in Bulgaria in much more precise form than has hitherto been attempted. Some analogies are evident in both regions and in many respects. The Bulgarians, a people of Turkish origin, broke away from their brethren on the Volga, and founded their own State on the Lower Danube in the middle of the 7th century, after having subjected the Slavonic population. The Arabic writers of the first few centuries of the Moslem era plainly distinguish the Bulgarians from the Slavs (cf. T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* I, 1956, pp. 205, 281), and this distinction still appeared in the 9th and 10th centuries (T. Lewicki, *op. cit.*, p. 24). The coming of Christianity to the proto-Bulgarians and the Slavs swept away the barriers between these diverse ethnic elements. The Slavs imposed their language on the proto-Bulgarians whilst these passed on their name to the Slavs. There is an abundant literature on proto-Bulgarian and Slavonic relations (cf. I. Dujčev, *Protobulgaes et Slaves*, *SK* X, 1938, pp. 145-154; *idem*, *Slavyano-bolgarskie drevnosti IX veka*, *BS* XI, 1950, pp. 6-31; *idem*, *Eshche o slavyano-bolgarskikh drevnostyakh IX v.*, *BS* XII, 1951, pp. 75-83; *idem*, *Slavyani i prvoblgari*, *IIBI* I-II, 1951; A. Burmov, *Km vprosa za otnosheniya mezhdu slavyani i prablgari prez VII-IX v.*, *IP* X, 1954, pp. 69-94, and others).

11th and 12th centuries onwards a purely ecclesiastical concept signifying believers in the faith propagated by the Church; as Christianity spread, this religious and ecclesiastical meaning gained in importance. The paramount role of religion in those times caused the expression finally to be used not only with reference to the affairs of the Church but also to those of the State, to commercial and social relations, etc.; religion, after all, made itself felt in every aspect of human life at that epoch.

The Metropolitan See was established in Kiev for two reasons: in consideration of the traditions built up by the rite of Cyril and Methodius in the Middle Dnieper region, and because the city was at that time the capital of the Rurikides' State. Accepting the appellation of 'Rus'', the new Metropolitan See manifested its ties with the Rus'ian State and with the territory of Rus' (the lands of the Polyanians and the Severians) where the ancestors of Vladimir had most powerfully consolidated their rule. The history of Kiev, Chernihov and Pereyasavl' shows that until the middle of the 11th century, *i.e.*, until the death of Yaroslav (1054), this region was a direct possession of the Kievan princes;¹⁹⁹ though it was partitioned later, the privileged position of these towns was, at least for a time, preserved by the addition of extensive territories.²⁰⁰

Both Likhachev and Nasonov rightly stated that 'Rus'' in the narrower application was a geographical and territorial, a political and State concept, but not a national one.²⁰¹ I have already demonstrated that the hypothesis of the swift Slavonicization of the Varangian Rus' and their princes in the ethnic and political sense is without foundation. Attention must be paid to stress the feelings of separateness felt by the Slavs with regard to these non-Slavonic Rus' and their State. Nothing is more characteristic than the fact, constantly noted in the sources for the 11th–13th centuries, that certain territories (Novgorod, Smolensk, Polotsk, Ryazan', etc.) were simultaneously considered to be Rus' and yet were differentiated from Rus'.²⁰² There is no reason for criticism or correction of the texts of the chroniclers here. Using this dual, apparently contradictory, terminology the chroniclers were simply faithfully depicting the reality of their times: one and the same territory was simultaneously Rus'ian in the ecclesiastical sense and non-Rus'ian in the ethnic sense.

¹⁹⁹ Apart from the short period (1024–1036) when Yaroslav ruled over the land of the Polyanians and his brother, Mstislav, over that of the Severians. The two lands were united under Yaroslav's rule after the death of Mstislav.

²⁰⁰ 'I prestavisya Yaroslav, i ostashasya 3 synove... I razdelisha zemlyu, i vzya bolshii Izyaslav Kyev i Novgorod i inyi gorody mnogy kiev'skyya vo predelekh; a Svyatoslav Chernigov i vsyu stranu vostochnuyu i do Muroma; a Vsevolod Pereyasavl', Rostov, Suzdal', Beloozero, Povolozh'e.' A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 160.

²⁰¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, p. 240; A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', pp. 28–30.

²⁰² OR, pp. 6–10.

It is difficult to explain why the narrower concept of Rus', connected with the region of the Middle Dnieper, lived on so long. Probably, the Church had most to do with this for it sought to preserve the old traditions and relations, though in course of time these traditions became less and less current. In the 12th and 13th centuries, the Rurikides often fought for Kiev although it was really no longer the capital of the State;²⁰³ they fought for a fiction, a symbol, upheld by the still existing authority derived from a Metropolitan See. To affirm that the invasion of the Tartars led by Batu Khan (1240) caused the narrower concept of Rus' to be abandoned, is only partly correct. The essential cause was the transferring of the Metropolitan See from Kiev to the north-east, to Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, at the turn of the 13th to 14th century. From that time on the Church definitively gave up the idea of upholding the predominant position of Kiev in Eastern Europe and concentrated all its efforts upon consolidating the position of the city which took over the Kievan traditions—Moscow. Thenceforth, only one concept of Rus' remained: one that implied the widest territorial meaning since it embraced Slavonic and non-Slavonic believers in the faith represented and fostered by the Rus'ian Metropolitans.

Very much has been written about the profound importance of the Kievan period for the history of Rus'. It is generally stated that an epoch-making development took place then: the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' is said to have finally assumed definite form. The concept of the Kievan period is a very relative one. It can be stated that it lasted nearly 300 years (from the middle of the 10th to nearly the middle of the 13th century). Some authors are ready to extend this period to the 9th or 8th century and even farther back. But if the matter is regarded from the standpoint of the consolidation and power of Rus', the era of the political and territorial disintegration of the Kievan State should be limited in time for it was marked by constant internal wars which devastated the country and increased the separatism of the various regions.²⁰⁴ There is no doubt that the supposed unity of the 'Rus'ian nation' should most strikingly appear in the pages of the sources dealing with the reigns of Vladimir and Yaroslav since these rulers devoted most effort and attention to the task of Rus'ian unification.

²⁰³ V. Dovzhenok, *Pro drevn'orus'ku derzhavnist' v period feodal'noi rozdrobленosti*, *Ar X*, 1957, pp. 25-35; *idem*, *Kiiv—tsentr Rusi v period feodal'noi rozdrobленosti*, *UIZ*, 1959 (6), pp. 89-98 believes, without foundation, that Kiev remained the actual capital of the Rus'ian State up to the invasions of Batu Khan.

²⁰⁴ K. Bazilevich, *Opyt periodizatsii istorii SSSR feodal'nogo perioda*, *VoI*, 1949 (11), p. 71 thinks that the period of the Kievan State ended in the middle of the 11th century. On the other hand, I. Smirnov, *Obshchie voprosy periodizatsii istorii SSSR*, *VoI*, 1950 (12), pp. 94-96 maintains that this period lasted till the fourth decade of the 13th century.

It may be asked: Which events at that time testify to a development of 'patriotism' among the broad masses of the Eastern Slavs? It is difficult to perceive any such development in the light of Vladimir's conflicts with his elder brother Yaropolk, and Yaroslav's with his brothers—Svyatopolk and later Mstislav.²⁰⁵ It was not a sign of 'patriotism' when Vladimir and Yaroslav summoned the armed help of the Varangians against their brothers. Was it for 'patriotic' motives that Vladimir installed Varangians in many of his towns on the Dnieper or that Yaroslav rebelled against his father during his rule at Novgorod? Many similar instances could be quoted. Actually, there is not a single proof and not a single fact dating from the end of the 10th or the first half of the 11th century which points to a consolidation of the 'Rus'ian nation', except for one major event of capital importance. This was the conversion of the Rus' and the Slavs and the foundation of an ecclesiastical organization headed by a Metropolitan See. When the status of Kiev began to decline after the death of Yaroslav (1054) and all the efforts of his successors (especially Vsevolod and Vladimir Monomakh) failed to halt this process, the Church filled the gap caused by the disintegration of Rus'. The earlier, Varangian Rus' (in the broad territorial sense) did not prove permanent; the Church, therefore, set up a new Rus'—one which embraced all the peoples it had converted, and thus stabilized this concept for centuries to come. In this sense, the Kievan period—a much longer one from the ecclesiastical point of view than from that of the State—is of enormous importance in the history of Rus'.

The broad expanses of ecclesiastical Rus' are evidence of the remarkable spread of Christianity attained despite the resistance of various tribes attached to their pagan beliefs and traditions.²⁰⁶ The missionary activities of the Kievan Metropolitans (and their subordinate clergy) must have been conceived on an enormous scale.²⁰⁷

²⁰⁵ According to 'Nestor', Svyatopolk was supported in this conflict by 'the Rus' (the Polyanians were probably among them) and Yaroslav by the Novgorodians. In 1024–5, the Kievans stood up for Yaroslav and the Severians for Mstislav. D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 96, 99–100.

²⁰⁶ Cf. N. Aristov, *Pervye veka khristianstva v Rossii*, 1888; P. Vladimirov, *Poucheniya protiv drevnerusskogo yazychestva i narodnykh sueverii*, in *Pamyatniki drevnerusskoi ispravno-uchitel'noi literatury* III, 1897; N. Gal'kovsky, *Bor'ba khristianstva s ostatkami yazychestva v drevnei Rusi I–II*, 1913; E. Anichkov, *Yazychestvo i drevnyaya Rus'*, 1914; B. Romanov, *Lyudi i nrvy drevnei Rusi*, 1947.

²⁰⁷ Evidence of this activity is provided primarily by the numerous extant works of East-Slavonic literature, chiefly religious ones. The list of the oldest East-Slavonic manuscripts is given by E. Granstrem, *O podgotovke svodnogo pechatnogo kataloga slavyanskikh rukopisei*, in *Slavyanskaya filologiya* II, 1958, pp. 412–417. According to N. Volkov, *Statisticheskie svedeniya o sokhranivshikhsya drevnerusskikh knigakh XI–XIV vv. i ikh ukazatelei*, in *Pamyatniki drevnei pis'mennosti*, 1897 (unavailable to me), the total of these manuscripts dating from the 11th to the 14th century, preserved in complete or fragmentary form, includes nearly 700 items. The figure has now risen to nearly 1000. Cf. B. Sapunov, *Nekotorye soobrazheniya o drevnerusskoi knizhnosti XI–XIII vv.*, *TODRL* XI, 1955, pp. 314–332. Accepting the figures of 10,000 churches and 200 monasteries in pre-Tartar Rus', Sapunov believes that there must have been in Eastern Europe at that time about 85,000 liturgical books. N. K. Nikol'sky, *Rukopisnaya knizhnost' drevnerusskikh bibliotek (XI–XVII vv.)*, 1914 estimates that

The opinion expressed by many authors, who regard these Church dignitaries solely as 'agents' of Byzantium²⁰⁸ who had only the political interests of the Empire at heart, is not impartial and must hence be considered as erroneous.²⁰⁹ Onasch rightly remarks that the history of the missionary activities of the Rus'ian Church in Eastern Europe has been inadequately dealt with in the literature on the subject,²¹⁰ though some publications contain interesting data on this topic.

The sources for that epoch comprise much valuable material which enables us to establish the scope and character of this 'new Rus'' and the remarkable vigour with which it took shape. In the eyes of contemporary observers, it had become a world within itself—and so it was as regards its vast territory and large numbers of inhabitants, its unique status in Christendom and the self-contained nature of its general culture.²¹¹ Matthew, Bishop of Cracow, expressed this view in a letter to St Bernard of Clairvaux in the middle of the 12th century: he, too, considered Rus' to be 'another world' (*Ruthenia . . . quasi est alter orbis*),²¹² whose population is so multi-

there were over 75,000 hand-written books alone preserved in Rus'ian libraries, from the 11th to the 17th century. According to S. Obnorsky, *Kul'tura russkogo yazyka*, 1948, p. 10, there were up to 130,000 East-Slavonic manuscript items preserved, of which we have thirty from the 11th century, about a hundred from the 12th century and many thousands from later times. See also on this matter D. Likhachev, *Drevne-russkoe rukopisnoe nasledie i nekotorye metodicheskie printsipy ego izucheniya*, S XXVII, 1958, p. 585.

²⁰⁸ N. Nikol'sky, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi*, 1930, pp. 42–44; M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI–XV vv.*, 1940, pp. 8–9; N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, pp. 91, 110–111; A. Yanovsky, *Yurii Dolgorukii*, 1955, p. 168; N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1956, p. 22; N. Il'in, *Letopisnaya stat'ya 6523 goda i ee istochnik*, 1957, pp. 10–11.

²⁰⁹ L. Koczy, in *Ant* II, 1955, pp. 89–90 appraises the role of the Kievan Metropolitans much more aptly: 'All the Roman Metropolitan Sees were established amidst pagans and carried on their missionary tasks: Reims and Cologne, Canterbury and York, Salzburg and Mainz, Bremen and Lund, Magdeburg and Gniezno. None of them was faced by such immense and barren field as the limitless Sarmatian plain, and none transformed it so rapidly into our Lord's vineyard as the Metropolitan See of Kiev. If a chronicler from distant Hamburg was able, around the year 1080, to describe Kiev as "aemula sceptri Constantinopolitani", it could only mean a comparison of the Kiev Metropolitan See with the Patriarchate of Constantinople, and it was indeed not an exaggeration.'

²¹⁰ K. Onasch, *Christentum und Kirche im Kiever Russland*, *TR* XXIV (4), 1958, p. 348.

²¹¹ The introduction of Slavonic into the liturgy of the Rus'ian Church led to many translations of ecclesiastical (and non-ecclesiastical) texts from Greek into Slavonic. Cf. N. Gudzy, *U istokov velikoi slavyanskoi literatury*, *RL*, 1958 (3), p. 47. These translations are today exceedingly valuable material, especially from the linguistic point of view; cf. N. Meshchersky, *Iskusstvo perevoda Kievskoi Rusi*, *TODRL* XV, 1958, pp. 54–72. Nevertheless, the extensive use of translations limited the spread of the knowledge of Greek even among the clergy, unless they happened to be of Greek stock (e.g., Peter, 'Archbishop of Rus'', present at the Council of Lyons in 1245, knew none of the biblical languages). The lack of knowledge of Greek in Rus' (cf. E. Mel'nikov, *Vyskazyvaniya o russkom i slavyanskom yazyke i bor'ba s inostrannymi slovami v drevnei Rusi XI–XVII vv.*, S XXII (4), 1953, p. 577) weakened the influence of Greek culture on that of the Eastern Slavs.

²¹² *MPH* II, pp. 15–16; Z. Kozłowska-Budkowa, *Repertorium polskich dokumentów doby piastowskiej I*, 1937, pp. 49–50; M. Plezia, *List biskupa Mateusza do św. Bernarda*, in *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu*, 1960, pp. 123–140.

tudinous as to be as innumerable as the stars²¹³ (*multitudine innumerabili ceu sideribus adaequata*).²¹⁴ The idea of the 'Rus'ian world' (*ruskii mir*) appears likewise in the East-Slavonic texts which clearly stress the religious and ecclesiastical character of the term 'Rus'.

Bishop Simeon affirms in his message (about 1224)—as Solov'ev points out—that the 'Rus'ian world' exists at two levels which, taken together, yield an indivisible whole: the upper level consists of the saints of the Rus'ian Church—'the celestial citizens of the Rus'ian world'; the lower level comprises the terrestrial ones, the living Christian folk.²¹⁵

'Nestor' relates, under the year 983, how two Varangians in Kiev, father and son, preferred to sacrifice their lives rather than renounce Christ. The Kievan *Paterikon* has preserved an account of the martyrdom suffered by Leontius, Bishop of Rostov (c. 1051–1077), who thereby became 'the third citizen of the Rus'ian world, together with these Varangians [*i se tretii grazhdanin' byst' Ruskago mira, s onema Varyagoma*], and was crowned by Christ because he suffered for Him'.²¹⁶ Thus, according to the opinion of the Kievan clergy, the first three most worthy Rus' were two Norsemen and one Greek.

The Kievan *Paterikon* contains yet another most characteristic detail—one dealing with Simon, a Varangian prince. This Simon entered the Rus'ian Church: 'he had been a Varangian; now, thanks to the grace of Christ [he became] a Christian' (*Izhe byv prezhde Varyag, nyne zhe blagodatuyu khristovoyu khristianin*).²¹⁷ It follows from this text that when the author used here the term 'Varangian' its meaning was not an ethnic but a religious one. This observation is supported by the fact that Simon had previously been a Latin Catholic (*ostaviv latynskuyu buest'*). In this respect, the Kievan *Paterikon* is not an exception. The East-Slavonic sources often call the Latin faith the Varangian one and 'the Varangians' are synonymous with the Latins.²¹⁸

²¹³ The Patriarch Anthony, in 1389, described the multitude of the 'Rus'ian nation' in a similar way. *RIB* VI, 1908, pp. 193–194.

²¹⁴ Matthew distinguishes Rus' not only from the Roman Church but also from the Greek Church, but this distinction must be viewed from the linguistic (and cultural) point of view rather than from one of dogma. The conviction prevailed in the west that 'Ruceni sunt christiani . . . habentes ritum Graecorum, sed non utuntur lingua Greca, immo lingua Sclavonica.' *MGH. Script.* XXVIII, p. 573. The Papal bulls state that the Rus' preserved the 'mores et ritus Graecorum (e.g., J. Ptašnik, *Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana* III, 1914, No 43, pp. 26–27; A. Welykyj, *Documenta Pontificum Romanorum historiam Ucrainae illustrantia* I, 1953, No 12, pp. 28–29) or: 'Graecorum ac Ruthenorum mores et ritus' (J. Ptašnik, *op. cit.*, No. 31, p. 15; A. Welykyj, *op. cit.*, No 5, pp. 19–20).

²¹⁵ A. Solov'ev, *Svyataya Rus'*, *SRAO*, 1927, p. 81.

²¹⁶ D. Abramovich, *Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik*, *PMPDU* IV, 1931, p. 102. The first version of this source dates from the beginning of the 13th century. The final version was written in the 15th century. Cf. N. Gudzy, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1956, pp. 104–110. See also M. Heppell, *The 'Vita Antonii', a Lost Source of the 'Paterikon' of the Monastery of Caves*, *BS* XIII, 1952–1953, pp. 46–58.

²¹⁷ D. Abramovich, *op. cit.*, p. 20.

²¹⁸ 'Ispolnilasya i nasha zemlya zlyya toya very lyudii: ponezhe po vsei zemli Varyazi

When the evangelization of Scandinavia and Eastern Europe was completed (at least to a certain degree) by both the Latin and the Greek Churches, the expressions 'Rus'' and 'Varangians' acquired mutually distinctive meanings. According to the East-Slavonic chroniclers, 'Varangians' were Scandinavians of the Latin faith, whilst Scandinavians who had in Eastern Europe been baptised by the Greek Church were known as 'Rus''.²¹⁹ This observation throws light on the Rurikides themselves.

Many historians affirm that 'Rus'' or 'Rus'ian land' signifies the territory ruled by these princes. This is correct as far as pagan times go, but it is not entirely so with respect to the later centuries. The Rurikides figure in the chronicles for both periods as 'Rus'ian' princes. In pagan times, 'Rus'ian' signified the same as 'Varangian'. But as Christianity spread and the ecclesiastical factor elbowed out the ethnic content of the appellation 'Rus'ian', the Rurikides were known as 'Rus'ian princes' primarily because they belonged to the faith fostered by the Rus'ian Metropolis in Kiev—not because of their ethnic origin. The sources for the epoch also call these rulers 'our princes'.²²⁰ This 'our' indicates that in the course of time, the Eastern Slavs became just as much Rus'ian as the Rurikides—because one as the other belonged to the Rus'ian Church.²²¹

When the term 'Rus'' took on an ecclesiastical meaning, it was applied to signify Rus'ian Christians and, as the Rurikides were such Christians, the territories ruled by them automatically became 'Rus'ian' ones. But it should be borne in mind that there were 'Rus'ian' territories and 'Rus'ian' peoples professing this Christian faith which had never been under Rurikides' rule. It suffices to quote two examples: Trans-Carpathian Rus'²²² and the converted part of the Mordva tribe.²²³ Yet, the populations in question were no

sut'. Makary, *Istoriya russkoi tserkvi* II, 1857, p. 259; 'vera ikh [i.e., of the Varangians] zla i zakon nechist ikh'. A. Popov, *Istoriko-literaturnyi obzor drevne-russkikh polemicheskikh sochinenii*, 1875, p. 79; 'A ezhe se nosili k varyazh'skomu popu deti na molitvu . . .', *RIB* VI, p. 60; 'a v Varyaz'skoi bozhnitsi izgore tovar', A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 57; see also *ibid.*, pp. 29, 37, 93, etc. L. Goetz, *Kirchenrechtliche und kulturgeschichtliche Denkmäler Altrusslands*, 1905, pp. 335–336 rightly indicates that, by the 'Varangian' faith, the Latin one was understood.

²¹⁹ All these facts are overlooked by B. Rybakov, *Predposylki obrazovaniya drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Krizis rabovadel'cheskoi sistemy i zarozhdenie feodalizma na territorii SSSR III–IX vv.*, 1958, p. 735: 'The problem [of the ethnic character of the Rus' and the Varangians] was already thoroughly confused by the Rus'ian chroniclers of the 11th and 12th centuries.' This charge is quite unjustified.

²²⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, 94, 190, 200, etc.

²²¹ For instance, the Derevlians' treatment of Igor' ('Se knyazya ubikhom ruskago', D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 40) proves that the relations in pre-Christian times were quite different.

²²² *OR*, pp. 74–75.

²²³ In the first half of the 13th century, a fierce struggle broke out between two Mordvian tribal chiefs, Purgas and Puresh. '1228. This year—writes the chronicler—Puresh's son conquered Purgas . . . and massacred the whole of the Mordva and Purgas' Rus'. *PSRL* I (2), 1927, p. 451. Many authors, who start from the assumption that the Rus' were Slavs, put forward the conjecture that the Slavonic population migrated to the north-east and lived there under the Mordvian overlordship. Cf.

less 'Rus'ian' than the two Varangians and the Greek (Leontius) mentioned by the Kiev *Paterikon*. Moreover, not only the Varangian Rurikides were called 'Rus'ian princes' but even the members of the Polish Piasts' dynasty²²⁴ and the Lithuanian dukes were described in the same way.²²⁵ It may of course be said this was done because they ruled over Rus'ian lands but the implication is that, if they were to rule over Christian Eastern Slavs without the latter's resistance, they had first to accept baptism in the Rus'ian Church.

The surprisingly vast extent of the territory covered by the 'Rus'ian world' is vouched for by many sources, both foreign (e.g., Matthew, Bishop of Cracow; Marco Polo;²²⁶ the Hungarian Dominican Julianus;²²⁷ the French epic of the 12th and 13th centuries,²²⁸ etc.) and East-Slavonic ones. Among the latter, 'The Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian Land' (*Slovo o pogibeli ruskyya zemli*) deserves special attention.²²⁹

The Russian historians over-zealously extend the territory of Rus', already enormous, to quite fantastic dimensions.²³⁰ But, they do not seem to realize that the more they advance its frontiers, the more they weaken their hypothesis of the existence of a 'Rus'ian nation'.

M. Pokrovsky, *Vozniknovenie moskovskogo gosudarstva i velikorusskaya narodnost'*, *Istoricheskaya nauka i bor'ba klassov* I, 1933, pp. 276-277; D. Rasovsky, *Polovtsy*, *SK* IX, 1937, p. 78; L. Kapterev, *Nizhegorodskoe Povolzh'e X-XVI vv.*, 1939, pp. 22-27; V. Gol'msten and E. Goryunova, *O mordovskom feodalizme*, *KSDPI* VIII, 1940, pp. 47-48; N. Merpert and A. Smirnov, *Kuibyshevskaya arkheologicheskaya ekspeditsiya 1954 g.*, *KSDPI* LXV, 1956, pp. 83-84; P. Chermensky, *Nekotorye spornye voprosy istoricheskoi geografii Ryazanshchiny*, *ISSSR*, 1959 (2), p. 174. (Some geographical data concerning Purgas' territory—in: P. Stepanov, *Purgasovo gorodishche*, 1946, unavailable to me; A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 207; A. Popov's study on the same subject is known to me only through the review of D. Fakos-Fuchs, in *ALASH* II, 1953, pp. 234-235.) Although the above-mentioned conjecture is quite unacceptable (cf. *OR*, p. 16), all these authors admit that there were some Rus' who did not recognize the rule of the Rurikides.

²²⁴ Roman, grandson of Boleslaw the Great (d. 1025), is called by the chronicler *princeps Russiae*. Cf. *OR*, pp. 93, 408-409. Boleslaw, of the Mazovian line of the Piasts' dynasty (and a maternal grandson of George I of Halicz), was a member of the Latin Church, but when he assumed rule over Halicz and Volynia (in about 1324) he entered the Rus'ian Church, changing his name and religion. He titled himself *dux Russiae* in documents issued by him. Cf. H. Paskiewicz, *Polityka ruska Kazimierza Wielkiego*, 1925, Chapter I.

²²⁵ *OR*, Chapter IX. Many Lithuanian princes easily acquired authority on Rus'ian territories as they accepted the faith of the Eastern Church.

²²⁶ I. Minaev and I. Magidovich, *Kniga Marko Polo*, 1956, pp. 226-227.

²²⁷ *OR*, pp. 270, 444.

²²⁸ G. Lozinsky, *Rossiya v srednevekovoi frantsuzskoi literature*, *TSRAO* I, 1929; pp. 55-56 (*La Russie dans la littérature française du Moyen Âge*, *RES*, 1929); A. Drobinsky, *Rus' i Vostochnaya Evropa vo frantsuzskom srednevekovom epose*, *IZ* XXVI, 1948, pp. 98-127.

²²⁹ M. Gorlin, *Le Dit de la ruine de la terre russe*, in M. Gorlin and R. Bloch-Gorlina, *Études littéraires et historiques*, 1957, pp. 81-109. A new edition of the *Slovo* by Begunov is in preparation. Among the recently published studies on the *Slovo* see Yu. Begunov, *Vremya vozniknoveniya 'Slova o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli' i ponyatie 'pogibeli Ruskyya zemli'*, *TODRL* XVI, 1960, pp. 147-160; V. Danilov, 'Slovo o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli' kak proizvedenie khudozhestvennoe, *ibid.*, pp. 132-142.

²³⁰ They affirm that the territory of Rus' reached as far south as the Black Sea and the Danube, as far west as the Carpathian Mountains, as far north as Lake Ladoga and even as far as the White Sea and the Arctic Ocean, and in the east nearly as far as the Ural Mountains. They even do not hesitate to state that this enormous area was populated by the 'Old-Rus'ian nation'.

The concept of a nation upon an area of such vast dimensions, a nation endowed with such a level of internal consolidation and 'patriotism', as is assumed in the literature on the subject, does not appear anywhere in the world at that time and would in fact have been impossible in the given epoch. On the other hand, there is adequate evidence for and every likelihood of such a vast development of the Christian faith carried out by those who propagated it with an enormous outlay of energy and effort. The sweeping vigour of the missionary activities conducted by the Metropolitan See of Kiev and its clergy was such that the concept of ecclesiastical Rus' was boundless in the territorial sense. Stökl states, in his review of *OR*, that 'the idea of a religious interpretation of the concept of "Rus'" has something fascinating in it because this interpretation fits in incomparably better with the spiritual world of the Middle Ages than does the national one'.²³¹

It is affirmed that the most striking sign of the 'patriotism' of the Rus'ian nation, its consolidation and solidarity, is the often-cited fact that despite the disintegration of the Kievan State and the incessant internal wars, the unity of Rus' was maintained and even reinforced during those times.²³² Though often encountered in historical publications, this view is nevertheless untenable. The idea of the unity of Rus', of 'all Rus'' (*vseya Rusii*), was taken up by the Eastern Church which proceeded to realize it with remarkable determination and consistency in spite of the ethnic differences between the individual tribes of Eastern Europe and the changes in political relations then under way. Its primary aim was to maintain the unity of the Rus'ian Metropolis. 'The Rus'ian Church—wrote Barsov—as a province of the Patriarchate of Constantinople had to remain one and indivisible in accordance with the universally accepted canon rule which does not permit two bishops to function in one diocese nor two Metropolitans in one province [of the Church].'²³³ It was for this reason that every attempt to undermine the unity of this Metropolis was met with failure: the foundation of the short-lived

²³¹ G. Stökl, *Russisches Mittelalter und sowjetische Mediaevistik*, *JGO* III (1), 1955, p. 7.

²³² M. Hellmann, *Staat und Recht in Altrussland*, *Saec* V, 1954, p. 59 stresses that the Rus'ian Church did not aim at securing secular authority and was not directly involved in the armed conflicts within the country. In fact, the Church discouraged and tried to smooth out all disputes and conflicts, thus enhancing its moral authority and influence over the princes and the broad masses of the population. The political disruption of Rus' was no obstacle to the spread of Christianity. The following example will illustrate the influence of the clergy upon the laity. When, as 'Nestor' relates under the year 1069, Bolesław the Bold was advancing at the head of his Polish army towards the Dnieper as an ally of Izyaslav, son of Yaroslav the Wise, the Kievans were ready, in face of this imminent danger, to burn their city and withdraw to the land of the Greeks ('*zazhegshe grad svoi, stupim v Grech'sku zemlyu*'), D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 116).

²³³ T. Barsov, *Konstantinopol'skii patriarkh i ego vlast' nad russkoyu tserkov'yu*, 1878, p. 374; *idem*, *O kanonicheskomelemente v tserkovnom upravlenii*, 1882 (unavailable to me). Cf. N. Kostomarov, *Severnorusskie narodopravstva vo vremya udel'no-vechevogo ukladu* II, 1886, pp. 256-257.

Metropolis in Pereyaslavl'²³⁴ or Andrei Bogolyubsky's similar efforts (in c. 1160) to establish a separate Rus'ian Metropolitan See for the Ugro-Finnish Upper Volga region, i.e., for the Rus' but non-Slavs.²³⁵ When Constantinople in later times (14th and 15th centuries) gave up its rigid attitude to such matters, it did so solely under compulsion and dire extremity, for political reasons, as in the case of the Metropolitan See of Halicz²³⁶ or that of Lithuania.²³⁷ One and the same argument is constantly advanced in all the messages of the Patriarchs in which they very clearly defined their attitude towards any attempt to break up the Rus'ian Metropolis: the principle of canon law regarding the organization of the Church (*Pravila ubo svyatykh Apostol i bozhestvennykh Otets kayazhdo*

²³⁴ Some historians (cf. M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 378; M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, p. 311; A. Stokes, *The Status of the Russian Church 988-1037*, SEER XXXVII, 1959, pp. 430-443, and others) suppose that, in the reign of Vladimir, a Rus'ian Metropolitan See was founded in Pereyaslavl', and then transferred to Kiev by Yaroslav. This conjecture is chiefly based on the treatise directed against the Latins, written by Leo in Greek. But it is difficult to decide whether the author of this treatise actually was the first Rus'ian Metropolitan since its date is uncertain (cf. L. Müller, *Zum Problem des hierarchischen Status und der jurisdiktionellen Abhängigkeit der russischen Kirche vor 1039*, ODO III, 1959, pp. 22-26). 'Nestor' does not support such a hypothesis; on the contrary, he states—which is much more probable—that a Metropolitan See existed in Pereyaslavl' in the second half of the 11th century (1089). 'V se zhe leto svyashchena byst' tserky svyatogo Mikhaila Pereyaslav'skaya Efremom mitropolitom' toya tserky, yuzhe be sozdal veliku sushchyu, be bo prezhe v Pereyaslavli mitropol'ya, i pristroi yu velikoyu pristroyeyu, ukrasiv yu vsyakoyu krasotoyu, tserkovnymi sosudy. . . . D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 137). 'Nestor's' report is confirmed by archaeology; cf. M. Karger, *Rozkopki v Pereyaslavli-Khmel'nits'komu v 1952-1953 rr.*, Ar IX, 1954, pp. 3-29. The chronicler indicates that this Metropolis was a very short-living creation. D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 139. I suppose that the Rus'ian Metropolis of Pereyaslavli', with Greek as a liturgical language, was devoted to the Rus' but non-Slavs. Three characteristic facts should be taken into consideration: (1) the region of Suzdal', i.e., the territory of the Finnish tribe, Merya, belonged to Pereyaslavli' (1096). 'Oleg zhe povele zazheshchi Suzhdal' gorod, tokmo ostasya . . . tserky, yazhe tamo est' svyatogo Dmitreya, yuzhe be dal Efrem i s sely.' D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 169; 1222. 'Velikiy knyaz' Gyurgi zalozhi tserkov' kamen'nu svyatyia Bogoroditsa v Suzhdali na pervem' meste, zazdrushiv staroe zdan'e, ponezhe uchala be rushitsiya starost'y u i verkh eya vpal be; ta bo tserky sozdana pradedom ego Volodimerom Monomakhom i blazhenym' episkopom' Efremom.' PSRL I (2), 1927, p. 445. Cf. N. Voronin, *Politicheskaya legenda v Kievo-Pecherskom paterike*, TODRL XI, 1955, pp. 97-100. (2) The region of Smolensk, though on Slavonic (Krivichian) territory but with an old Varangian centre, was likewise dependent on Pereyaslavli'. This is stated by Prince Rostislav in his document issued to the Bishopric of Smolensk (1150). (3) M. Priselkov, *Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya IX-XII vv.*, VDI, 1939, p. 103 rightly states that, in the reign of Vsevolod (d. 1093), the Greek clergy at Kiev endeavoured to prohibit the use of the Slavonic language in the churches and to introduce Greek into the liturgy. The Metropolitan of Pereyaslavli' in 1089 was Ephraim, a Greek. Vsevolod was married to a Greek princess. His Grecophile tendencies are emphasized by N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 103, and by B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 412. As to the chronicles of Pereyaslavli' at that time see A. Nasonov, *Ob otnoshenii letopisaniya Pereyaslavlya-Russkogo k Kievskomu (XII vek)*, PI VIII, 1959, pp. 466-494.

²³⁵ Cf. O. Lotots'ky, *Ukrains'ki dzhherela tserkovnogo prava*, PUNI V, 1931, p. 136; *idem*, *Autokefalia. Zasady autokefalii*, 1932, p. 112 (*idem*, *Avtokefalia*, PUNI XVI, 1935, p. 131); W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, JGO, 1940, pp. 80-81; N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, PSSS I, 1951, pp. 19-20.

²³⁶ A. Pavlov, *O nachale Galitskoi i Litovskoi mitropolii*, ROB V, 1894, pp. 214-251; I. Nazarko, *Galits'ka mitropoliya*, AOBM III (1-2), 1958, pp. 173-189.

²³⁷ K. Chodynicky, *Kościół prawosławny a Rzeczpospolita Polska (1370-1632)*, 1934, pp. 11-24; OR, Chapter IX.

*mitropolia i episkop'a tselo i ne porushimo svoya derzhati opravdania poveleli, i niktozhe ot svyatykh mozhет bozhestvennykh i svyashchennykh prestupiti pravil, ashche ne stranen ot Boga koshchet byti*²³⁸). The Patriarchs considered themselves to be 'the guardians of Divine law and the Church canons'.²³⁹ It is not in the consolidation of the Rus'ian nation as imagined by certain historians that the genesis of the unity of Rus' is to be sought, but in the canon law of the Eastern Church.

It is most characteristic that although so much has been written about the existence of the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation', there are at the same time numerous observations by various authors which directly or indirectly support my point of view. The concept of an ecclesiastical-religious Rus' weaves its way through the works of historians, linguists, historians of literature, historiosophers, etc., although it must be admitted that these authors do not extract the proper conclusions from their observations. Yet, the problem facing them provides the key to an understanding of what is often called 'the spirit of Russian history', 'the soul of Russia',²⁴⁰ 'the idea of Russia', etc.²⁴¹

²³⁸ *RIB* VI (1), 1908, No 3, pp. 65-66; cf. *ibidem*, No 33, pp. 193-228; No 40, pp. 267-268. See also *ibid.*, No 3, pp. 13-20; No 4, pp. 21-26; No 5, pp. 25-30; No 6, pp. 29-34; No 7, pp. 33-40; No 15, pp. 91-98. For the basic features of the organization of the Eastern Church, see N. Milasch, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, 1905, pp. 93, 299, 304, 318, 323, etc.

²³⁹ *RIB* VI (1), No 40, pp. 267-268.

²⁴⁰ D. Tschizewskij, *Das heilige Russland. Russische Geistesgeschichte* I (10.-17. Jahrhundert), 1959, p. 8 draws attention to the vague meaning of this term.

²⁴¹ Many authors rightly emphasize some characteristic features of the Russian nation which can be explained only by the long existence of an ecclesiastical-religious Rus'. Sm-v, *Pravoslavie i russkaya narodnost'*, 1887, p. 13: 'Russian nationality was formed by faith'; F. Haase, *Die religiöse Psyche des russischen Volkes*, 1921, p. 5 reminds of Chekhov's well-known dictum that the soul of Russia can be understood only in religion; L. Karsavin, 'Put' pravoslaviya, in *Sofiya* I, 1923, p. 55: 'The Orthodox Church is mainly a Russian Church, inconceivable in separation from Russian culture . . . , from the Russian State and from the Russian life'; N. Berdyayev, *Russkaya religioznaya ideya*, in *Problemy russkogo religioznogo soznaniya*, 1924, p. 61 considers that the greatest part of the Russian nation lived through the centuries within a religious, not a national, culture; *idem*, *Russkaya ideya*, 1946, p. 12 (also in English, *The Russian Idea*, 1947) affirms that 'the Orthodox faith became the Russian faith'; V. Zen'kovsky, *Pravoslavie i russkaya kul'tura*, in *Problemy russkogo religioznogo soznaniya*, 1924, p. 288: 'The Orthodox faith is the living and principal centre of the Russian national spirit'; N. Trubetskoi, *K probleme russkogo samopoznaniya. Sbornik statei*, 1927, p. 94: 'The ecclesiastical-Slavonic literary-linguistic tradition consolidated and developed in Russia not so much because it was Slavonic, but because it was ecclesiastic' (abridged English transl., *The Common Slavic Element in Russian Culture*, 1951); *idem*, Introduction to the History of Old Russian Literature, *HSS* II, 1954, p. 98: 'The Orthodox Church became national in Russia, and its connection with the national structure was such a close one that in the minds of the people the concepts "Russian" and "Orthodox" (*pravoslavnyi*) coincided'; A. Kartashev, *Sud'by "Svyatoi Rusi"* *PM* I, 1928, p. 138: 'The influence of the Church . . . reinforced . . . the identification of the young national consciousness with allegiance to the Christian faith'; *idem*, *Pravoslavie i Rossiya*, in *Pravoslavie v zhizni. Sbornik statei* (ed. by S. Verkhovskiy), 1953, p. 182: 'The Orthodox faith could do without Russia; but the converse is out of the question: there can be no Russia without the Orthodox faith'; N. Zernov, *The Russians and their Church*, 1945, p. 2: 'The Russians more than any other nation, have identified themselves with their Church'; T.

For Berdyaev, Russia is an 'unfathomable mystery' (*nerazgadan-naya taina*).²⁴² Tyutchev, the poet, in similar vein wrote that Russia cannot be understood, that 'one can only believe in Russia' (*v Rossiyu možhno tol'ko verit'*). The mistakes of the old as well as of the modern historians are that they apply a false terminology (the identification of 'Rus'' with 'Russia'), extract from archaeological findings far-reaching yet unjustified conclusions, neglect to make semantic analyses of many basic words (*yazyk, strana, zemlya, nachal'-nik*, etc.), operate with artificially created concepts ('Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation'), constantly 'correct' the texts of source-material, etc. All these errors taken together produced utter confusion in the interpretation of the fundamental historical events while surrounding Russia with a misty halo of the unusual and mysterious.

I should like to quote here some noteworthy opinions of various scholars on topics connected with the formation of the Rus'ian nation.

Thus, Tret'yakov believes that the appellation 'Rus'' became common for the Eastern Slavs in the first half of the 11th century.²⁴³ Chronologically taken, this coincides with the conversion of Vladimir and the spread of Christianity in Eastern Europe. The word 'Christian' (*khr'stiyanin, kr'stiyan*), as Sreznevsky rightly observed, signifies in the East-Slavonic sources 'an inhabitant of the Rus'ian land' (*zhitel' Russkoi zemli*).²⁴⁴ Sprinchak writes: "This new nuance of the meaning "Christian" ("a believer in the Orthodox faith", "an inhabitant of the Rus'ian land"), contradictory to the meanings of such words as *inoplemennik* [one belonging to another tribe] or *inoverets* [one belonging to another faith] had already appeared in the pre-Mongol period."²⁴⁵ Other authors postpone this identification of 'Rus'' and 'Christianity' to somewhat later times. Cherepnin believes that the expression 'Christian' had a religious-national meaning and that the word 'Christians' was understood to signify 'the Orthodox Rus'ian nation' (*pravoslavnyi russkii narod*).²⁴⁶ Solov'ev too considers that under the Tartars the words 'Rus'ian' and

Massaryk, *The Spirit of Russia*, 1955 affirms that the Orthodox faith is the key to an understanding of the past and present of Russia. See also B. Jasinowski, *Wschodnie chrześcijaństwo a Rosja na tle rozbioru pierwiastków cywilizacyjnych Wschodu i Zachodu*, 1933; H. Iswolsky, *The Soul of Russia*, 1943 (unavailable to me).

²⁴² N. Berdyaev, *Dusha Rossii*, 1915, p. 6.

²⁴³ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, p. 208.

²⁴⁴ I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy dlya slovary drevnerusskogo yazyka* III, 1912, pp. 1344, 1403-1404, 1410.

²⁴⁵ Ya. Sprinchak, O proiskhozhdenii slova 'krest'yanin' v russkom yazyke, *RYS* XVII (6), 1956, p. 115.

²⁴⁶ L. Cherepnin, Iz istorii formirovaniya klassa feodal'no-zavisimogo krest'yanstva na Rusi, *IZ* LVI, 1956, pp. 262-264; *idem*, Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV v., in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii. Sbornik statei*, 1958, pp. 40, 94, 99-101.

'Christian' were synonymous.²⁴⁷ The *Ocherki* likewise indicate that the Rus'ian nation was called 'the Christians' in the literature of the 13th and 14th centuries.²⁴⁸ All these authors believe that there was a Rus'ian nation in the epoch under discussion, but they also simultaneously admit that the concept of Rus' had an ecclesiastical-religious implication, and it is this which constitutes the positive attainment of their studies.

It must be asked: Where was the principal centre which fostered 'the Rus'ian idea' in the extensive territories of Eastern Europe? Who provided the intellectual and spiritual force behind it? The princes, the members of their retinues or the broad masses of the 'Rus'ian nation'? It has, however, been aptly pointed out that this important role was played first of all by the monasteries, the Kievan Crypt Monastery in particular. Eremin considers that 'the authors of the *Paterikon* [the first version of which was written in this monastery] brought the idea of the unity of the Rus'ian land to the consciousness of the broad masses'.²⁴⁹ Nasonov states that 'these ideas [of the Rus'ian or East Slavonic nation] matured gradually in the national consciousness. And the Crypt Monastery became their guide'.²⁵⁰ Likhachev emphasizes that the idea of Rus'ian unity was reflected in 'Nestor's' Chronicle, in sermons, in the lives of the Saints²⁵¹—evidently, in the writings of the clergy. According to Lavrov, the chronicles (the *Povest'* was also written in the Kievan Crypt Monastery) 'exercised a great influence upon the shaping of Rus'ian national consciousness'.²⁵² Insisting on the ethnic character of the concept of 'Rus'', the above-mentioned authors treat the Rus'ian monasteries as politico-national institutions, more national

²⁴⁷ A. Solov'ev, *Svyataya Rus'*, SRAO, 1927, p. 81. In his study: *Zametki k 'Slovu o pogibeli Ruskyia zemli'*, TODRL XV, 1958, p. 81, Solov'ev writes: 'This proud contra-distinction [in the *Slovo o pogibeli*] of the chosen, cultural nation as against the surrounding peoples of other faiths, chiefly pagan, is typical of the Middle Ages and indicates how national consciousness was enhanced by religious differences.' The same Solov'ev (in: Avtor 'Zadonshchiny' i ego politicheskie idei, TODRL XIV, 1958, p. 191) states: 'In the "*Zadonshchina*" ["Deeds beyond the Don"], with the advance of religious consciousness towards the end of the 14th century, the concept of "Christian faith" irreversibly mingled with the concept of [Rus'ian] nationality, though without extruding the latter.' J. Danzas, *The Russian Church* (transl. by O. Bennigsen), 1936, p. 13 is of the same opinion: 'During the intermediate restless years between the collapse of Kiev and the growth of Moscow, the final fusion between the Church and the [Rus'ian] people was completed.' See also G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 375.

²⁴⁸ *Ocherki istorii SSSR* II, 1953, p. 341.

²⁴⁹ I. Eremin, *Zhitiya*, in *Istoriya russkoi literatury* I, 1941, p. 346. The information handed down by the Kievan *Paterikon* regarding Rus' does not bear a national character but an eminently ecclesiastical one. Cf. *OR*, p. 16. See also M. Heppell, *The Paterikon of the Kievan Monastery of Caves as a Source for Monastic Life in pre-Mongolian Russia*, 1954.

²⁵⁰ A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 220.

²⁵¹ D. Likhachev, *Nekotorye voprosy ideologii feodalov v literature XI-XIII vv.*, TODRL X, 1954, p. 87.

²⁵² N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 90. Similarly—I. Lapitsky, *K voprosu o narodnosti v drevnerusskoi literature*, *VLU*, 1955, pp. 61–82.

than the Rus'ian nation itself since the monks—many of whom were foreigners—were now to arouse national consciousness and shape it. All these hypotheses break down on the fact that the Kievan Crypt Monastery (the principal one at that time²⁵³) as a monastery had to have first of all religious aims as its primary task and duty. Fedotov rightly points out that the Rus'ian clergy was 'the most Rus'ian' (*samim russkim*) element.²⁵⁴ This is not surprising, for its vocation was that of spreading 'the Rus'ian faith'.²⁵⁵

Faced by the progressive enfeeblement of the Kievan State and by the lack of ethnic ties between the great masses of the East European peoples newly converted to Christianity and chiefly though not solely of Slavonic stock, the Rus'ian Church was obliged to assume certain duties which extended beyond the territories of the individual tribes and principalities—in these conditions, the Church became the only power making for unification. It was with this in mind that many authors wrote at length about the 'Rus'ian patriotism' of the clergy as a conscious national sentiment. Some investigators have striven to define more closely the content and meaning of this 'patriotism'. Likhachev mentions Hilarion's *Slovo o zakone i blagodati* ('Discourse on Law and Grace') in this connection and stresses the 'patriotism of the "new Christians", boasting of their new faith and motherland'.²⁵⁶ It is significant that Likhachev perceives the religious element in this 'patriotism'. Voronin has a still clearer view when he writes of the 'patriots of the Crypt Monastery'.²⁵⁷ According to Danzas, all that can be extracted from the sources of the epoch testifies to the 'religious patriotism' of Rus'²⁵⁸ (hence, not a national one), whilst Berdyaev states that 'ecclesiastical nationalism is a characteristic Rus'ian feature'.²⁵⁹

No attempt will be made in the present study to deal exhaustively

²⁵³ Cf. L. Goetz, *Das Kiever Höhlenkloster als Kulturzentrum des vormongolischen Russland*, 1904; R. Casey, *Early Russian Monasticism*, OCP XIX, 1953, pp. 372-423; M. Rouët de Journel, *Monachisme et monastères russes*, 1952, pp. 67-88; *idem*, *Byzance et le monachisme russe*, SBN VII, 1953, pp. 317-321; I. Smolitsch, *Russisches Mönchtum. Entstehung, Entwicklung und Wesen* (988-1917), OsC X-XI, 1953, pp. 55-67; M. Heppell, *The Origins of the Church of the Kievan Monastery of Caves*, 1957 (unavailable to me).

²⁵⁴ G. Fedotov, *Slavyanskii ili russkii yazyk v bogoslužhenii*, Pu LVII, 1938, p. 22. The author, however, mistakenly ascribes national activity as the primary purpose of this clergy.

²⁵⁵ N. Berdyaev, *Russkaya ideya*, 1946, p. 12 rightly explained the sense of the term 'Rus'ian faith'. On the other hand, V. Riasanovsky, in RR XV (2), 1956, p. 135 betrays a faulty knowledge of the sources and of the literature on the subject apart from a complete failure to understand the problem as a whole.

²⁵⁶ D. Likhachev, *Literatura*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 179.

²⁵⁷ N. Voronin, *Politicheskaya legenda v Kievo-Pecherskom paterike*, TODRL XI, 1955, p. 101.

²⁵⁸ J. Danzas, *Le nationalisme religieux russe*, RC, 1938-1939 (2), p. 166.

²⁵⁹ N. Berdyaev, *Dusha Rossii*, 1915, p. 15. S. Uvarov considers that the Bible in Slavonic created the Russian nation. Cf. L. Łętowski, *Katalog biskupów, prałatów i kanoników krakowskich* I, 1852, pp. 47-48. According to Zernov, the Rus'ian monks were 'builders of Russia'. Cf. N. Zernov, *St Sergius—Builder of Russia*, 1938.

with the many, broadly conceived, tasks of the Rus'ian Church. I emphasize only some of the most characteristic elements of that concept which can justly be called 'ecclesiastical-religious patriotism'—since the term 'patriotism' for the period under examination is generally accepted in the literature on the subject.

First of all, let us consider the pains taken by the Church to develop among the faithful a feeling of separateness with regard to external enemies of the Eastern Church,²⁶⁰ particularly Latins and pagans, with the steppe nomads in the first place. Sobolevsky is not alone²⁶¹ when he rightly points out that the strenuous effort of the clergy to arouse inimical feeling towards the Roman Catholics in the Rus'ian Christians, was the work of Greeks.²⁶² If then the problem is regarded on an ethnic level, it will have to be admitted that the Greeks evinced more East-Slavonic 'patriotism' than the Slavs themselves. Further, the Rus'ian Church likewise endeavoured to encourage and uphold the morale of the faithful in their armed clashes with the steppe nomads. It had in fact a special interest in the outcome of this struggle for it was directly menaced: the geographical position of the Metropolitan See was very close the steppe whilst the power of the Kievan princes gradually declined in the 12th and 13th centuries. There was, for that matter, no special need to arouse feelings of enmity amongst the Christian population towards the nomads, for the incessant raids of the Pechenegs, Polovtsians and others²⁶³ on 'Rus'ian land'²⁶⁴ were so vexatious and ruinous that they sufficed to produce a suitable climate of inimical sentiment. Moreover, the Slavonic feeling of separateness from these steppe peoples was naturally much greater than the corresponding feeling towards such fellow-Slavs as the Poles or the Czechs. With respect to the

²⁶⁰ S. Bugoslavsky, *Russkaya zemlya v literature Kievskoi Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, UZMGU CXVIII, 1946, pp. 3-26.

²⁶¹ *OR*, p. 48.

²⁶² A. Sobolevsky, *Otnoshenie drevnei Rusi k razdeleniyu tserkvei*, *IAN*, 1914 (2), p. 98. See also *idem*, *Drevnyaya tserkovno-slavyanskaya literatura i ee znachenie*, 1908.

²⁶³ As regards later times—and the Tartars, see M. Shakhmatov, *Otnoshenie drevne-russkikh knizhnikov k tataram*, in *Trudy IV-go sezda russkikh akademicheskikh organizatsii za granitsei* I, 1929, pp. 171-173; I. Budovnik, *Ideinaya osnova rannikh narodnykh skazanii o tatarskom ige*, *TODRL* XIV, 1958, pp. 169-175.

²⁶⁴ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', p. 45 points out that the expressions 'the Rus'ian land', 'Rus', etc. appear particularly frequently in the chronicles within the context of fighting against steppe nomads. W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, 1940, p. 70 has the feeling that the concept of 'the Rus'ian land' was not used in everyday life but had a rather bookish character (*eine literarische Bildung*) and appears whenever the chroniclers strive to express themselves in solemn, sublime manner (*in gehobener Sprache*). N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, PSSS I, 1951, p. 18 remarks that during the period of territorial disintegration 'a moral bond existed between the separated parts of the Rus'ian land'. All these observations do not clearly determine the role of the Rus'ian clergy at that time but they do, nevertheless, indirectly suggest what this role was (ecclesiastics wrote the chronicles, the Church fostered a respect for ethics and morality). Chubaty adds further: 'That part of the old political structure of Kievan Rus' which survived the longest was the ecclesiastical Metropolitan See of Kiev' (*ibid.*, p. 19).

western neighbours of Rus', the Church merely needed to exercise more vigilance.²⁶⁵

Another element in this religious 'patriotism' was the idea of the unity and solidarity of the Rus'ian land,²⁶⁶ i.e., among all the members of the Rus'ian Church. As has already been mentioned, the metropolitans and their subordinate clergy strove incessantly to pacify disputes and to prevent internal wars. The peaceful collaboration of all the territories and principalities—i.e., of 'all Rus'—obviously made it easier for the Church to carry out its prime tasks: the defence and development of the faith.

Conquests of pagan territories constituted another of the elements of this religious 'patriotism'; though these were often caused by the selfish interests of individual Rurikides, they were embellished with a halo of sanctity, as the work of God,²⁶⁷ for they harmonized with the Church's plans of expansion. These plans, called 'Christian imperialism' by Kartashev,²⁶⁸ could not be restricted—as follows from the teachings of Christ—to the conversion of Slavs only.

Kartashev correctly stated that the non-Slavonic population converted to Christianity 'thereby became Rus'ian (*cherez eto rusela*),²⁶⁹ but he misinterprets his own words since he implies that the non-Slavs quickly lost their ethnic peculiarity as a result.²⁷⁰ Actually these peoples became 'Rus'ian' primarily in the sense that thenceforth their territories were treated and described as part of 'the Rus'ian land'.

Tikhomirov mentions a narrative dealing with a Tartar prince in the latter half of the 13th century who accepted baptism and the name of Peter; he later settled in Rostov where he ruled as an ordinary local chieftain.²⁷¹ The authenticity of this account is not the point at issue, but the general probability of such happenings is worth stressing. Towards the end of the 14th century three eminent

²⁶⁵ W. Philipp, *Historische Voraussetzungen des politischen Denkens in Russland*, FOG I, 1954, p. 9 writes: 'Russian distrust of Western Europe was first aroused in the field of religion; it was the distrust of the Greeks with regard to the Latins as the falsifiers of the teachings of the first seven Councils.'

²⁶⁶ G. Rauch, *Russland: staatliche Einheit und nationale Vielfalt*, 1953, p. 13.

²⁶⁷ 'God subjected the pagan countries to the overlordship of the Christian *yazyk*' ('to vse pokoreno bylo Bogom krest'nyan'skomu yazyku pogan'skyya strany'). M. Gorlin, *Le dit de la ruine de la terre russe*, p. 99.

²⁶⁸ A. Kartashev, *Sud'by 'Svyatoi Rusi'*, p. 142.

²⁶⁹ A. Kartashev, *op. cit.*, p. 138.

²⁷⁰ N. Zernov, *The Russians and their Church*, pp. 18–19 states that 'the entire culture of Russia during the Kiev period . . . was inspired and guided by the Orthodox Church.' There is no doubt that the missionary activity of the Rus'ian clergy contributed to raise the cultural level of the converted peoples. Under the influence of this activity, the non-Slavs began to use the liturgical language of the Church (Slavonic) and to abandon their native speech. But this process was a slow and gradual one and became perceptible only in later times. See Chapter V of the present study.

²⁷¹ M. Tikhomirov, *Vossozhdanie russkoi pis'mennoi traditsii v pervye desyatiletiya tatarskogo iga*, VIMK, 1957 (3), p. 4. Cf. M. Skripil', *Russkie povesti XV–XVI vekov*, 1958, pp. 98–105, 430–440 ('I tol'mi lyublyashe knyaz' Petra, yako i khleba bez nego ne yast, yako vladytse bratati ikh v tserkvi s knyazem. I prozvalsya Petr bratom knyazyu', p. 102).

Tartars arrived in Moscow; they were baptised by the Metropolitan and expressed their readiness to serve the Grand Duke Vasili.²⁷² The connection between baptism and fidelity to the ruler of Muscovy is not a fortuitous one: Muscovy was already then beginning to play a major role in the 'Rus'ian world', a role based on ecclesiastical-religious premisses and to some extent analogous with that of Kiev in earlier times. We can perceive in the conduct of these Tartars signs of the same religious 'patriotism' which had caused converted steppe nomads and Lithuanians in bygone days to give up their lives gladly for 'the Rus'ian land'.²⁷³

The chronicler who describes the baptism of these three Tartars adds the following comment: 'God, convert the pagans to Christianity. May they become our brethren, accepting holy baptism. Let there be one flock and one shepherd.'²⁷⁴ Ethnically diverse elements (such as these Tartars) were to become brethren in Christ, for the evangelical flock was to embrace the greatest possible number of peoples and territories in line with the intentions of the Rus'ian Church.

The success of Christianity in Eastern Europe did not, however, find a counterpart in any political organization during the 12th and 13th centuries, though the formation of such an entity undoubtedly formed part of the aims of the Church. Realizing their ambitious plans, the Rus'ian clergy consistently counted on the authority of the Rurikides: though feeble and at odds with one another, these princes, nevertheless, were bound by the traditions of a common descent and a glorious past. For that matter, there was no other political power which extended beyond the domains of the individual principalities. Though Poland and particularly Lithuania in the 14th century ruled over many Rus'ian Christians, the Eastern Church could not base itself on the power of these States and in any case cooperated with them rather unwillingly and only from necessity: Poland was Roman Catholic whilst Lithuania was at first pagan and later—from 1387—likewise Catholic. It would have been another matter if the Tartars had accepted Christianity from Rus'. Quite new possibilities would then have been opened up for the Church. Vernadsky rightly states that 'had the Mongol khans... adopted the Orthodox faith, it is probable not Moscow but Sarai²⁷⁵ would have become the spiritual and cultural centre of the Rus'ian land'. And he adds:

From the point of view of State-administrative organization Sarai was the chief centre, Moscow a supplementary one. From the ecclesiastical

²⁷² M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 443.

²⁷³ *OR*, pp. 51, 352.

²⁷⁴ M. Shakhmatov, *Otnoshenie drevne-russkikh knizhnikov k tataram*, pp. 171-172. In the 11th century, Feodosi Pechersky's attitude to the converted pagan peoples was similar ('brethren'). Cf. I. Eremin, *Literaturnoe nasledie Feodosiya Pecherskogo*, *TODRL* V, 1947, p. 184.

²⁷⁵ Sarai on the Volga was the capital of the Golden Horde; cf. *OR*, p. 301.

point of view the relations were in reverse. The chief centre was Moscow, supplementary—Sarai.²⁷⁶ Had such a conversion taken place and had the Sarai khans accepted the Orthodox faith, it is evident that the roles of Moscow and Sarai would have been quickly reversed in the ecclesiastical sphere. The Metropolitan See of the whole Rus', once it had lost its centre at Kiev, would definitely have been established not in Moscow but in Sarai.²⁷⁷

In this case—following Vernadsky's reasoning—the Kievan Metropolitans would have transferred to the Tartar khans that 'Rus'ian national sentiment' and 'Rus'ian patriotism' (to use the phraseology of present-day historians) with which they had previously endowed the Rurikides. This would have come about all the more easily inasmuch as these metropolitans were nearly all Greeks until the end of the 13th century.

Once it is affirmed that the Tartars, on their conversion, would have taken over the leadership of the 'Rus'ian world', the concept of 'Rus'' automatically assumes an ecclesiastical-religious implication. If events had followed the course outlined by Vernadsky and others,²⁷⁸ it may well be asked: Where then are we to seek that Rus'ian nation, regarding whose national consciousness so much has been written in the literature on the subject? In fact, Vernadsky has himself undermined the theory of the existence of the 'Old-Rus'ian nation' which he so firmly defended in his review of *OR*.

In his book *The Mongols and Russia*, Vernadsky affirms that the domination of the Tartars over Eastern Europe led to the split of the formerly united Rus'ian nation and to the formation of three Rus'ian nations.²⁷⁹ His reasoning can be summed up in a following way: the Tartars did not accept baptism and disrupted Rus', but had they become Christians they would have consolidated Rus'. It is hardly possible to indicate more clearly that the religious factor—and not the national one—was of decisive significance in the formation of Rus'.

In an appraisal of the old Rus'ian (in the ecclesiastical sense) literature in East-Slavonic, Istrin writes: 'The literature of the period extending from the 11th to the 13th century is lacking an element which, on the other hand, is very marked in that of the 15th to the 17th century. It is a peculiarity of these early writings that they lack any ideology. . . . Literature was universally Rus'ian, without any local tendencies.' He goes on:

As to the literature produced from the 11th to the 13th century . . . it was, during this period, without any dominating centre, yet was

²⁷⁶ The Rus'ian clergy made many attempts to convert the Tartars, and a special bishopric was founded at Sarai (1261). Cf. *OR*, p. 321; I. Nazarko, *Vpliv staro-rus'kogo khristiyanstva na mongoliv*, *AOBM* II (1-2), 1954, pp. 153-163.

²⁷⁷ G. Vernadsky, *Mongol'skoe igo v russkoi istorii*, *EV* V, 1927, pp. 160-162.

²⁷⁸ M. Shakhmatov, *Otnoshenie drevne-russkikh knizhnikov k tataram*, pp. 171-172 believes that the Tartars' reception into the Eastern Church would have assured them, in contemporary opinion, the right to dominate all Rus'ian Christians.

²⁷⁹ G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 233.

developed in all parts of Rus' of the period, a certain preponderance of the south being evident at first, and later of the north-east. That is why it cannot be called either Kievan or Rostovo-Suzdalian. . . . In fact, it would be best to call it the literature of the pre-Moscow period.

Then:

The clergy, educated in the south, brought with them into the north the books . . . according to which they celebrated the offices of the Church, and they were in the land of Rostov-Suzdal' . . . the propagators of letters. There is no justification for doubting the rapid appearance in the north-east of Rus' of other books in addition to those which were indispensable for religious purposes. . . . In this way, a literary work produced anywhere in the south became immediately known also in the north, at Novgorod in the first instance, and later also in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'.²⁸⁰

Similar opinions as regards the absence of regional particularist tendencies in this literature are expressed by other authors who however simultaneously defend the ethnic character of Rus'. According to Kozachenko, 'the author of the Chronicle ["Nestor"], son of the Old-Rus'ian nation, thinks of Rus' as a whole and has the fatherland in mind, not merely some part, country or separate territory'.²⁸¹ At the beginning of the 12th century, Abbot Danilo went to the Holy Land and left a description of his journey. 'A noteworthy feature of Danilo—writes Likhachev—is the absence of any kind of narrow, local tendencies. Wherever he was, he felt himself to be a representative of the Rus'ian land as one entity'.²⁸² A similar absence of regional particularism appears in the Kiev *Paterikon*, in the 'Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian Land',²⁸³ etc.²⁸⁴

Like Istrin, Chizhevs'ky found it difficult to coin a name for the literature of the 11th–13th centuries. This is not a minor point, for the name has to express the essential character of the literature in

²⁸⁰ V. Istrin, *Ocherk istorii drevnerusskoi literatury*, 1922, pp. 6, 9, 34.

²⁸¹ A. Kozachenko, *Drevnerusskaya narodnost'—obshchaya etnicheskaya baza russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, SE, 1954 (2), p. 15.

²⁸² D. Likhachev, *Natsional'noe samosoznanie drevnei Rusi*, 1945, p. 48; *idem*, *Literatura*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 194. Similarly—V. Yanin, *Mezhduknazysheskie otnosheniya v epokhu Monomakha i 'Khozhdenie igumena Daniila'*, *TODRL* XVI, 1960, p. 113.

²⁸³ *OR*, pp. 15–16.

²⁸⁴ The same feature is also characteristic of the literature of later times. See, for example, Nikitin's description of his journey (15th century). V. Adrianova-Peretts, Afanasii Nikitin—puteshestvennik, pisatel', in *Khozhdenie za tri morya Afanasiya Nikitina*, 1466–1472, 2nd ed., 1958, p. 125 states that Nikitin, during his sojourn in foreign countries, thought much about his native Rus'ian land and conceived it exclusively in the sense of a whole, though he was personally connected only with Tver' ('Nikitin—tveritin, ekhavshii v put's gramotami svoego tvverskogo knyazya, dumaya na chuzhbine o rodine, myslil ee tol'ko kak vsyu "Russkuyu zemlyu". On nigde i nichem ne vyrazil svoego pristrastiya k uzko ogranichenym mestnym interesam rodnoi Tveri'). Ya. Lur'e, Afanasii Nikitin i nekotorye voprosy russkoi obshchestvennoi mysl' XV v., *ibid.*, p. 127 emphasizes that Nikitin inseparably linked the concepts of his native country with religion ('Nerazryvno svyazyvaya ponyatiya rodina i religiya . . .'). Similarly—L. Cherepnin, *Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV v.*, in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, 1958, p. 103 ('Ponyatie "russkii" dlya Afanasiya Nikitina svyazano s ponyatiem "khristianin", predstavlenie o Russkoi zemle—s predstavleniem o khristianskoi vere').

question. Istrin's suggestion ('literature of the pre-Moscow period') merely fixes the time but does nothing to describe the nature of this literature. Chizhev'sky uses three expressions—'Old-Rus'ian', 'Old-Ukrainian' and 'Kievan' literature—as synonyms, though their implications do not basically coincide with one another.²⁸⁵ Istrin is right when he states that the literature of the 11th–13th centuries lacked ideology if regarded from the national point of view. It would, however, be mistaken to suppose that it lacks all ideology. With but few exceptions, it was actually a literature with a fully 'Rus'ian', hence ecclesiastical, character. That is why it lacks all regional particularities and that is why it could be transferred from locality to locality with such ease and flourish in so many parts of Eastern Europe.

One of the most typical features of the 'patriotism' of the Rus'ian (ecclesiastical) literature—one which lasted far beyond the 13th century—is the idea of 'Holy Rus'. It arises from the conviction that Rus' was singled out by God to carry out a most special mission.

Kartashev remarks: 'Rus' called herself Holy Rus'. . . . Holy and chosen was only the biblical Israel.'²⁸⁶ 'Apart from the Holy Land—writes A. Solov'ev—we know no other country in the world (besides Rus') to whose name the epithet of "holy" has been added.'²⁸⁷ Berdyaev also perceives the analogy between the Rus' and the Jewish people.²⁸⁸ According to him, already

in olden times there was the feeling that Russia was destined for something great, that Russia was a unique country unlike any other country in the world. Russian national thought nourished itself with the conviction that Russia had been chosen by God and was the bearer of the Divine word. . . . Russia considers herself not so much the most Christian as the only Christian country in the world.²⁸⁹

Berdyaev erroneously uses the term 'Russia' instead of 'Rus'. Lopukhin rightly emphasizes that there existed 'Holy Rus' but not 'Holy Russia'.²⁹⁰ Cherepnin states that the opinion is expressed in the Chronicle of 'Nestor' that 'God . . . distinguished the Rus'ian nation as a chosen people'.²⁹¹ Solov'ev perceives that, according to the Metropolitan Hilarion, the Rus'ian nation, being a chosen one, had a special mission assigned to it by God.²⁹² Rose shares the same view.²⁹³

²⁸⁵ D. Tschizhevskij, *Geschichte der altrussischen Literatur im 11., 12. und 13. Jahrhundert*, 1948, pp. 31–32 (*idem*, *Istoriya Ukrains'koi literaturi*, 1956).

²⁸⁶ A. Kartashev, *Sud'by 'Svyatoi Rusi'*, p. 136.

²⁸⁷ A. Solov'ev, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 77.

²⁸⁸ N. Berdyaev, *Russkaya ideya*, p. 6.

²⁸⁹ N. Berdyaev, *Dusha Rossii*, pp. 3, 14.

²⁹⁰ P. Lopukhin, *Svyataya Rus' i russkoe gosudarstvo*, 1953, p. 3.

²⁹¹ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, p. 41. Similarly—A. Brückner, *Historia literatury rosyjskiej I*, 1922, p. 99.

²⁹² A. Solov'ev, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 79. Cf. W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, 1940, p. 24.

²⁹³ K. Rose, *Die Predigt Illarions, des ersten russischen Metropoliten von Kiev*, *BBA V*, 1957, pp. 272–287.

'Holy Rus' is nothing else but an exact expression and reflection of the ecclesiastical-religious content of the concept of Rus'. This elementary fact was overlooked by Cherniavsky.²⁹⁴ Aksakov writes of the term 'Holy Rus' as follows: 'They are mistaken who think this expression implies possibly some proud supremacy and praise of Rus'. By the term "Holy Rus'", the Rus'ian nation understand the Orthodox faith. . . . I will even say that a feeling for the fatherland (*otechestvo*) appears but little in our history compared with the feeling of faith.'²⁹⁵

The term 'Holy Rus' appears frequently in the epic folk-songs, the so-called *byliny*.²⁹⁶ These contain quite poetical descriptions of the victorious encounters of the heroes of these tales with their enemies. The enemies are usually presented in the form of symbolic monsters or of notorious foes of Rus', chiefly steppe nomads (and, particularly, Tartars).²⁹⁷

Unfortunately—states Solov'ev—we are unable to fix dates for the beginnings of the *byliny*, still less for the individual expressions encountered in them. But it is obvious that the basic elements of the *byliny* reach back to the times of Kievan Rus', and that they assumed their final form in the 14th and 15th centuries. . . . The concept of Holy Rus' is not a later addition or insertion in the *byliny*, but one of their fundamental elements. The idea of the Rus'ian land as a Christian land which the pious heroes defend against innumerable foes . . . , is, of course, the guiding thought of the cycle.²⁹⁸

Robinson and Likhachev consider that the *byliny* began to take shape in the 10th or 11th century,²⁹⁹ but these opinions are purely hypothetical. Likhachev himself admits that we really do not know the literary output of 12th and 13th centuries folklore, to say nothing of earlier times.³⁰⁰ There is an abundant literature on the subject³⁰¹

²⁹⁴ M. Cherniavsky, 'Holy Russia': A Study in the History of an Idea, *AHR* LXIII (3), 1958, pp. 617-637.

²⁹⁵ K. Aksakov, *O russkoi istorii*, in his *Polnoe sobranie sochinenii* I, 1861, p. 20.

²⁹⁶ Cf. A. Kartashev, *Vossozhdanie Svyatoi Rusi*, 1956, p. 30. On the other hand, A. Solov'ev, *Helles Russland—Heiliges Russland*, *SV* VI, 1954, pp. 282-289 considers that this expression figures already in the literature of the early period. He identifies the adjective *svetlyi* ('light' or 'bright') with *svyatyi* ('holy') and upon this hypothesis builds up a new conjecture.

²⁹⁷ N. Vodovozov, *Russkii narodnyi epos*, 1947, p. 435.

²⁹⁸ A. Solov'ev, *Svyataya Rus'*, p. 81.

²⁹⁹ A. Robinson, *Fol'klor*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 148; D. Likhachev, *Vozniknovenie russkoi literatury*, 1952, p. 32; *idem*, *Narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo vremeni rastsveta drevnerusskogo rannefeodal'nogo gosudarstva* (X-XI vv.), in *Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo* (ed. by V. Adrianova-Peretts) I, 1953, pp. 178-208. See also P. Lipets and M. Rabinovich, *K voprosu o vremeni slozheniya bylin* (Vooruzhenie bogatyrei), *SE*, 1960 (4), pp. 30-43; B. Rybakov, *Russkii bylinnyi epos v istoricheskom osveshchenii*, *VAN*, 1960 (5), pp. 54-55.

³⁰⁰ D. Likhachev, *Izobrazhenie lyudei v letopisi XII-XIII vv.*, *TODRL* X, 1954, p. 35.

³⁰¹ M. Speransky, *Byliny* I, 1916; II, 1919; B. Sokolov, *Byliny*, 1918; A. Skaftymov, *Poetika i genezis bylin*, 1924; R. Trautmann, *Die Volksdichtung der Grossrussen* I, 1935; Yu. Sokolov, *Russkii fol'klor*, 1938; V. Adrianova-Peretts, *Drevnerusskaya literatura i fol'klor*, *TODRL* VII, 1949, pp. 5-16 and her *Istoricheskaya literatura XI-nachala XV v. i narodnaya poeziya*, *TODRL* VIII, 1951, pp. 95-137; Slavyanskii fol'klor, *TIE* XIII, 1951; D. Likhachev, *Narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo v gody*

but it yields no definitive conclusions in the matter.³⁰² The themes of the *byliny* and particularly the persons of whom they sing—Vladimir the Great appears very often³⁰³—provide no clues as to the period when they were first originated. Since the heroes of the *byliny* fought the Tartars—and these appeared in Eastern Europe during the 13th century—there are no grounds for ascribing a date before the Mongol invasions to these tales. Pomerantseva points out that the *byliny* of the so-called Kievan cycle (of special importance for our present considerations) have been handed down by records not earlier than the 17th and 18th centuries.³⁰⁴ She concludes that in them 'one can perceive the stratification of various epochs—reflections of events in the 15th and 16th centuries'. As regards earlier times, Pomerantseva supposes there could have existed 'epic songs of old Rus' unknown to us'.³⁰⁵ Since they are unknown, any discussion on this subject must remain fully in the sphere of conjecture.

With the spread of Christianity, the idea of 'Holy Rus' became ever more firmly implanted among the broad masses of the faithful, as the very character of the *byliny* demonstrates. Those most important elements of religious 'patriotism'—the feeling of the unity of Rus' and the struggle against infidels and monsters representing all the powers of evil—found lively expression in the *byliny*. These all-Rus'ian themes were common to all Rus'ian Christians, and for this reason the *byliny* (as in fact the whole of the old Rus'ian literature) could so easily be transferred from region to region and develop in the various parts of Eastern Europe provided they had been won over to Christianity.

It will be asked: How did the chroniclers of the period, whose

feodal'noi razdroblennosti Rusi do tatatro-mongol'skogo nashestviya (XII-nachalo XIII v.), in *Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo*, 1953, pp. 217–247; M. Skripil', Narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo perioda feodal'noi razdroblennosti i sozdaniya tsentralizovannogo Russkogo gosudarstva (XIII–XV vv.), *ibid.*, pp. 248–300; B. Putilov, Narodnoe tvorchestvo drevnei Rusi (X–XVII vv.), in P. Bogatyrev, *Russkoe narodnoe poeticheskoe tvorchestvo*, 2nd ed., 1956, pp. 176–191; P. Ukhov, *Byliny*, *ibid.*, pp. 324–367; V. Chicherov, *Byliny*, 1957; V. Propp, *Russkii geroicheskii epos*, 2nd ed., 1958; V. Propp and B. Putilov, *Byliny v dvukh tomakh*, 1958; *Osnovnye problemy eposa vostochnykh slavyan* (by several hands), 1958; B. Putilov, *Russkii istoriko-pesennyi fol'klor XIII–XVI vekov*, 1960; *Russkii fol'klor. Materialy i issledovaniya* (by several hands), 1960, and many others.

³⁰² It must be added that C. Stief, *Das Verhältnis zwischen der altrussischen Chronik und dem Volksepos*, *SSL III*, 1957, pp. 140–147; *idem*, *Vzaimootnosheniya mezhdu russkim letopisaniem i russkim narodnym eposom*, *SSL IV*, 1958, pp. 59–69 is more cautious in his conclusions than many Russian authors.

³⁰³ D. Likhachev, 'Epicheskoe vremya' russkikh bylin, in *Akademiku B. D. Grekovu ko dnyu 70-letiya sbornik statei*, 1952, p. 62 and M. Skripil', *Voprosy nauchnoi periodizatsii russkogo narodnogo poeticheskogo tvorchestva*, in *Russkii fol'klor*, 1956, p. 30 point out that Vladimir the Great, referred to in the *byliny* as 'the Bright Sun' (*Krasnoe Solnyshko*), was not the hero who fought the enemies of Rus' but the person around whom the heroes rallied. On the apocryphal 'Life of Vladimir the Ardent Sun' found by Yu. Arbsky (G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, pp. 312–313, 322), see D. Lang, in *SEER XXXVIII*, 1960, pp. 566–567.

³⁰⁴ A. Astakhova, V. Mitrofanova and M. Skripil', *Byliny v zapisyakh i pereskazakh XVII–XVIII vekov*, 1960.

³⁰⁵ E. Pomerantseva, *Fol'klor*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR I*, 1953, p. 211.

'patriotism' is constantly being stressed, present the Rus'ian nation in their works? Two authors, D. Likhachev and M. Shakhmatov, who firmly believe in the existence of that nation, have made some noteworthy observations on this point. Likhachev writes: 'Anyone who has decided to seek in the old Rus'ian chronicles a portrayal of the living Rus'ian people who created the history of Rus', . . . will inevitably suffer some disappointment. He will not discern in the chronicles . . . the nation which created Rus'ian history.'³⁰⁶ This is not surprising since the Eastern Slavs did not create the Rus'ian nation. Shakhmatov states on the other hand: 'From the point of view of the [East-Slavonic] chronicles, the Rus'ian nation constitutes not a tribal but a cultural unity',³⁰⁷ within which the various chroniclers give priority to various ethnic elements. The author lists these principal groups—the Eastern Slavs, the Varangians, the Finns, the Greeks—and then adds: 'The whole of this heterogeneous tribal mass had to be fused into one Rus'ian land.'³⁰⁸ Shakhmatov remarks that already in 'Nestor' can we 'encounter allusion to the rise of the idea of Holy Rus': here the Rus'ian nation (the Rus'ian Church) is called the holy flock'.³⁰⁹ It should be noted that the parenthesis 'the Rus'ian Church' is Shakhmatov's: thus, though he denies it, he does identify the concept of the nation with that of the Church.

Discussing the process followed in the formation of the Rus'ian nation, many authors support their arguments by reference to alleged analogies between the Rus'ian nation and other nations, the Czech and the Polish ones in particular. It has already been shown in this chapter that there is no basis for drawing such analogies. Berdyaev considers that the Rus'ian nation formed itself in a manner dissimilar to any other nations in the world.³¹⁰ Following this line of argument, all analogies would have to be abandoned. Such a radical statement is, however, too far-reaching. There are, in fact, many analogies—though little is said about them—between the 'Rus'ian nation' and the 'Byzantine nation'.

This approach needs fuller explanation. It is universally known that the Eastern Church was indivisibly bound up with the Empire. 'The ideal of Byzantium—writes Ostrogorsky—was the union and fusion of the Greek Orthodox State with the Greek Orthodox Church under the leadership of the Emperor and the Patriarch.'³¹¹ As the

³⁰⁶ D. Likhachev, *Izobrazhenie lyudei v letopisi XII-XIII vv.*, TODRL X, 1954, p. 7. See also *idem*, *Chelovek v literature drevnei Rusi*, 1958, pp. 27–33.

³⁰⁷ In my opinion, it would be more exact to say: 'a religious-cultural unity'.

³⁰⁸ M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongol'skogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti. Opyt po istorii drevne-russkikh politicheskikh idei*, 1926, p. 77.

³⁰⁹ M. Shakhmatov, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

³¹⁰ N. Berdyaev, *Dusha Rossii*, 1915, p. 3.

³¹¹ G. Ostrogorsky, *Otnoshenie tserkvi i gosudarstva v Vizantii*, SK IV, 1931, p. 130. Cf. S. Runciman, *Byzantine Civilization*, 1948; A. Michel, *Die Kaisermacht in der Ostkirche (843–1204)*, OsC II, 1953; N. Baynes, *The Byzantine State*, in his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, 1955; H. Moss, *Die geschichtliche Bedeutung von Byzanz*, HM IV, 1956, pp. 544–547; J. Hussey, *The Byzantine World*, 1957. See also A. Grabar, *L'empereur dans l'art byzantin*, 1936.

defender of the faith, the Emperor entered into the Church's internal organization. The Emperor treated heretics as criminals against the State, whilst the Patriarch excommunicated those who ventured to rebel against the Emperor. The collaboration between the highest representatives of secular and of spiritual authority was designed to assure the security and development of the 'Byzantine nation', and was to bring about the final aim of the triumphant victory of Christ's teachings.³¹²

Danzas says that 'the Byzantine State was not built up on a national principle'.³¹³ According to Dawkins, 'membership of the Church was [in Byzantium] a mark of nationality'.³¹⁴ Diehl adopts a similar attitude when he recalls Rambaud's apt observation that within the Byzantine Empire the Greek Orthodox faith played the role of nationality.³¹⁵ Baynes writes: 'In the strange mixture of races which make up the Byzantine Empire, it could be no ethnic distinction which marked off the Rhomaios from the barbarian; the distinctive characteristic of the Rhomaios is his membership of the Orthodox Greek Church: where a common nationality was impossible, religion formed the tie which bound the East Roman to his fellow believer and to the Emperor, the vicegerent of God.'³¹⁶ According to Every, 'Byzantium is not the Roman Empire in decline, but a development of Greek civilization within the Roman Empire; absorbing oriental elements in a Christian humanism, embodied in a liturgical order of worship and labour, unified, restrained, and subtle in diplomacy'.³¹⁷ Guerdan considers that Byzantium was the kingdom of Christ on earth and that the New Testament was its constitution.³¹⁸ Grégoire's opinion is also noteworthy: 'Byzantine intolerance is in its essence an affair of the spirit: it is not inspired by any nationalism. . . . It is a fact that the Byzantines were profoundly religious. The signature of their whole civilization is their faith.'³¹⁹ Pernice states:

If the query arises whence the Empire received that spiritual unity which bound all [its] nations, one must think . . . of the Christian religion. For it stamped the thought and regulated the life of the

³¹² There is an abundant literature (not reported on in detail here) regarding the mutual relation of the ecclesiastical to the secular authority in Byzantium. Cf. N. Milaš, *Das Kirchenrecht der morgenländischen Kirche*, 1905 (see also the Serbian edition of 1926); F. Dölger and A. Schneider, *Byzanz, Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte*, 1952; A. Kazhdan, *Osnovnye problemy istorii Vizantii (v svete noveishikh issledovaniĭ)*, *VIMK*, 1957 (3), where this literature is listed.

³¹³ J. Danzas, *The Russian Church*, 1936, p. 13. Similarly—A. Ziegler, *Die byzantinische Religionspolitik und der sog. Cäsaropapismus*, *VOIM* IV, 1953, p. 97.

³¹⁴ R. Dawkins, *The Greek Language in the Byzantine Period*, in N. Baynes and H. Moss, *Byzantium. An Introduction to East Roman Civilization*, 1948, p. 256 (reprint 1953).

³¹⁵ Ch. Diehl, *Les grands problèmes de l'histoire byzantine*, 1943, p. 45.

³¹⁶ N. Baynes, *The Hellenistic Civilization and East Rome*, in his *Byzantine Studies and Other Essays*, 1955, p. 20.

³¹⁷ G. Every, *The Byzantine Patriarchate, 451-1204*, 1947, p. 19.

³¹⁸ R. Guerdan, *Vie, grandeurs et misères de Byzance*, 1954, pp. 3-29.

³¹⁹ H. Grégoire, *The Byzantine Church*, in N. Baynes and H. Moss, *Byzantium*, 1948, p. 132.

Byzantines. The monarchy laid ever greater stress on its own sanctified character and made religion the foundation of its policy. Culture and art are exclusively ecclesiastical; the clergy played the dominant role at the court, at public ceremonies, in the administration, in the community.... Orthodoxy of faith occupied the place of nationality in Byzantium.³²⁰

Trubetzkoy emphasizes the connection between religion on the one hand and philosophy and State law on the other. He remarks:

In Byzantium, philosophy and religion were inseparably connected with each other. We now distinguish between philosophy and theology; for the Byzantines there was no such distinction. Philosophy proceeded from the dogmas of religion which themselves had originated from the application of philosophical reflection to Revelation. Juridical concepts, too, had developed in the spirit of religion. It was difficult to draw a sharp dividing line between church law and state or civil law. The entire legal system was consonant with the canon law of the Church.³²¹

Pagans in Constantinople were considered to be barbarians—an expression which implied much enmity and supreme scorn. They could become human beings only through baptism. The pagans were the enemies of the Church and of the Empire. To repel their invasions and to destroy their troops was not only a political necessity; it was also a religious commandment.³²² According to the Byzantine theory, the Empire should occupy first place among all the States and be the sole ruler of the world.³²³

If there was on earth—writes Jenkins—as in heaven, but one emperor, one empire and one church, it followed that everyone outside these bounds was by implication a rebel and a heretic. It was the duty of the Chosen People of the New Jerusalem to do God's will by showing these rebels the error of their ways. Foreign States, foreign tongues, foreign creeds were by definition alien to God's Kingdom on earth, and entitled to no consideration, recognition or sympathy whatever. There are no foreigners in heaven. There is no plurality of nations, constitutional change, or democratic system. No free vote of the celestial con-

³²⁰ A. Pernice, *Bizantina Civiltà*, in *Enciclopedia Italiana* VII, 1930, p. 125.

³²¹ N. Trubetzkoy, Introduction to the History of Old Russian Literature, *HSS* II, 1954, p. 93.

³²² K. Lechner, *Byzanz und die Barbaren*, *Saec* VI (3), 1955, pp. 299-306.

³²³ G. Ostrogorsky, *Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie*, *SK* VIII, 1936, pp. 42-61; O. Treitinger, *Die oströmische Kaiser- und Reichsidee nach ihrer Gestaltung im höfischen Zeremoniell*, 1938; F. Dölger, *Die Familie der Könige im Mittelalter*, in *Byzanz und die europäische Staatenwelt*, 1953, pp. 43-69; A. Grabar, *God and the 'Family of Princes' Presided Over by the Byzantine Emperor*, *HSS* II, 1954, pp. 117-123, etc. These aspirations and aims of the Byzantine Empire evoked repercussions in Western Europe. Cf. W. Ohnsorge, *Das Zweikaiserproblem im früheren Mittelalter. Die Bedeutung des byzantinischen Reiches für die Entwicklung der Staatsidee in Europa*, 1947; E. Ivánka, *Abendland und Byzanz*, *WW* I, 1948, pp. 205-219; H. Mikoletzky, *Byzanz und das Abendland*, *ON*, 1949, pp. 473-484; J. Lindsay, *Byzantium into Europe*, 1952; W. Ohnsorge, *Byzanz und das Abendland im 9. und 10. Jahrhundert. Zur Entwicklung des Kaiserbegriffes und der Staatsideologie*, *Saec* V, 1954, pp. 194-220; *idem*, *Byzanz und die abendländische Kaiserpolitik*, *R* VII, 1955, pp. 179-183 and *A*, 1957, pp. 299-304; F. Dölger, *Byzanz und das Abendland vor den Kreuzzügen*, *R* III, 1955, pp. 67-112; D. Zakythenos, *Byzanz und die europäische Einheit im Mittelalter*, *IJ* IV, 1955, pp. 5-21, and others.

clave can put down the Almighty from his seat. He shall reign, ever one God, for ever and ever. And it was His will that the Byzantine emperor should, as far as might be, represent Him in this imperfect world of sense.³²⁴

Sinogowitz remarks: 'With the claim for sole authority over the world was inseparably bound up the ideological mission of evangelizing all humanity. . . . None but the "apostolic" emperors of Byzantium were appointed to realize the kingdom of Christ upon earth.'³²⁵ They were to be the overlords of 'all the Romans', that is to say, as Kartashev and Kudryavtsev rightly comment, of all the Christians.³²⁶ 'All the countries that had . . . joined the Christian Church were considered by the Byzantine emperors as their everlasting and incontestable possession.'³²⁷ 'Having evangelized a nation, Byzantium automatically incorporated it within the Empire as a matter of course, even though such incorporation was pure fiction and not recognized by the given nation.'³²⁸

All these observations are important for a proper understanding of Byzantium's attitude towards Rus'.

Though discussed at length in historical literature,³²⁹ the subject remains controversial. Scholars who recognize the important part played by Constantinople in Eastern Europe encounter the opposition of other authors. In this connection, it suffices to recall the treatises of Priselkov,³³⁰ the studies edited by Baynes and Moss, and those by Huxley³³¹—even the *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, though superficial and biased in their treatment of the subject, have been sub-

³²⁴ R. Jenkins, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades*, 1953, p. 9.

³²⁵ B. Sinogowitz, *Die Begriffe Reich, Macht und Herrschaft im byzantinischen Kulturbereich*, *Saec IV*, 1953, p. 450.

³²⁶ A. Kartashev, *Sud'by 'Svyatoi Rusi'*, *PM I*, 1928, p. 143; I. Kudryavtsev, 'Poslanie na Ugru' Vassiana Rylo kak pamyatnik publitsistiki XV v., *TODRL VIII*, 1951, p. 168.

³²⁷ G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order*, *SEER XXXV*, 1956, p. 5.

³²⁸ A. Shmeman, *Sud'ba vizantiiskoi teokratii*, *PM V*, 1947, p. 134.

³²⁹ Cf. *OR*, p. 328.

³³⁰ M. Priselkov, *Russko-vizantiiskie otnosheniya v IX–XII vv.*, *VDI*, 1939 (3), pp. 98–109; *idem*, *Kievskoe gosudarstvo vtoroi poloviny X v. po vizantiiskim istochnikam*, *UZLGU LXXIII*, 1941, pp. 215–246. Priselkov's theses are opposed by I. Budov-nits, *Ob istoricheskikh postroeniakh M. D. Priselkova*, *IZ XXXV*, 1950, p. 231. 'He [Priselkov] is convinced—writes Budov-nits—that during the course of many centuries up to the fall of Constantinople in the middle of the 15th century, Byzantium directed the historical fate of the Rus'ian land and the development of its culture. On these grounds, M. D. Priselkov impoverishes Rus'ian culture, reduces to nil its independence, originality and evolutionary trends, diminishing the role of the Rus'ian nation in the creation of its splendid cultural values.' M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 23 likewise asserts that Priselkov 'under-rates Rus'ian sources and overrates Byzantine ones' as also that he 'exaggerates the degree to which Byzantine diplomacy influenced the southern Rus'ian princes'.

³³¹ N. Baynes and H. Moss (ed.), *Byzantium*, 1953; M. Huxley (ed.), *The Root of Europe. Studies in the Diffusion of Greek Culture*, 1952. According to A. Kazhdan, *Osnovnye problemy istorii Vizantii*, 1957, p. 77, these books lead 'to an exaggeration of the role of cultural influences and borrowings—and in particular to exaggerating the impact of Byzantine influences on neighbouring countries, including Rus'.'. Medlin's book (*W. Medlin, Moscow and East Rome. A Political Study of the Relations of Church and State in Muscovite Russia*, 1952) was reviewed in the same way by S. Kashtanov, *Ob idealisticheskoi traktovke nekotorykh voprosov istorii russkoi politicheskoi mysli v zarubezhnoi istoriografii*, *VV XI*, 1956, pp. 308–324.

jected to severe criticism.³³² Whilst in Soviet historiography it is usual to discount the cultural and political influences of Byzantium upon Rus'—as Klostermann rightly points out³³³—Porshnev very frankly explains the reason behind this state of affairs. He writes: 'The problem of Byzantium's influences on Rus' is passed over in silence in the latest studies of the [Soviet] historians owing to the mistaken conviction that recognition of the existence of external influences would be derogatory to the national dignity.'³³⁴ We thus have clear admission from a Soviet authority that considerations which have nothing in common with historical studies, have been responsible for the negative approach of many authors to the influences and role of Byzantium with regard to Rus'.

Levchenko believes that Byzantino-Rus'ian relations should be considered on the basis of equality between both sides.³³⁵ This premiss is, however, over theoretical and in any case does not fully correspond to the actual state of affairs in those times. Equality in the political sense existed, particularly towards the end of the 10th and in the first half of the 11th century. It is certain that Vladimir's conversion was voluntary, not brought about by pressure or threats of the Empire.³³⁶ Yaroslav desired to keep his own Church as independent as possible, although it was during his reign that the Rus'ian Church was definitively linked to the Church of Byzantium. Byzantium was not in a position to risk a conquest of Rus' and to impose her will upon the latter for a number of reasons: the great distance between Kiev and Constantinople, the wide belt of steppe peopled by fierce and warlike nomads, the extensive territories of the Kievan State itself, and so on. On the other hand, since they felt secure from Imperial aggression, the Rurikides' powers of resistance became weaker and the Greeks by their skilful diplomacy were able to draw the Rus'ian princes within the orbit of the State influences of Byzantium.³³⁷

Byzantium's foreign policy was conducted simultaneously at two levels: one represented by the actual balance of power between the Empire and its neighbours, close and more distant ones; the other was the level of ecclesiastical-State doctrine, the influence and significance of which should not be ignored or underrated. Rus' was independent of Constantinople, especially in the military sense; but she remained in what is often called symbolical dependence, as wit-

³³² N. Dolinin, *Voprosy istorii russkoi tserkvi v 'Ocherkakh istorii SSSR', Vol. 1957 (2), pp. 126-130.*

³³³ R. Klostermann, *Probleme der Ostkirche. Untersuchungen zum Wesen und zur Geschichte der griechisch-orthodoxen Kirche*, 1955, p. 110.

³³⁴ B. Porshnev, in *Obsuzhdenie voprosa o genezise feodalizma v Rossii i o vznikenii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, Vol. 1956 (3), p. 205.*

³³⁵ M. Levchenko, *Problema russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii v russkoi dorevolutsionnoi, zarubezhnoi i sovetskoi istoriografii, VV VIII, 1956, pp. 7-25.*

³³⁶ *OR*, pp. 45-46.

³³⁷ B. Spuler, *Die Ostgrenze des Abendlandes und die orthodoxe Kirche, WG, 1952, p. 20.*

ness the Byzantine titles and dignities of the Rurikides,³³⁸ the religious motifs on their coins,³³⁹ the prayers intoned during many centuries for the weal of the Emperor in the Rus'ian churches,³⁴⁰ etc. It would be mistaken to consider this type of dependence as a mere fiction, although it would be difficult to appraise its actual effect. However, there was a feeling in Western Europe that Rus' was dependent on Byzantium.³⁴¹

The keystone of the connection between Rus' and Byzantium was the Church. The Metropolitans of the Rus'ian Church occupied the principal position there. They were appointed by the Patriarchs of Constantinople to whom they reported on their activities. The Patriarch of Constantinople was the disciplinary head of the Rus'ian metropolitans and bishops; he was their supreme authority who decided in ecclesiastical matters (*e.g.*, interpretations of canon law in doubtful cases) and even some non-ecclesiastical matters, such as disputes between the spiritual and the secular authorities in Rus'.

The Rus'ian Church was an ecclesiastical province of Byzantium.³⁴² 'For several centuries—writes Kapterev—Rus' was in the ecclesiastical-administrative sense merely part of the Patriarchate of Constantinople, condemned to reproduce what had been created and decided by the Greek Church, always bound in everything to be faithful to its guide, to be its reflection, a copy.'³⁴³ According to Baynes, 'Christianity was introduced into Russia as a system already formed: the Russian Church was thus a copy of the Byzantine Church, its whole internal and external ecclesiastical life was moulded from Constantinople. Thus was determined the character of its dogma, its worship, its discipline: thence it drew its constitution, and its law.'³⁴⁴ Goetz,³⁴⁵ Laurent,³⁴⁶ Honigmann,³⁴⁷ Grégoire and Orgels,³⁴⁸ Toumanoff³⁴⁹ and others express similar opinions.

³³⁸ Kh. Loparev, *Vizantiiskaya pechat' s imenem russkoi knyagini*, *VV* I, 1894, pp. 159–166; G. Ostrogorsky, *Die byzantinische Staatenhierarchie*, pp. 58–61; A. Solov'ev, *O pechaty i titule Vladimira Svyatogo*, *BS* IX, 1947, pp. 31–44; *idem*, *Vizantiiskoe imya Rossii*, *VV* XII, 1957, p. 141; D. Blifel'd, *Visla pechatka z Bilgorodki*, *Ar* III, 1950, pp. 102–110 (*ibid.*, Rybakov's article), and others.

³³⁹ D. Oljančyn, *Die Symbolik des Zeichens auf den Münzen Vladimirs des Grossen und seiner Nachkommen*, *JGO* IV (1), 1956, pp. 1–17; VI (4), 1958, pp. 409–435.

³⁴⁰ When the Grand Duke of Muscovy Vasili, son of Dimitri, abolished this usage, the Patriarch Anthony made violent protest (1393). The details in: V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt issledovaniya o kul'turnom znachenii Vizantii v russkoi istorii*, 1869, p. 298; A. Kartashev, *Sud'by 'Svyatoi Rusi'*, 1928, pp. 143–144; G. Ostrogorsky, *The Byzantine Emperor and the Hierarchical World Order*, 1956, pp. 8–9; E. Barker, *Social and Political Thought in Byzantium*, 1957, pp. 39–40, 194–196, and others.

³⁴¹ A. Vasiliev, *Was Old Russia a Vassal-State of Byzantium?* *Sp* VII, 1932, pp. 350–360.

³⁴² V. Ikonnikov, *Opyt*, p. 296; P. Sokolov, *Russkii arkhieriei iz Vizantii*, 1913, pp. 185, 226; G. Laehr, *Die Anfänge des russischen Reiches*, *HS*, 1930, p. 89. Since the Emperor entered within the internal organization of the Eastern Church, he automatically had the right to intervene in Rus'ian affairs and not only in purely ecclesiastical matters.

³⁴³ N. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiyakh*, 2nd ed., 1914, p. 2.

³⁴⁴ N. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire*, 1925, p. 233.

³⁴⁵ L. Goetz, *Staat und Kirche in Altrussland (988–1240)*, 1908, p. 10.

The Rus'ian Church was a copy of the Byzantine Church, whilst the Rus'ian State was a copy of the Byzantine State. This derived in direct fashion from the ties between the Greek Church and the Empire. Kiev accepted the Constantinople model for the structure and aims of the State.³⁵⁰ 'Many Byzantine ideas—Dvornik points out—were incorporated within the political structure of the State of Kiev.' And he goes on:

There is one kind of literary document whose study is neglected—Russian collections of canon law, translated from the Greek. There are extant not only canons of councils dealing with disciplinary and other ecclesiastical matters, but Imperial novels and documents of Imperial legislation concerning ecclesiastical affairs and interests. These documents are so impregnated with Byzantine ideas of kingship that clerics who used them constantly in Church administration could not have failed to be profoundly influenced by their innate political ideas; and clerics were naturally the advisers of princes.³⁵¹

The influence of ecclesiastical (and hence also political and State) Byzantine ideology and of Byzantine civilization upon Rus' is indubitable. 'The acceptance of Christianity from the Greeks—states Bartol'd—determined the further course of the development of Russian culture for a long time to come. Together with Christianity, education by the written word naturally bearing a theological character was instilled into Russia.'³⁵² 'Christianity—writes Trubetzkoy—was the core and the spine of the entire Byzantine civilization. . . . Old-Russian literature cannot be understood without a correct picture of this culture, which was taken over by the Russians.'³⁵³

I remarked on this subject in *OR*:

When Vladimir received baptism, a new political design on a grand scale made its appearance in Eastern Europe. Now, the only real, supra-tribal power, which the Greeks encountered in the territories which had been, or were to be, won for Christianity, were the princes

³⁴⁶ P. Laurent, *Aux origines de l'église russe. L'établissement de la hiérarchie byzantine*, *EO* XXXVIII, 1939, pp. 279–295.

³⁴⁷ E. Honigmann, *Studies in Slavic Church History*, *B* XVII, 1944–1945, pp. 128–182.

³⁴⁸ H. Grégoire and P. Orgels, *La chronologie des Patriarches de Constantinople et la 'question romaine' à la fin du X-e siècle*, *B* XXIV, 1955, pp. 157–178.

³⁴⁹ C. Toumanoff, *Moscow the Third Rome: Genesis and Significance of a Politico-Religious Idea*, *CHR* XL (4), 1955, pp. 411–429.

³⁵⁰ F. Uspensky, *Istoriya Vizantijskoi imperii* I, 1914, pp. 44–45.

³⁵¹ F. Dvornik, *Byzantine Political Ideas in Kievan Russia*, *DOP* IX–X, 1956, p. 76. See also *idem*, *Byzantine Influences in Russia*, in M. Huxley (ed.), *The Root of Europe*, 1952 ('This Byzantine conception became the principle of all Russian religious and political life and the Hellenistic-Byzantine notion of rulership, as popularized by the Russian clergy under Greek tuition, lies at the very foundation of Russian political thought', p. 96). I. Ševčenko, *A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology*, *HSS* II, 1954, p. 141 is of the same opinion (. . . 'Byzantine ideas on the character of imperial power influenced the political thought of the Kievan State and later, considerably more, the ideology of Muscovite Russia').

³⁵² V. Bartol'd, *Istoriya izučeniya Vostoka v Evrope i Rossii*, 2nd ed., 1925, p. 169.

³⁵³ N. Trubetzkoy, *Introduction to the History of Old Russian Literature*, *HSS* II, 1954, p. 98. See also I. Ševčenko, *Byzantine Cultural Influences*, in C. Black (ed.), *Rewriting Russian History*, 1956, pp. 143–197.

of the Rurik dynasty. That is why Byzantium gave its sanction to their conquest of Slavonic and non-Slavonic lands, and wished to see in them the defenders and propagators of the faith. Automatically, all the religious and political concepts peculiar to Constantinople were transferred to the banks of the Dnieper, first and foremost the idea of a monarchy graced by God's particular blessing. The people were henceforth taught the duty of humility and of obedience to their rulers. The fluid conditions resulting from the foreign conquerors' sway over conquered tribes entered upon a new phase, and acquired qualities of enduring stability. The predatory expeditions of the Rurikides gave way, in the course of time, to a more far-seeing and better-planned policy.

Finally: 'At the head of this eminent dynasty there is the sole ruler who governs, and to whom all his kin, having rights to the common territorial heritage, are subject. Autocracy, the idea of which is so familiar to Byzantium, is constantly appearing in the pages of the *Povest'*.'³⁵⁴

In my analysis of the concept of Rus'ian 'religious patriotism', attention was drawn to one of its basic elements, *i.e.*, 'Christian imperialism'. The boundaries of the Rus'ian territory could never be permanently established, for it was impossible to hold up the spread of the new faith.³⁵⁵ Rus'—and later, Russia, which, to a certain degree, inherited the ecclesiastical programme of Rus'—were destined to become a supra-national State, a universal one (*vselenskoe tsarstvo*), as Kartashev and Berdyaev rightly point out.³⁵⁶ There can be no doubt that this idea was brought to Eastern Europe from Byzantium.

By their conquests in Eastern Europe, the Varangians-Rus' played an important though rather an auxiliary role: they prepared the ground and facilitated the action later undertaken by Byzantium. Baynes is correct when he states: 'Though it may sound a paradox, the assertion that the early Russian State owed its very existence to Constantinople would hardly be an exaggeration.'³⁵⁷

Since the Rus'ian Church and the Rus'ian State were copies of the Byzantine Church and State—and here we come to the heart of the problem—the 'Rus'ian nation' was a copy of the 'Byzantine nation'.³⁵⁸

³⁵⁴ *OR*, pp. 148, 150.

³⁵⁵ Cf. B. Sinogowitz, *Die Begriffe Reich, Macht und Herrschaft im byzantinischen Kulturbereich*, *Saec* IV, 1953, pp. 450-455.

³⁵⁶ A. Kartashev, *Sud'by 'Svyatoi Rusi'*, p. 142; N. Berdyaev, *Russkaya ideya*, p. 12. Cf. W. Philipp, *Ansätze zum geschichtlichen und politischen Denken im Kiever Russland*, pp. 71-73.

³⁵⁷ N. Baynes, *The Byzantine Empire*, 1925, p. 232.

³⁵⁸ It is self-evident that when comparisons and analogies are drawn concerning historical processes, the most extreme caution should be applied. When I state there was an analogy of basic significance between Byzantium and Rus', this does not mean that I perceive no differences between them. First of all there was the linguistic difference: the language of Byzantium was Greek and that of Rus' Slavonic; there were inevitably, therefore, also cultural differences. The power of the Empire, its traditions and authority, its centralization and unification were much greater than the corresponding power and centralization of the Rus'ian State. These differences are not, however, essential ones and do not modify the picture as a whole. Though

Levchenko writes that the Byzantine Empire was 'an artificial conglomerate of many tribes and peoples'.³⁵⁹ In my opinion, these words likewise define precisely the content and meaning of the concept of Rus' during the epoch under discussion.

using another language, Kiev was propagating the same ideas as Constantinople. The weakness of the Rus'ian State, the lack of powerful internal cohesion among the tribes and peoples under its sway tended rather to fortify than to enfeeble the position of the Church. The fact remains that political differences began clearly to appear among the Rus'ian clergy. The ecclesiastics of Greek stock endeavoured to bind Rus' as closely as possible to the Empire, whilst the non-Greeks—the Varangians (Hilarion) and the Slavs ('Nestor')—desired to restrict the dependence of Rus' on Byzantium. But, the existence of desires for greater independence does not signify that the Rus' were unwilling to organize their country on the Byzantine model.

³⁵⁹ M. Levchenko, *Ocherki po istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, 1956, p. 498.

CHAPTER V

THE THREE RUS'IAN NATIONS

1. DECAY OF THE 'OLD-RUS'IAN OR EAST-SLAVONIC NATION'

THE view is often expressed in the literature on the subject that the three present-day nations—the Russians, the Ukrainians and the White Rus'—derive from a common stock known as the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation'. This nation is considered as the 'root', 'cradle', or 'stem', from which the three 'branches' are said to have sprung.

The analysis of the sources undertaken in previous chapters has led to the conclusion that this hypothesis of the existence of an 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' fails to satisfy even the most elementary requirements of critical investigation. When another conjecture is advanced on the basis of this hypothesis, it must automatically be rejected too. What was not in being, could not fall apart.

Nevertheless, certain details connected with the problem can profitably be examined. Assuming the existence of this 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation', it may well be asked why it failed to preserve itself and what caused it to fall apart. The two usual replies are: either that the Kievan State was feeble and that this weakness caused political and territorial disruption, or that the Tartars brought this collapse about by their invasions and subsequent rule. It is evident that these two theories clash. If the Rus'ian nation fell apart before the invasions of Batu Khan, the disruption of that nation could not have been caused by the Tartars in the 13th and 14th centuries.

Let us, however, disregard the inherent contradiction in these views for the moment. The fate of every State must influence the life of its inhabitants, and in this respect the Kievan State was no exception. It may, nevertheless, be doubted whether the enfeeblement of that State could have been so decisive for the existence or non-existence of the Rus'ian nation. The Kievan State was never an internally well consolidated entity from the time before Vladimir when it had just emerged from a stage of fluidity. The unification of the Rus'ian lands was only, as Cherepnin points out, 'provisional and impermanent'.¹

¹ L. Cherepnin, *Razvitie russkoi narodnosti v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 472.

Petrus' considers that 'a State does not in itself assure that a given group of cognate tribes will be transformed into a nation'.² Hence it follows that the enfeeblement of a State does not necessarily bring about the breaking apart of a given nation. As noted earlier, some historians claim that there is an analogy between the Rus' on the one hand and the Poles and Czechs on the other. But neither the Polish nor the Czech nation ceased to exist although at that time they, too, passed through a long period of political disruption, internal conflicts and the enfeeblement of their States.

Yet another observation must be made. In the times when the Kievan State was gradually falling into decline, another noteworthy process was taking place simultaneously: the broad concept of Rus', in the territorial sense, was gaining in force and from the end of the 13th or the beginning of the 14th century on became the sole appellation in general use. If this term is understood to have an ethnic connotation, it is then necessary to conclude that 'the Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation', regardless of the fate of the Kievan State, persisted through the golden age of its renaissance in the 13th century and that the progress of its internal consolidation assumed enormous proportions. This observation is in disagreement with the generally held view that it was precisely at that time that the Rus'ian nation began to fall apart into three nations, even though it might have been expected that external danger (the Tartars) would have strengthened and not weakened the inner cohesion of the nation.

There is likewise no evidence to support the theory that the disruption of the Rus'ian nation was due to the Tartars. First of all, it should be borne in mind that the great invasions of Batu Khan (in 1237-1241) did not extend to Novgorod, Pskov, Polotsk, Vitebsk, Smolensk, Minsk, etc.³ and that many Slavonic territories were therefore not overrun and devastated. True, the southern Slavonic lands were devastated⁴ and subjugated by the Golden Horde;⁵ but some of them quickly began to recover and in any case Tartar rule did not last very long there since Lithuania took over a large part of these areas in the first half of the 14th century, whilst Lithuanian expansion to the east and south was on a vast scale during the second half of that century.⁶ Moreover, Lithuania assumed the burden of protecting her Christian Rus'ian subjects against the Tartars and

² V. Petrus', *Slavyanskaya yazykovaya obshchnost' i slavyanskije yazyki*, *IANOLY* X (4), 1951, p. 359.

³ *OR*, p. 226. See also V. Pashuto, *Ustanovlenie tataro-mongol'skogo iga na Rusi*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, pp. 861-862; M. Tikhomirov, *Vossozdanie russkoi pis'mennoi traditsii v pervye desyatiletia tatarskogo iga*, *VIMK*, 1957 (3), p. 3.

⁴ P. Zasurtsev, *Raboty arkhologov i etnografov*, *VAN*, 1960 (8), p. 130.

⁵ Cf. M. Zdan, *The Dependence of Halych-Volyn' Rus' on the Golden Horde*, *SEER* XXXV, 1957, pp. 505-522.

⁶ *OR*, Chapter IX.

to this end sought foreign help to supplement her own forces.⁷ The dismemberment of the Rus'ian nation was by no means in the interests of the Khans, who were only too well acquainted with the organizational difficulties of ruling over such large areas. The Golden Horde might have tended to break up Rus' in self-defence if the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' had resisted the Tartars on a grand scale, in 1237-1241, or if internal consolidation of Rus' had attained such force in the face of external danger, that it constituted an effective power despite the division into various territories and principalities. But there is complete lack of data to back up such suppositions.

Actually, the sources provide much evidence for the view that the Tartars strove to maintain the unity of Rus'. Proof of this is to be found in their tolerant attitude to the Rus'ian Church, then the only force making for unification in the areas under examination.⁸ They also tried, initially at least,⁹ to make use of the Rurikides in order to preserve the old traditions of the Rus'ian State, but without success.¹⁰

It is never explained in the literature on the subject why and how the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' was split into three Rus'ian nations.¹¹

2. SLAVONIC COLONIZATION OF THE NORTH-EASTERN LANDS

If, as follows from the present considerations, the three Rus'ian nations have no common ethnic root, it is necessary to determine the origin of each in turn. There is no doubt that the ancestors of the present-day Ukrainians and White Rus' were Slavs (Eastern Slavs). This cannot be said of the Russians. I was and still am of the opinion that the broad masses of the population of Muscovy were of Ugro-Finnish stock, of the Merya tribe. Presented in *OR*,¹² this view was

⁷ In his negotiations with Louis of Anjou, King of Hungary, Kestutis asked (1351) for Hungarian and Polish help against the Tartars (... 'regna Hungarie et Polonie terram Litwanorum... contra... Tartaros semper defenderent'). Algirdas wished (1358) to make use of the military resources of the Teutonic Order for the protection of his Slavonic lands against the Tartars (... 'ad defendendum eos [i.e., the Slavs subject to Lithuania] ab impugnacione Tartarorum'). *OR*, p. 245.

⁸ Cf. A. Spuler, *Die Goldene Horde und Russlands Schicksal*, *Saec* VI (4), 1955, pp. 397-406.

⁹ In later times, particularly when Muscovy's pre-eminent position in Eastern Europe was becoming ever more evident, the Tartars were to incite some Rurikides against each other and thus, by evoking internal conflicts, maintain their hold over Rus'.

¹⁰ *OR*, p. 304.

¹¹ Contrary to the views of many other authors, Vernadsky believes that, not the power of the Tartars or their firmly established rule over Rus' but, on the contrary, their weakness and inability to cope with Lithuanian and Polish pressure caused the Old-Rus'ian nation to break up ('the inability of the khans to stem the Polish and Lithuanian drives obviously was a factor in the division between East and West Russia', G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 335). The above opinion is quoted in order to demonstrate the chaos which reigns in the historical literature resulting from insufficient examination of the texts of the source-material.

¹² *OR*, Chapters XI-XIII.

accepted with full approval by some reviewers and rejected by others.

It may be said that no other thesis dealt with in *OR* was so bitterly opposed as this one. My theory of the Ugro-Finnish origin of the Great Rus' (the present-day Russians)—according to Shaskol'sky, 'fantastic'¹³—was ascribed by Jakobson to 'the arbitrary constructions of the author, eloquently contradicted . . . by documents'.¹⁴ Obolensky relegates it 'to [the] . . . realm of pseudo-historical mythology'.¹⁵ Cherniavsky similarly affirms: 'The arguments in favour of this thesis are so specious that concerning them, as concerning the whole work, one can only regret that so much scholarship has gone into supporting the outworn myth of an Asiatic Muscovy, past and present.'¹⁶

It is customary in historical publications for reviewers who disagree with an author's opinions to present their own arguments, *i.e.*, to cite the texts of sources which disqualify his theses. Obviously, the more texts there are of this kind, the greater the right of the reviewer to adopt a negative attitude towards the book under examination. But in the present case, a diametrically opposite method was applied. Jakobson, Obolensky, Cherniavsky, etc. have adopted a fully negative attitude towards *OR* but have given no proofs in support of their allegations. While, for instance, Jakobson maintains that the facts cited in my book are 'eloquently contradicted . . . by documents', he does not state which sources were ignored or which contradict the views advanced in it. If he had substantiated his criticism, an exchange of opinions could have taken place—and every such exchange cannot but contribute to the advancement of knowledge. As it is, these reviewers carefully avoided presenting their charges in precise and concrete form, thus ruling out any scholarly discussion.

Let us examine the views held by Vernadsky and Lopatin. The former writes:

To Suzdalia Paszkiewicz devotes two chapters (XI and XII); in them he attempts to show that Suzdalia was not a Slavic land. . . . It is generally recognized that the territory of Suzdalia . . . was originally populated by the Finns. It is also generally admitted that this area was colonized by both Norsemen and Slavs in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries. The results of archaeological research in this area show the presence of these three elements—Finnish, Norse, and Slavic—in Suzdalian antiquities.¹⁷

And here the opinion of Lopatin:

Another heterodoxical theory suggested by the author [Paszkiewicz] concerns the origin of the Vladimir-Suzdal' and the Moscow principalities. According to a well-established theory the origin of these important parts of Mediaeval Russia was due to an early migration of

¹³ I. Shaskol'sky, *Normanskaya teoriya v sovremennoi burzhuaznoi istoriografii, ISSSR*, 1960 (1), p. 229.

¹⁴ R. Jakobson, in *AHR*, 1955, p. 107.

¹⁵ D. Obolensky, in *EHR*, 1958, p. 470.

¹⁶ M. Cherniavsky, in *PSQ*, 1955, p. 300.

¹⁷ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 299.

the Russian Slavs from the Kievan principality to the Finnish area on the Volga-Oka... Paszkiewicz tries to prove that... the population of the kingdom of Moscow was not Slavic at all but Finnish... Certainly no competent historian can accept such a theory.¹⁸

It might seem at first sight that the conclusions of both these reviewers are not hypotheses but statements of fact. Both apply the same tactics to suggest that their views are beyond all doubt ('it is generally recognized', 'generally admitted', 'a well-established theory', etc.). First of all, the views of Vernadsky and of Lopatin contain glaring contradictions regarding the matter under examination. Lopatin affirms: 'The author [Paszkiewicz] entertains an erroneous idea of the conquest of the Novgorodian and the Eastern Slavs in general by the Norsemen or Varangians';¹⁹ Vernadsky, however, supports the view that Varangian rule was imposed on the Northern Slavs ('By the middle of the 9th century... the Varangians were strengthening their grip on North Russia... In any case we may assume that by the middle of the 9th century the Slovenians (Novgorodians) recognized the authority of the Varangians').²⁰ Both reviewers believe that Slavonic colonization embraced the land of Rostov-Suzdal', but this unanimity of opinion is found to be merely apparent when the matter is investigated more closely. According to Vernadsky, this colonization issued from Novgorod and Smolensk ('The two streams of colonization—the Slovenian and Krivichian—merged in the Rostov-Suzdal' region'),²¹ whilst Lopatin affirms it came 'from the Kievan principality'. Vernadsky treats the 8th century as already marking the beginning of this Slavonic migration; Lopatin puts it off to later times. It is evident that each author holds a divergent view and proposes a quite different course of events, though both consider themselves 'competent historians'.

The difference between Vernadsky's views and those of Lopatin serves to underline the lack of agreement on hypothetical theories which, it is alleged, are 'generally admitted'. Lopatin's thesis that Slavs from the Kievan principality peopled the land of Rostov-Suzdal' has been rejected by many authors and will be discussed in the present chapter. As for Vernadsky's thesis of Norse-Varangian settle-

¹⁸ I. Lopatin, in *WAI*, 1955, p. 108. Referring to the determination of the ethnic character of the population of the Upper Volga region, this reviewer states in the further course of his remarks: 'A problem of this nature lies rather in the competence of the anthropologist than in that of the historian.' It is well that Lopatin draws attention to anthropology though, unfortunately, he quotes no works in this discipline which might support his views. He evidently is not acquainted with them since he pins excessive hope on the results of anthropological studies and believes they offer an easy solution of contentious matters. Anthropologists hold a different view. T. Alekseeva, *Antropologicheskii sostav naseleniya Volgo-Ökskogo basseina (k probleme slavyano-finskikh vzaimootnoshenii v Povolzh'e)*, *TIE XXXIII*, 1956, p. 47 writes: 'It is difficult to determine the development of a single ethnic group in a vast territory on the basis of diverse anthropological elements.'

¹⁹ I. Lopatin, *ibid.*, p. 107.

²⁰ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, pp. 333-334.

²¹ G. Vernadsky, *ibid.*, p. 326.

ments in the Upper Volga region, it suffices to cite Grekov's comment: 'The surmise of any Norse colonization whatsoever of Rus' finds no confirmation in archaeological excavations. . . . No Scandinavian burials have been found . . . in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'.²² Vernadsky writes: 'The first Slavic pioneers must have appeared there [in the Rostov-Suzdal' region] in the 8th, if not in the 7th century.'²³ Goryunova states on the other hand: 'We have no grounds—at least so far—for speaking of Slavs on the Upper Volga before the middle of the 9th century.'²⁴

I do not intend to establish which of the two authors quoted is right in this instance but merely to deal with the methodical aspect of the matter. I pointed out in *OR* that very great caution is necessary in classifying archaeological findings in the given region as Finnish, Varangian or Slavonic, and that it is no easy matter to determine criteria for such classification. There are also other difficulties. Some archaeologists assuming large-scale Slavonic colonization along the upper reaches of the Volga and its tributaries, try to show that the native Finnish element was very weak, and, moreover, deny the existence of Norse settlements in this region. In doing so they contradict themselves. '(The Slavonic) remains of the past, when they are discovered in barrows of a Scandinavian type, do not testify to the existence of Swedish colonization nor yet to that of trade with Sweden, but simply to Swedish cultural influences'—writes Artsikhovskiy.²⁵ Avdusin argues in the same fashion. Speaking of the presence in East-European barrows of articles of Scandinavian origin, this scholar declares that, 'when deciding where the different objects were made, how they came to the banks of the Dnieper, or of the Volga, and especially to what ethnical group the buried persons belonged, the supporters of the Norse theory have been guilty of a serious distortion of the facts'. According to this author, 'the discovery of objects showing a foreign, not a local origin, testifies to cultural links, but not necessarily to colonization or even trade'.²⁶

Mongait makes similar observations regarding the relations between the Rus' (he applies this name to the Slavs) and the Balts. His remarks are of a general character, but can be applied aptly to Slavs, Varangians and Finns. He writes:

Similar objects found on the Baltic and in Rus' are very often considered by historians, and sometimes by archaeologists, as proof of direct contacts between the Rus' and the Balts. This was so in the majority of cases, but we cannot exclude the possibility that identical

²² B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, IX–XIII vv., 1953, p. 77.

²³ G. Vernadsky, *ibid.*, p. 326.

²⁴ E. Goryunova, *Ob etnicheskoi prinalozhnosti naseleniya Bereznyakovskogo gorodishcha*, *KSDPI* LXV, 1956, p. 22.

²⁵ A. Artsikhovskiy, *Arkheologicheskie dannye o vozniknovenii feodalizma v Suzdal'skoi i Smolenskoi zemlyakh*, *PIDO*, 1934 (11–12), p. 48.

²⁶ D. Avdusin, *Varyazhskii vopros po arkheologicheskim dannym*, *KSDPI*, 1949, p. 7.

forms, objects and phenomena appeared independently in two diverse regions unconnected with each other. Even if similar findings testify to the migration of these articles, this is a fact of relatively little significance. . . . Hence, in order to determine ties between nations on the basis of such excavations, it is still necessary to answer to the following questions: In what manner did this or that object from the Volga region reach the Baltic? Did a warrior, a migrant or a trader bring it? If in the course of trade, was it direct or transit trade? Did the trader journey from the Volga to the Baltic, or did the object wander through scores of regions, pass through scores of hands—sometimes with long stops on the way—before it finally reached a distant country? And so on. In conclusion, the query arises: Was the object brought in or was it produced on the spot after a foreign model?²⁷

These remarks should provide the foundation for any study on Slavonic colonization in the Upper Volga region based on archaeological material. The application of Mongait's postulates leads to the rejection of the thesis of Slavonic colonization.²⁸ When objects of Slavonic origin are encountered in the Rostov-Suzdal' barrows—even if their Slavonic origin is subject to doubt—at once a great deal is written about the settlement by Slavs of the Upper Volga and Oka basins. But according to the theories of Artsikhovskiy, Avdusin, Mongait and others, there may have been here only traces of Slavonic cultural influences, and nothing more.

The unreliability of conclusions of an ethnic nature deduced from archaeological findings can be perceived by examining just a few cases of this kind. The Berezhnyakovo *gorodishche* (burial site), belonging to the *gorodishcha* of the D'yakovo type,²⁹ situated on the right bank of the Volga below the mouth of the Sheksna, is considered to be Slavonic by Tret'yakov³⁰ and Merian by Goryunova.³¹ A similar difference of opinion exists regarding the *gorodishche* on the river Sara,³² near present-day Rostov. Nasonov classifies it as Slavonic,³³ Eding as Slavo-Merian,³⁴ and Goryunova as Merian.³⁵

²⁷ A. Mongait, *K voprosu o russko-pribaltiiskikh svyazyakh v IX–XIII vv.*, *Vol*, 1958 (6), p. 121.

²⁸ It is hardly necessary to point out that before any conclusions can be drawn from archaeological material on colonization topics, it is first of all necessary to have considerable quantities of this material to hand. E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi*, *KSDPI*, LIX, 1955, p. 11 rightly remarks that large-scale conducted excavations in the towns of the Rostov-Suzdal' area have so far not been carried out.

²⁹ Cf. P. Tret'yakov (and others), *Finno-ugorskie i letto-litovskie plemena v I tysyacheletii do n.e.*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Pervobytno-obshchinnyy stroi i drevneishie gosudarstva na territorii SSSR*, 1956, p. 373. The D'yakovo *gorodishche* is situated on the Moskva River, near Moscow.

³⁰ P. Tret'yakov, *K istorii plemen Verkhnego Povolzh'ya v pervom tysyacheletii n.e.*, *MIA*, 1941, pp. 89–90; *idem*, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, pp. 119–123, 126–127, 265, 284; *idem*, *Vostochnye i zapadnye slavyanskije plemena na rubezhe n.e.*, in *Ocherki. Pervobytno-obshchinnyy stroi*, p. 528.

³¹ E. Goryunova, *Ob etnicheskoj prinadlezhnosti naseleniya Berezhnyakovskogo gorodishcha*, pp. 3–30.

³² A. Uspenskaya and M. Fekhrner, *Goroda i poseleniya gorodskogo tipa*, in *Ocherki po istorii russkoi derevni X–XIII vv.*, *TGIM XXXII*, 1956, p. 148.

³³ A. Nasonov, *'Russkaya zemlya'*, 1951, p. 175.

³⁴ D. Eding, *Sarskoe gorodishche*, 1928 (unavailable to me).

Archaeological material shows that up to the 11th century a pagan bear-cult existed on the upper reaches of the Volga. The worshippers of this cult, according to Voronin, are to be considered as Slavs.³⁵ Goryunova, however, states this cult was typical of the Merya tribe.³⁷ There are very many such conflicts of opinion among Soviet archaeologists and to these should be added the fundamental differences of opinion between the Russian and the Scandinavian archaeologists.³⁸

It may well be asked: Is it at all possible, solely on the basis of archaeological excavations, to determine the ethnic character of a population to whom given findings belonged? Many scholars express themselves in the negative on this point.³⁹

The preceding remarks are essential for any discussion and appraisal of Slavonic colonization in the region of the Upper Volga and its tributaries. Before the problem can be solved, several matters connected with it require precise elucidation: the period when this colonization took place, the territories from which the settlers migrated, the nature of the colonization, the fate of the native Finnish population after its country had been overcome by the Slavs, etc.

The opinion is often expressed that the first contacts between the Slavonic and the Ugro-Finnish tribes (the Merya, the Mordva and the Muroma) occurred sometime in the middle of the first millenary after Christ. It is affirmed that even in those early days the cultural preponderance of the Slavs over the Finns was already apparent, that a lively trade arose between the two groups and that the first Slavonic settlers were beginning to infiltrate Finnish territory.⁴⁰ Artemov and Lebedev assume that the beginnings of this colonization date back to the 6th–8th centuries;⁴¹ Vernadsky places them in the 7th and 8th centuries;⁴² other authors declare themselves for the

³⁵ E. Goryunova, *K voprosu o plemennoi prinadlezhnosti letopisnoi meri*, *KSIE* XVII, 1952, p. 22, and *K istorii gorodov severo-vostochnoi Rusi*, *KSDPI* LIX, 1955, pp. 15–17.

³⁶ N. Voronin, *Medvezhii kul't v verkhnem Povolzh'e v XI v.*, *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 149–186.

³⁷ E. Goryunova, *K voprosu o plemennoi prinadlezhnosti*, pp. 24–25; cf. N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 63.

³⁸ Cf. T. Arne, *Die Wärdgerfrage und die sowjetrussische Forschung*, *AA* XXIII, 1952, pp. 138–147. The abundant Swedish literature on the subject is listed in S. Jansson and O. Vessberg, *Swedish Archaeological Bibliography, 1939–1948*, 1951; C. Callmer and W. Holmqvist, *Swedish Archaeological Bibliography, 1949–1953*, 1956. See also the periodicals *Fornvännen* and *Historisk Tidskrift*.

³⁹ Cf. J. Neustupny, *Pravěk lidstva*, 1946 (I quote this work after Moszyński); W. Hensel, *Stosowanie metody etnologicznej w prehistorii*, *RHu* I, 1949, pp. 59–69; L. Klein, *Voprosy proiskhozhdeniya slavyan v sbornike dokladov VI nauchnoi konferentsii Instituta arkhologii Akademii nauk USSR*, *SAr* XXII, 1955, pp. 257–272; K. Moszyński, *Pierwotny zasięg języka prasłowiańskiego*, 1957, pp. 9–14, and others.

⁴⁰ Cf. A. Dubynin, *Raskopki Malyshevskogo mogil'nika*, *KSDPI* XXVII, 1949, pp. 91–96; A. Smirnov, *Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov Srednego Povolzh'ya i Prikam'ya*, *MIA* XXVIII, 1952, pp. 138–155; A. Mongait, *Iz istorii naseleniya basseina srednego techeniya Oki v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *SAr* XVIII, 1953, pp. 167–173, and others.

⁴¹ N. Artemov and V. Lebedev, *Istoriya SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do XVIII v.*, 1959, p. 81; cf. T. Milewski, *Zarys językoznawstwa ogólnego* II, 1948, p. 204.

⁴² G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 326.

9th century (*i.e.*, the 8th–9th or 9th–10th century).⁴³ While on a map entitled 'Distribution of the East-European nations in the 8th–middle 9th century' nearly the whole of the land of Rostov-Suzdal' is marked as Slavonic territory,⁴⁴ Goryunova states that archaeological data do not enable us to fix the time of this colonization as having been earlier than the middle of the 9th century.⁴⁵ In company with Voronin, Goryunova considers the 10th and 11th centuries were especially important in the development of the process of this colonization.⁴⁶

The assimilation of the Finnish population of the Upper Volga region is closely connected with the course of this process. Reformatsky believes that the Merya and other neighbouring Finnish tribes were Slavonicized in prehistoric times.⁴⁷ Grekov puts the period at about the 7th century,⁴⁸ whilst Galkin, Mongait and Vernadsky place it in the 10th century.⁴⁹ According to Ionenko, the Merya were still in existence in the 10th century.⁵⁰ Bader, Goryunova, Mavrodin and others maintain that in the 10th–12th centuries the population of the Rostov-Suzdal' territories was a mixed, Slavonic-Finnish one⁵¹: some of these authors lay more and others less stress on the preponderance of the Slavs over the Finns. In any case, there is general agreement that before the great invasion of the Tartars, at the latest in 1237–1238, the Slavs were in control of the entire Upper

⁴³ A. Spitsyn, *Vladimirskie kurgany*, *IIAK* XV, 1905, p. 163; M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, p. 5; Y. Stankevich, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Yaroslavskogo Povolzh'ya v IX–X vv., *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 82; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, p. 237; *idem*, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech'ya v I tysyacheletii n.e., *SAr*, 1957 (2), p. 67; E. Busygin, *Etnograficheskie issledovaniya material'noi kul'tury russkogo naseleniya Srednego Povolzh'ya*, *SE*, 1957 (2), p. 164, and others.

⁴⁴ K. Bazilevich, I. Golubtsov and M. Zinov'ev (ed.), *Atlas istorii SSSR* I, 1954, No. 8.

⁴⁵ E. Goryunova, *Ob etnicheskoj prinadlezhnosti naseleniya Bereznyakovskogo gorodishcha*, p. 22.

⁴⁶ E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov severo-vostochnoi Rusi*, pp. 11–21; N. Voronin, *Vklad v arkhologiyu drevnei Rusi*, *VAN* XXVI, 1956 (12), p. 120.

⁴⁷ A. Reformatsky, in *DSiY* IX, 1956, p. 114. Similarly A. Yanovsky, *Yurii Dolgorukii*, 1955, pp. 94–95 affirms that Slavs inhabited the Rostov-Suzdal' area 'since time immemorial'. As far as the Beloozero region (the territory of the Ugro-Finnish tribe Ves') is concerned, this author considers its population was Slavonic in the 9th and 10th centuries. The same opinion is expressed by P. Sukhov, *Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX–X vv. v yuzhnom Beloz'er'e* *MIA* VI, 1941, pp. 89–92, and, to some extent, by L. Golubeva, *Drevnee Beloozero*, *KSDPI* XLI, 1951, pp. 37–40.

⁴⁸ B. Grekov, *Krest'yane na Rusi s drevneishikh vremen do XVII veka*, 1946, pp. 514–515.

⁴⁹ V. Galkin, *Suzdal'skaya Rus'*, 1939, p. 31; A. Mongait, *Arkheologiya v SSSR*, 1955, p. 332; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 159.

⁵⁰ I. Ionenko, *Ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh prevrashcheniya kursko-orlovskogo dialekta v osnovu russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, *Vol*, 1952 (7), pp. 89–100. Cf. R. Avanesov, *K voprosam obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1953 (2), pp. 47–70.

⁵¹ O. Bader, *Drevnee Povetluzh'e v svyazi s voprosom etnogeneza mari i rannei istorii Povolzh'ya*, *SE*, 1951 (2), p. 37; E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov*, 1955, pp. 15–21; V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, 1956, p. 192.

Volga basin, down to the mouth of the Oka, and of the Oka valley.⁵²

The situation of the territories whence the Slavonic population migrated to the Upper Volga region is no less controversial a subject than the period when this colonization took place. The general view is that this population migrated from the north, west and south, from the regions of Lake Ilmen', the Upper Dnieper and the Middle Oka. If so, the migrants were Novgorodian Slavs, Krivichians and Vyatichians. But, if the matter is more closely examined, glaring differences of opinion at once become evident. Various minor points can be disregarded, such as which of these tribes began this colonization,⁵³ whether it was a simultaneous process launched from several directions, and whether it was a co-ordinated action or one conducted by each tribe independently. Much more important is it to establish who settled on the territory of the Merya.

'The Novgorodian colonization [of the land of Rostov-Suzdal'] in the 10th and 11th centuries—writes Voronin—was the ethnic basis for the formation of the central core of Great Rus'.⁵⁴ This view is shared likewise by Lyubavsky,⁵⁵ Yatsunsky,⁵⁶ Dickenmann⁵⁷ and others. Artsikhovskiy, on the other hand, considers the Krivichians and the Vyatichians were 'the two tribes which played the prime role in the formation of the Rus'ian [Great Rus'ian] nation'.⁵⁸ According to Yanovsky, 'the Vyatichians and the Krivichians constituted the basic ethnic core of the Rus'ian [Great Rus'ian] nation'.⁵⁹ The border between Vyatichian and Krivichian settlements is said to have been about 40 kilometres north of Moscow.⁶⁰ The principal role in this colonization is ascribed to the Krivichians and the range of their

⁵² Similarly as with the history of the Merya, the same treatment is accorded to the fate of other Finnish peoples, for instance, the Muroma, settled on the Lower Oka in the region of Murom. Whilst A. Reformatsky, *op. cit.*, p. 114 assumes that this tribe was Slavonicized in prehistoric times, A. Smirnov, *Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov Srednego Povolzh'ya i Priam'ya*, pp. 151–152 asserts that the given territory had a Slavonic majority in the 11th century. E. Goryunova, *Muromskii mogil'nik*, *KSDPI* LII, 1955, pp. 33–42 and *K istorii gorodov*, pp. 13–14 believes the greatest intensity of Slavonic colonization in this area was in the 11th century. Contrary to Goryunova's view, I. Bogatov, *O vremeni vozniknoveniya goroda Muroma*, *Sdr*, 1959 (3), pp. 223–225 affirms that Murom was Slavonic already in the middle of the 9th century.

⁵³ Certain authors (Stankevich, Tret'yakov) believe that the Novgorodians were the first to embark on that enterprise while others (*e.g.*, Avdusin) express a contrary opinion, and attribute priority to the Krivichians.

⁵⁴ N. Voronin, *Vklad v arkhologiiyu drevnei Rusi*, *VAN* XXVI, 1956 (12), p. 120.

⁵⁵ M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, p. 6.

⁵⁶ V. Yatsunsky, *Istoricheskaya geografiya kak nauchnaya distsiplina*, *VG*, XX, 1950, p. 37.

⁵⁷ E. Dickenmann, *Aufgaben und Methoden der russischen Ortsnamenforschung*, *BN* VI (2), 1955, p. 134.

⁵⁸ A. Artsikhovskiy, *Drevneishie poseleniya na meste Moskvy*, in *Istoriya Moskvy I*, 1952, p. 14. See also *Za dal'neishee tvorcheskoe razvitie marksistkogo yazykoznaniya*, *VY*, 1953 (3), p. 10.

⁵⁹ A. Yanovsky, *Yurii Dolgorukii*, 1955, p. 123.

⁶⁰ A. Artsikhovskiy, *op. cit.*, p. 14. L. Cherepnin, *Skladyvanie russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Ocherki II*, 1953, p. 315 states this frontier ran along the river Moskva.

settlements is very broadly conceived.⁶¹ There are, however, some authors who are inclined to doubt whether the Krivichians settled the Upper Volga basin⁶² or who treat them as virtually nonexistent.⁶³

The Vyatichians are said to have settled the southern part of the Merya territory, in the Moscow region especially.⁶⁴ But there are also differences of opinion regarding the Vyatichians, differences which appeared already in the early literature on the subject, when, for instance, Spitsyn expressed doubt whether the Vyatichians had been active in colonization at all. Today, Tret'yakov writes of there having been two centres whence Slavonic migration proceeded to the territories under discussion—a Krivichian and a Novgorodian one, with less attention devoted to the Vyatichians.⁶⁵

Finally, there is yet another hypothesis. According to it, the Slavonic population of the Middle Dnieper region shifted towards the north-east and settled on the territory of the Merya. It was supposed by some scholars (Pogodin, Sobolevsky) that this population was actually a 'Great Rus'ian' one.⁶⁶ Many authors declare themselves for Polyanian (Kievan)⁶⁷ or Severian⁶⁸ colonization. Some historians believe that this process of settlement was bound up with the economic and political activities of the Rurikides in the north-east during the 11th–12th century (the so-called princely colonization);⁶⁹ others, however, state it took place in later times (after the middle of the 13th century) and consider it was a consequence of the Tartar invasions.⁷⁰

Other peoples apart from Slavs are said to have inhabited the Upper Volga basin. Many scholars believe that in this region there were widely scattered agglomerations of Norse Varangians chiefly as factories for the trade between Scandinavia and the Moslem

⁶¹ R. Avanesov, *Problemy obrazovaniya yazyka russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, VY, 1955 (5), p. 30; P. Chernykh, *Ocherk russkoi istoricheskoi leksikologii. Drevne-russkii period*, 1956, p. 102; T. Stroganova, *K izucheniyu govorov mezhdurech'ya Oki-Klyaz'my*, TIY VII, 1957, pp. 89–90, and others.

⁶² A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 168 ('We are ready to admit that there was a stream of colonization from the Smolensk area to the land of Rostov-Suzdal'; but if this migration occurred . . .').

⁶³ E. Dickenmann, *op. cit.*, pp. 134–135.

⁶⁴ V. Mavrodin, *Formirovaniye russkoi natsii*, 1947, p. 22; A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', pp. 168, 180; *idem*, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo (XII–XIII vv.)*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 326; A. Yanovsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 122–123, etc.

⁶⁵ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 236–241.

⁶⁶ L. Bulakhovsky, *Voprosy proiskhozhdeniya ukrainskogo yazyka*, VY, 1953 (2), p. 104 draws attention to baselessness of such suppositions.

⁶⁷ I. Lopatin, in *WAI*, 1955, p. 108; A. Soloviev, *Der Begriff 'Russland' im Mittelalter*, *WAGSO II*, 1956, p. 149.

⁶⁸ V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, *VoI*, 1950 (4), p. 65; I. Ionenko, *Ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh prevrashcheniya kursko-orlovskogo dialekta v osnovu russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, VY, 1952 (7), pp. 89–100; A. Yanovsky, *op. cit.*, p. 96, etc.

⁶⁹ S. Yushkov, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskii stroi i pravo Kievskogo gosudarstva*, 1949, pp. 397–401.

⁷⁰ M. Hellmann, *Staat und Recht in Altrussland*, *Saec V*, 1954, p. 45; E. Dickenmann, *op. cit.*, p. 135. Cf. G. Stökl, *Die politische Religiosität des Mittelalters und die Entstehung des Moskauer Staates*, *Saec II*, 1951, pp. 396, 404.

world.⁷¹ The enormous quantities of Arabic coins found in the Volga region, and also on the island of Gotland and in Sweden, provide the principal though not the sole argument in favour of Norse settlements having existed in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'.⁷² But there are authors who consider that these coins merely prove the existence of trade relations between the Arabs and the Volga Rus' (Slavs being understood by the latter appellation) and deny there was any Varangian settlement in that region.⁷³

In addition, there is another hypothesis which affirms the Upper Volga region was infiltrated from the east by a people of Ugrian stock who migrated from the Upper Kama district; it is said that the last wave of these settlers came somewhere in the 9th–10th century.⁷⁴

If all the above-mentioned surmises are accepted, it would be necessary to conceive of the territory in question as densely populated by many diverse ethnic elements originating from various countries, apart from indigenous Finns. The matter, however, is not presented so. The outcome of studies on the colonization of the land of Rostov-Suzdal' is for the most part a mass of negative observations. The individual authors or groups of authors holding similar views demonstrate in convincing manner—and this is the positive aspect of their studies—that the statements of their predecessors were unfounded. In turn, their own theories are no less convincingly disproved by their successors. It can be said, therefore, that the multiplicity of publications and discussions yields but minimal progress as regards the subject itself. Sukhov stated in 1941 that 'the period, directions and character of this [Slavonic] colonization still remain utterly unexplored'.⁷⁵ Today, twenty years later and in spite of additional data—particularly those yielded by archaeological studies—it is indeed difficult to say that the sum of our knowledge has increased.

The theory of Slavonic colonization in the region of the Upper Volga and its tributaries is based on the findings of archaeology and,

⁷¹ Cf. *OR*, pp. 138, 264.

⁷² These coins reached Eastern Europe not earlier than the 9th century and the influx ended about the year 1012–1013. Cf. A. Markov, *Topografiya kladov vostochnykh monet (sasanidskikh i kuficheskikh)*, 1910, pp. 2–3; R. Hennig, *Der mittelalterliche arabische Handelsverkehr in Osteuropa, I* XXII, 1935, p. 246; G. Korzukhina, *Russkie klady IX–XIII vv.*, 1954, p. 15. Attention is drawn to the recently unearthed Arabic coins of the 10th century in Novgorod by A. Artsikhovskiy, *Novye otkrytiya v Novgorode*, 1955, p. 25.

⁷³ F. Mikhalevsky, *Ocherki istorii deneg i denezhnogo obrashcheniya I*, 1948, pp. 221–222; B. Romanov, *Den'gi i denezhnoe obrashchenie, in Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi I*, 1951, pp. 381–386; B. Rybakov, *Torgovlya i torgovye puti*, *ibid.*, pp. 335, 340; B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 77; *idem*, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 439; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, pp. 278–279, and others.

⁷⁴ E. Goryunova, *K voprosu o plemennoi prinadlezhnosti letopisnoi meri*, *KSIE* XVII, 1952, pp. 18–28. See there, too, for the literature on the subject.

⁷⁵ P. Sukhov, *Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX–X st. v yuzhnom Beloz'er'e*, *MIA* VI, 1941, p. 89.

most important, it is presented despite of reports to the contrary handed down by the written sources. Nasonov remarks:

The 11th–12th century chronicler tells us that the ‘indigenous population’ of the Beloozero ‘Ves’ and of the Rostov ‘Merya’ belonged to East-Finnish tribes. But archaeological data testify that in the 9th–10th century, in connection with the growing social progress of the local Slavonic population, other non-Slavonic tribes living there, such as the Ves’, the Merya and the Muroma, were absorbed by the Slavonic mass.⁷⁶

The extreme lack of reliability attached to ‘archaeological data’ is demonstrated by the fact that some present-day Soviet archaeologists believe that the Merya, the principal Finnish tribe in our considerations, had not been completely Slavonicized in the 9th–10th century.⁷⁷

Nasonov’s observation merits attention primarily because he ascribes greater significance to archaeological hypotheses than to ‘Nestor’s’ text, although archaeologists themselves have to admit that ‘the picture of the distribution of the Volga tribes, reconstructed on the basis of archaeological investigations, is in full agreement with the data contained in the Primary Chronicle and in other written sources.’⁷⁸

We thus come to the essence of the problem. Denying the existence of Slavonic colonization upon such a scale that it could have brought about a change in the ethnic character of the country, I base my opinion on the textual sources. Although Vernadsky is an historian his studies on this subject draw exclusively on archaeological material. He reproaches me for not taking up a similar attitude.⁷⁹ Disregarding the point that many of Vernadsky’s archaeological conjectures are now questioned or even rejected by archaeologists, more characteristic is what he states himself regarding this subject:

Unfortunately, we obtain no clear picture from the results of archaeological research. Over seven thousand kurgans were excavated in that area by Count A. S. Uvarov and P. S. Saveliev in the middle of the 19th century, but the work was done hastily and without registering the exact location of each item found. Therefore, it is now impossible to classify the strata or to differentiate the Finnish from the Slavic deposits. It is in any case clear that most of the kurgans reveal a mixed Finno-Slavic culture.⁸⁰

Unfortunately, what is clear to Vernadsky is not clear to me. In my opinion, far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from material

⁷⁶ A. Nasonov, Vladimiro-Suzdal’skoe knyazhestvo (XII–XIII vv.), in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 321.

⁷⁷ E. Goryunova, Meryanskii mogil’nik na Rybinskom more, *KSDPI LIV*, 1954, p. 161 states that in the 11th and early 12th centuries, ‘the Merya still largely preserved their tribal features both in respect of their material culture and, of course, their language’. Similar opinions have already been cited with reference to the Muroma tribe.

⁷⁸ P. Tret’yakov, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech’ya v I tysyacheletii n.e., *SAr*, 1957, (2), p. 65.

⁷⁹ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp*, 1955, p. 299.

⁸⁰ G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 326.

which is, as he himself admits, so uncertain. As regards the imagined 'mixed Finno-Slavic culture', I remarked in *OR*:

We will not go into the problem whether the culture of the Finnish Merya was, in fact, so nearly related to the Slavonic as Tret'yakov, Voronin, and others have supposed. Serious doubts may arise on this point. But it does follow from the observations of these scholars that in practice a similarity of culture renders more difficult the task of distinguishing the Finnish from the Slavonic barrows, and increases the possibility of mistaking Finnish tumuli for Slavonic graves, so that it leaves unsolved the whole problem of Slav settlement in the regions on the upper course of the Volga and the Oka.⁸¹

In the 9th and 10th centuries—affirms Vernadsky—there were already numerous Slavic settlements in that [Rostov-Suzdal'] area which had been originally inhabited by Finno-Ugrian tribes. The first Slavic pioneers must have appeared there in the 8th if not in the 7th century. . . . We have seen that the Norsemen might have penetrated to the Rostov-Suzdal' area as early as at the end of the 7th or the beginning of the 8th century. However, they probably followed in the wake of the Slavic colonization which cleared the path for them.⁸²

On another page in the same work, he writes that the Finns of the Merya tribe 'originally occupied the Rostov region . . . , but were later subdued by the Slavs and completely Russianized'.⁸³ And in another place he remarks: 'Judging from what we know from literary sources of Varangian-Finnish relations of the 9th and the 10th centuries, we may assume that it was the Varangians who ruled over the Finns in the Rostov-Suzdal' region, even in the 8th century.'⁸⁴

Confronting these three quotations with one another, several observations impose themselves. If it be assumed that Slavonic colonization of the area in question preceded that of the Norsemen, then the Varangians must have ruled not only over the Finns there but also over the Slavs. Further, it is difficult to imagine that the Merya under the rule of the Varangians should have been 'completely Russianized' (strictly speaking, Vernadsky means 'Slavonized'), unless by some flight of fantasy it is assumed that they voluntarily desired to forgo their own tribal traditions, language, etc. Vernadsky's statement that as early as the 8th century 'the Varangians . . . ruled over the Finns in the Rostov-Suzdal' region' makes no mention of them having ruled over Slavs in the same region. It would therefore seem that his theory of Slavonic colonization there is discredited by his own words.

Now, let us compare the two other statements: 'The Varangians . . . ruled over the Finns' and the Finns 'were subdued by the Slavs'. Who then in effect subjugated the Merya and ruled over them? Vernadsky seems to imply that both the Varangians and the Slavs

⁸¹ *OR*, p. 262.

⁸² G. Vernadsky, *Ancient Russia*, p. 326.

⁸³ G. Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, p. 235.

⁸⁴ G. Vernadsky, *op. cit.*, pp. 268-269.

did so. Yet, if it be accepted that Slavonic colonization came after the Varangian, then the Slavs must have subjugated not only Finnish settlements but also Varangian ones. Such a supposition, however, is so improbable in the light of all the known sources that it must be at once dismissed. On the other hand, if it be supposed that Slavonic and Norse colonization proceeded simultaneously there must have been some Slavonic-Varangian conflict for hegemony over the land of the Merya; but nothing is known of any such clash, nor are there any indications that the area was divided into two parts—a Slavonic and a Varangian one. There are in fact no data which could support this thesis. But Vernadsky claims that Slavonic and Varangian colonization developed simultaneously, or approximately so, in the same area. If this was so, the two processes must have entered into contact in some way or other, and influenced each other. Vernadsky, however, fails to perceive this and, treating the two colonization processes in strict separation from each other, plunges into evident dilemmas and self-contradictions.

Reformatsky numbers the Merya among the small Finnish tribes.⁸⁵ It would seem, however, that this statement is unfounded. The Merya had existed for many centuries and had the power of tradition behind them. Jordanis (6th century A.D.) mentions the Merens (Merya) amongst other cognate tribes: the Mordens (Mordva), the Vasina (Ves'), the Thiudos (Chud'), etc.⁸⁶ The territory of the Merya was a very extensive one: it stretched southward almost to the Oka, westward to the frontiers of Smolensk and Novgorod, northward to the territory of the Ves' (Beloozero); in the east, the Merian country extended beyond the Galich-Kineshma line.⁸⁷ Occupying such a large territory, the indication is that the Merya were not a minor tribe. In fact, the Merya should be classed in the same category as the Mordva, Ves', etc. in every respect. Tret'yakov, basing himself on archaeological findings, comes to the same conclusion.⁸⁸ Łowmiański, however, opposes this view because mentions of the Merya disappear earlier in the pages of the chronicles than those of neighbouring peoples.⁸⁹ His observation fails to bring conviction for two reasons: (1) the intensity of the Rus'-Varangians' pressure upon the Merya was much greater than upon the other Ugro-Finnish tribes; the Rurikides did not build up their State upon the territories of the

⁸⁵ A. Refomatsky, in *DSIY IX*, 1956, p. 114.

⁸⁶ Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 213; T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny I*, 1956, p. 136; A. Smirnov, *Finno-ugorskie plemena v pervoi polovine I tysyacheletiiya*, in *Ocherki SSSR. Krizis rabovladel'cheskoi sistemy i zarozhdenie feodalizma na territorii SSSR III-IX vv.*, 1958, p. 139.

⁸⁷ *OR*, pp. 271-273.

⁸⁸ P. Tret'yakov, *K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech'ya v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *SdP*, 1957 (2), p. 65.

⁸⁹ H. Łowmiański, *O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w wieku X-XIV*, *KH LXIV* (1), 1957, p. 99.

Mordva, Ves', etc.; (2) in connection with the rise and development of this State, Rus'ian Christianity began to spread earlier to the land of Rostov-Suzdal' than to other territories of the north-east, and the population of this land was earlier than elsewhere embraced by the ecclesiastical term ('the Rus') and considered part of the Rus'ian Church.

Furthermore, the ethnic character of the Merya and their affinity to the Mordva⁹⁰ and the Ves'⁹¹ favour a joint treatment of all these Ugro-Finnish tribes. Similarities in point of language, customs and tribal organization make it possible to fill, to some extent, the gap left in the texts of the sources with regard to the Merya.

Many authors suppose that Slavonic colonization in the Upper Volga basin bore a peaceful character and that the Slavs occupied the most fertile lands, the salt springs, the lakes and rivers abundant in fish and, especially the rivers important for communication.⁹² It is asserted that Merya submitted to the invaders without offering any resistance.⁹³ If there had been fighting between Slavs and the Merya, writes Yanovsky, 'there would certainly have been traces of this in the national memory—in stories, legends, and would have found reflection in the chronicles'.⁹⁴ This supposition is quite mistaken and misleading for, as the chronicles and legends make absolutely no mention of Slavonic colonization in general, they could record neither peaceful nor hostile relations between the Merya and the Slavs.

Such a depiction of quite hypothetical—not to say fantastic—events have evoked critical remarks from Sobolevsky.⁹⁵ Zelenin called the idea of an idyllic and peaceful life of Finns and Slavs in common, simply a fiction.⁹⁶ But there are not many authors who try to bring the hypothesis of Slavonic colonization at least a little nearer to reality. It must be remembered that the Mordva were known for their

⁹⁰ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*, 1953, p. 236. Cf. P. Lyubomirov, *O vazhnosti izucheniya Mordvy*, *SES* I, 1922, pp. 239–249; B. Grekov and V. Lebedev (ed.), *Dokumenty i materialy po istorii Mordovskoi ASSR* I, 1940; P. Stepanov, *Vzaimootnosheniya mordvy i vostochnoslavjanskikh plemen po dannym arkheologii*, *ZMNII*, 1951, pp. 140–164; V. Bochkarev and others (ed.), *Ocherki istorii Mordovskoi ASSR* I, 1955; J. Melich, *Einige Personen- und Völkernamen*, *ALASH* VI (4), 1957, pp. 431–435 (an etymological study on the appellations 'Merya' and 'Mordva'); A. Alikhova, *Nekotorye khronologicheskie i plemennye otlichia v kul'ture mordvy kontsa I i nachala II tysyacheletiya n.e.*, *SAr*, 1958 (2), pp. 66–77, and others.

⁹¹ A. Popov, *Toponimika Belozerskogo kraya*, *UZLUGU* CV, 1948, pp. 164–174; A. Kopanov, *Istoriya zemlevaldeniya Belozerskogo kraya XV–XVI v.*, 1951, pp. 15–16.

⁹² P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena nakanune obrazovaniya Kievskogo gosudarstva*, *IANSI* II (3), 1945, p. 166; A. Nasonov, *'Russkaya zemlya'*, 1951, p. 174; *idem*, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo (XII–XIII vv.)*, in *Ocherki* I, 1953, pp. 321–322; E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov severo-vostochnoi Rusi*, *KSDPI* LIX, 1955, p. 20.

⁹³ V. Galkin, *Suzdal'skaya Rus'*, 1939, p. 28.

⁹⁴ A. Yanovsky, *Yurii Dolgorukii*, 1955, p. 95.

⁹⁵ A. Sobolevsky, *K voprosu o finskom vliyani na velikorusskoe plemya*, *ZS* III, 1893, pp. 117–121. The problem of the participation of the Finns in the formation of the Great Rus'ian nation is discussed by D. Zelenin, *Prinimali li finny uchastie v obrazovanii velikorusskoi narodnosti?* *SLO* I, 1929, pp. 96–108, and M. Markelov, *K voprosu o kul'turnykh vzaimootnosheniakh finnov i russkikh*, *E*, 1930 (1–2), pp. 57–62.

⁹⁶ D. Zelenin, *Russische (ostslavische) Volkskunde*, 1927, pp. 5–6.

savagery and cruelty,⁹⁷ and that they fiercely and stubbornly defended their land and independence against invasions. We have no grounds for supposing that the Merya acted otherwise.⁹⁸

It might seem, at first sight, a more probable surmise that the Slavs subjugated the Finnish territories by military forces. But even this supposition is found untenable when closely examined. Many archaeologists who incline to the belief that Slavs colonized the Upper Volga basin, nevertheless doubt whether this was on a large scale in prehistoric times.⁹⁹ 'Nestor' treats the Merya before and in the 10th century as distinct from the Slavs and independent of them; hence the supposed conquest could have taken place only from the 10th to the 12th century. There are no grounds for assuming that the Novgorodian Slavs, the Krivichians and the Vyatichians joined forces against the Merya in the 10th century or later. If each of these tribes fought the Merya separately and at different times, their chances of subjugating the Merya would have been smaller. Furthermore, as the Novgorodians and the Krivichians from the end of the 9th century on were unable to defend their own independence against the Varangian invasions, it seems out of the question that they should have been able to conquer the Merya during the 10th–12th centuries.

Let it be assumed, for the moment, that despite the above observations Slavonic colonization developed independently of the Varangians and that it was actually carried out on the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. The query then arises: What happened to the Merya after the influx of the Slavonic masses upon their territory?

The authors who are unanimous in declaring that this colonization took place, are equally unanimous in affirming that the Merya disappeared thereafter. A close examination of the views expressed by them reveals that these fall under two headings: one group of

⁹⁷ Julianus, a Hungarian missionary who passed through the land of the Mordva in the first half of the 13th century, writes about them as follows: 'qui [Morduani] sunt pagani, et adeo homines crudeles, qui pro nichilo reputatur homo ille, qui multos homines non occidit, et cum aliquis in via procedit, omnium hominum capita, quos occidit, coram ipso portantur, et quanto plura coram uno quoque capita, tanto melior reputatur; de capitibus vero hominum cibus faciunt, et libentius inde bibunt. Uxorem ducere non permittitur, qui hominem non occidit.' L. Bendefy, *Fontes authentici itinera* (1235–1238) fr. Juliani illustrantes, *AECO* III, 1937, p. 25. Other sources represent the Mordva on similar lines. Cf. A. Smirnov, *Ocherki drevnei i srednevekovoi istorii narodov srednego Povolzh'ya i Prikam'ya*, *MIA* XXVIII, 1952, pp. 152–156.

⁹⁸ There exist side by side two theories represented by the same authors. According to the first, Slavonic infiltration into the land of Rostov-Suzdal' encountered no opposition from the Finns. The second one is that the Merya put up powerful and prolonged resistance to conversion to Christianity—the sources provide proof of this. Baptism, in the light of the concepts and relations of the time, had not only religious significance but also a no less important political one. The second theory obviously undermines the first.

⁹⁹ Goryunova, as already mentioned, considers the beginnings of Slavonic colonization took place in the middle of the 9th century at the earliest. Voronin states the process of colonization by Novgorod was most intense in the 10th and 11th centuries; Tret'yakov believes the analogous period for the Krivichians was in the 11th–12th century, whilst Artsikhovsky states that for the Vyatichians it was during the 12th–14th centuries.

authors (Spitsyn, Zelenin, Bader) affirms that the Merya were thrust out of their ancestral seats to some other lands;¹⁰⁰ the other group, now a majority one, claims the Merya remained on their territory and were swiftly assimilated by the Slavs; some authors believe this assimilation was complete (Grekov, Mavrodin, Stankevich), others state it was incomplete (Ionenko, Tret'yakov). Finally, a 'compromise' group (Pogodin, Nasonov and others) has adopted an intermediate attitude as regards the two theories and states that part of the Merya left their native haunts whilst the remainder stayed there.

'The Merians—writes Vernadsky—are ... mentioned as participants in Oleg's Byzantine campaign of 907. This is the last mention of the Merians, who were completely Russianized in the course of the 10th century.'¹⁰¹ The fact that the name of the Merya does not appear in the sources later than 907 is accepted by Vernadsky as proof that the tribe became extinct, that is to say, that it was quickly Slavonicized. Arguing along these lines, it can be supposed that if the Merya had been mentioned after 907 there would equally automatically be no grounds for doubting their continued existence in later times.

Attention must be drawn to Tikhomirov's observation regarding the well-known social and religious riots which broke out in the Rostov and Beloozero regions in the year 1071.¹⁰² He believes that the rebels must have been pagan Slavs, for two reasons: (1) because 'Nestor' says nothing about Rus'ian troops who crushed the uprising, having recourse to interpreters when coming to an understanding with the inhabitants of the given territory—and (2) the chronicler does not use the names 'Merya' and 'Ves' to indicate the population affected by this event.¹⁰³ The first argument is easily countered. When

¹⁰⁰ The view is sometimes encountered that the Merya migrated eastwards, to the territory of the Cheremis' between the Volga and the Vyatka, a tributary of the Kama. The present name of the Cheremis' is Mari. Cf. A. Savich, *Iz istorii naroda mari*, *IsZ* 1938 (5), pp. 32–46; K. Kozlova, *Ob etnicheskikh svyazyakh chuvashai i mariitsev*, *VMU*, 1958 (4), p. 155; on etymology of the term: Cheremis' see J. Farkas, *Die gesellschaftliche Organisation der finnisch-ugrischen Völker im Lichte der Wortkunde*, *Saec* V, 1954, p. 334. The similarity of the names Merya-Mari has encouraged many authors to suppose some affinity or link between these two peoples in one form or other. See O. Bader, *Drevnee Povetluzh'e v svyazi s voprosami etnogeneza mari i rannei istorii Povolzh'ya*, *SE*, 1951 (2), p. 39; K. Chetkarev, *Plemennye nazvaniya mariitsev*, *UZMI* V, 1953, pp. 285–291 (unavailable to me); *idem*, *Znachenie toponimiki dlya drevnei istorii mari*, *ibidem* VI, 1954, pp. 115–160 (unavailable to me). The arguments for and against such surmises are reviewed by S. Tokarev, *Etnografiya narodov SSSR*, 1958, p. 150. A. Smirnov, *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki na territorii Mariiskoi ASSR i ikh mesto v material'noi kul'ture Povolzh'ya*, 1949 (unavailable to me) and E. Goryunova, *K voprosu o plemennoi prinadlezhnosti letopisnoi meri*, *KSDPI* VII, 1952, p. 20 rightly reject all these attempts to treat the two tribes in question as being identical. 'Nestor' mentions both the Merya and the Cheremis' independently of each other and treats them as diverse ethnic entities. The sources of the 13th–15th centuries (*Slovo o pogibeli russkyya zemli*, *Troitskaya letopis'*, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa 15 veka*, *Ustyuzhskii letopisnyi svod*, etc.) uniformly and solely call this people the Cheremis', not the Mari.

¹⁰¹ G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, p. 159.

¹⁰² D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 117–120.

¹⁰³ M. Tikhomirov, *Krest'yanskii i gorodskie vosstaniya na Rusi XI–XIII vv.*, 1955, p. 123.

'Nestor' writes of the Rus' establishing various contacts with the Khazars, the Greeks, the Hungarians, Scandinavians, etc., he likewise makes no mention that interpreters were used. Following Tikhomirov's line of reasoning to its logical conclusion, we would have to accept that all these non-Slavonic peoples were Slavs. The second argument can be turned against those who support the theory of the Slavonic colonization of the Merya territory. Neither 'Nestor' nor any of the other sources used Slavonic terminology to designate the inhabitants of the land of Rostov-Suzdal' under the year 1071 or, for that matter, under any other date. None of these sources call them (Novgorodian) Slavs, Krivichians, Vyatichians, Severians, etc. The population of the Upper Volga basin has no specific generic name of its own in the source-material. The chroniclers designate it by towns: 'the Rostovians' (*Rostovtsi*), 'the Suzdaliens' (*Suzhdal'tsi*) and so on. The whole country bears no name. The Novgorodians and the Pskovians, in consequence of their geographical position, call it 'the Nether Country' (*Niz, Nizovskaya zemlya*), hence the inhabitants of this region are sometimes called 'Nizovians' (*Nizovtsi*). The Kievans name this territory 'the Land beyond the Forests' (*Zalesskaya zemlya*) on account of the vast forest areas (inhabited chiefly by the Vyatichians) which separated the basins of the Upper Volga and Oka from the southern lands. Naturally, the application of such a terminology makes it more difficult to establish the ethnic character of the population inhabiting this territory.

On the other hand, it must be remarked that there is nothing unusual in the use of such a terminology. A tribal name is perpetuated when the given tribe forms a State organization extending beyond the tribal area. This is what happened among the Western Slavs (the Polanians, the Czechs, etc.). But, when a State was erected as the outcome of conquest by completely foreign invaders, the name of the subjugated native population is not given to the newly created State-entity. It was thus in Kiev with the Varangian Rus'; the new State was not given the name of the Polyanians though these continued to inhabit the land of Kiev. Similarly with the Merya. There is some analogy between the fate of the Merya and of the Polyanians. It is generally accepted that the former are last mentioned in the sources under the year 907 and the latter under the year 944. The difference in time is very small. But nobody has come to the conclusion that the Polyanians migrated to other lands after 944 or remained at their ancestral seats but became extinct, that is to say, lost their ethnic character. The mere fact that the appellation 'Merya' disappeared does not prove that the tribe as such disappeared. It could have persisted under a foreign yoke and under a foreign name. The hypothesis drawn up by Vernadsky and others that the Merya were swiftly Slavonicized is improbable for yet another reason: it takes centuries for peoples to rise and centuries for

them to become extinct. Such processes do not occur, as it were, from one day to another.

Moreover, in spite of the opinion generally held, the Polyanians do appear in 'Nestor' after the year 944. In the introductory part of the *Povest'*, a most important contribution to our knowledge of Eastern Europe, the chronicler mentions that the Polyanians lived up to his time, i.e., to the end of the 11th or the beginning of the 12th century.¹⁰⁴ The question now arises: Are the Merya likewise mentioned in the sources after the year 907? Evidence is available which enables us to give a most categorical answer in the affirmative.

Here, unfortunately, Vernadsky's approach to the problem must be criticized. It is a universally accepted principle (indeed, an evident necessity) that an historian should know and apply the texts of sources which have a bearing on the subject he discusses, as also that no conclusions should be drawn before these texts have been carefully examined. In the present case, Vernadsky seems to have adopted the contrary approach: an historian may present a theory, and if the sources contradict it, he is entitled to ignore them.

'Nestor' mentions many tribes and peoples in the introductory part of the *Povest'*; so doing, he differentiates between those who had existed in the past and those who were still in existence during his time. The first group comprises the Avars, the Dulebians, the Tivertsians, the Ulichians, etc.¹⁰⁵ The Merya quite plainly figure in the second group.¹⁰⁶ It hence follows that the Merya still existed as a separate tribe during the lifetime of 'Nestor', that is to say, in the second half of the 11th and at the beginning of the 12th century. We dispose of another source which fully confirms the above observation. This is Adam of Bremen, a contemporary or near-contemporary of 'Nestor' (d. 1074), who regarded the Finnish tribes from the west just as 'Nestor' did from the south. Adam of Bremen mentions the Merya among the Finnish tribes.¹⁰⁷

¹⁰⁴ 'Nestor', recording the legend concerning Kii, the founder of Kiev, and his brothers, notes that: 'They were called Polyanians, and there are Polyanians descended from them living in Kiev to this day' ('naritsakhusya polyane, ot nikh zhe est' polyane v Kieve i do sego dne'). D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13. Cf. *OR*, p. 32.

¹⁰⁵ 'They [the Avars] all perished, and not one Avar survived' ('i pomroshta vsi, i ne ostasya ni edin obrin'). D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14. 'The Dulebians dwelt along the Bug where the Volynians now are found' ('Dulebi zhivyakhu po Bugu, gde nyne velynyane'), *ibid.*, p. 14. 'Their [of the Ulichians and Tivertsians] cities are still [on the Dniester]' ('i sut' gradi ikh i do sego dne'), *ibid.*, p. 14.

¹⁰⁶ 'At Beloozero dwell [the chronicler uses the present tense!] the Ves', and on the lake of Rostov, the Merya, and on Lake Kleshchino the Merya also' ('Na Beloezere sedyat' ves', a na Rostov'skom ozere merya, a na Kleshchine ozere merya zhe'), *ibid.*, p. 13.

¹⁰⁷ 'Postea longis terrarum spatiis regnant Sueones usque ad terram feminarum. Supra illis Wizzi [i.e., Ves'; Ibn Fadhlān and Ibn Hauqal refer to this tribe as the Visu, al-Biruni—the Isu], Mirri [Merya], Lami [Yam], Scuti [Chud'] . . . habitare ferentur.' Mag. Adami Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum usque ad annum 1072, *MGH IX*, Script VII, p. 373 (B. Schmeidler, 2nd ed., 1917). B. Schmeidler and S. Steinberg, Adam von Bremen, Hamburgische Kirchengeschichte, in *Die Geschichtsschreiber der deutschen Vorzeit XLIV*, 1926, p. 217. Cf. T. Lewicki, Ze studiów nad źródłami arabskimi, *SA III*, 1952, p. 166; Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 207.

The next source which confirms the continued existence of the Merya is the Life of Leontius, a Greek by origin, the first Bishop of Rostov, who died a martyr's death in the eighth decade of the 11th century¹⁰⁸ while converting the inhabitants of the territory entrusted to him. The Life provides a most characteristic detail, namely that the martyred Bishop 'knew the Rus'ian and the Merian languages well' (*ruskii zhe i mer'skii yazyk dobre umeyashe*).¹⁰⁹ However this text is interpreted,¹¹⁰ it plainly testifies that the Merya lived in the Rostov area at the end of the 11th century and that the Merian language was then still in use.

The foregoing observation is supported by the report of the Hungarian missionary Julianus, who was in North-Eastern Europe at the time of the great invasion of Batu Khan (1237–1238). Julianus mentions, among the peoples conquered by the Tartars, 'the Merowia',¹¹¹ a name which in Latin signifies the Merya.¹¹²

Vernadsky and others disregard the Chronicle of 'Nestor', the work of Adam of Bremen, the Life of Leontius and the report of Julianus. All these sources, penned independently of one another, confirm the same fact, i.e., the existence of the Merya. The conformity of the

¹⁰⁸ E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov severo-vostochnoi Rusi*, KSDPI LIX, 1955, p. 18 considers that the Bishop was killed before 1072. N. Lavrov, *Religiya i tserkov'*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 95 thinks that his death took place in 1072 or 1073. Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Varangica*, 1953, p. 141 believes that Leontius was Bishop of Rostov during the period c. 1051–1077.

¹⁰⁹ A. Titov, *Zhitie sv. Leontiya, episkopa rostovskogo*, COID, 1893, p. 2. S. Bugoslavsky, *Literatura Rostova XIII–XIV vv.*, in *Istoriya russkoi literatury* II, 1946, p. 65 states that the Life of Leontius has been handed down in numerous copies, the oldest of which are from the turn of the 13th–14th century. V. Klyuchevsky, *Drevnerusskie zhitiya svyatykh kak istoricheskii istochnik*, 1871, pp. 13–14 rightly remarks that the first version of the Life is very sparse in content. More factual material is found only in later versions. The text which reports that Leontius knew the two languages has been handed down in a 15th century manuscript.

¹¹⁰ It is generally accepted that the relevant passage in the Life faithfully depicts the ethnic character of the region in the 11th century, namely, that the population of the Rostov-Suzdal' country was a mixed Slavonic-Finnish one at the time. This interpretation is supposed to support the thesis of the existence of Slavonic settlements in the north-east. Actually, this interpretation is quite mistaken. There are two eventualities. The first is that the text really dates from the 11th–12th century though handed down in a later copy. If so, the 'Rus'ian language' did not signify a Slavonic language (in this period the language of the Eastern Slavs was always called 'Slavonic', never 'Rus'ian'), but referred to the speech of the Norse Varangians and could not, therefore, have any connection with Slavonic colonization. The second eventuality, the more likely one, is that the passage in the text of the 15th-century copy was originally written in the 14th or 15th century and expresses the views held at that time about the history of the Rostov region during the 11th century. These views were based on relations current at the time but transposed to the period of Leontius' lifetime. It would appear, judging by the text, that the Finnish population of Rostov knew two languages in the 14th and 15th centuries: their own native, Merian, language and a second, Slavonic one—the liturgical language of the Church (the term 'Rus'ian language' in the sense of Slavonic was used from the 13th and 14th centuries on). Whichever eventuality is accepted, the fact remains that the text of the Life of Leontius bears no testimony to Slavonic colonization of the Rostov land.

¹¹¹ OR, pp. 442–447.

¹¹² H. Łowmiański, *O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w X–XIV w.*, p. 100 attempts to identify the appellation 'Merowia' not with the Merya, but with the present name of the Cheremis'-Mari. The author should have proved that the name 'Mari' existed in the time of Julianus before advancing this hypothesis; however, since he did not do so, his conjecture fails.

information they give cannot be fortuitous. The Merya had to disappear (as rapidly as possible) in the imagination of the modern authors only for one reason: to make the theory of the Slavonic colonization of the land of Rostov-Suzdal' more plausible.

It does happen that the sources do not mention the influx of a population into a given region if this influx was not on a large scale or took place gradually and slowly without great numbers being involved. In such cases, the chroniclers might well fail to perceive the process of colonization. This, however, does not apply in the case under examination.

Let us return once again to 'Nestor's' Chronicle. Very much has been written in praise of it as a magnificent monument of 'the Rus'ian national spirit', as a work which embraces the past of the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation' as a whole. But, if so, how was it possible that 'Nestor', the great 'patriot', wrote not a single word in the whole of his Chronicle about Slavonic settlements in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'? After all, it is affirmed that on this territory there arose in the course of time one of the three Rus'ian nations—the 'elder brother' of the Slavs on the Dnieper, on the Dvina and on Lake Ilmen'. 'Nestor's' silence is all the more surprising in that he evinced great interest in ethnic affairs: he knew of the migrations of various peoples, of native populations subjugated by alien invaders, of peoples who once existed and were extinct in his time, and of newcomers who settled on freshly occupied territories. It suffices to recall what the chronicler wrote about the Radimichians and the Vyatichians, about the Avars, the Dulebians, the Tivertsians or Ulichians, about the Danube Slavs, the Bulgarians, Hungarians and so on.

'Nestor' was also interested in the ethnic relations of the Upper Volga region. It was he who handed down the well-known account (under the year 862) of the Varangian Rus' conquering the northern and eastern lands with Rurik installing Varangian garrisons in the various Slavonic and Finnish towns.

Rurik assumed the sole authority. He assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus Varangian colonists, but the first settlers in Novgorod were Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves'; in Rostov, the Merya; and in Murom, the Muroma. (*I po tem gorodom sut' nakhodnitsi varyazi, a per'vii nase'l'nitsi v Novogorode slovene, v Polot'ski krivichi, v Rostove merya, v Beleozere ves', v Murome muroma*).¹¹³

Reading the story of the summoning of Rurik and his brothers, one is struck by the chronicler's continual interruptions of the theme to supplement it with his own comments. One of these insertions is the mention regarding the population, both indigenous and freshly settled, of the lands and towns dealt with. The mention undoubtedly

¹¹³ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 18.

derives from 'Nestor' for he also writes of these tribes in other parts of the Chronicle not connected with the events of the year 862. The references to the distribution of the population in the north-east contained in this section of the *Povest'* should therefore be treated as evidence unaffected by the credibility or unreliability of the tale of Rurik. This ethnic picture faithfully reflects the reality of the 9th and 10th centuries reported by Arabic writers—Ibn Fadhlān, Mas'ūdī, Ibn Hauqal and others—who remain in complete agreement with 'Nestor'. They relate that the Rus', not identified with the Slavs, lived on the Volga and that they sailed down that river to the Caspian Sea for trade and loot. It is also significant that the Norse sagas tell us of Smolensk, Rostov, Suzdal' Murom, etc.

It is, of course, difficult to deny that the relevant passage about a Finnish indigenous population and Varangian intruders provided a convenient opportunity for a mention also of the Slavonic settlements on the Upper Volga. It is sometimes maintained that 'Nestor' wrote nothing in the tale of Rurik (862) about a Slavonic colonization in the given region because it took place after 862. Such a supposition is likewise unacceptable. Dealing with later times, *i.e.*, with the 10th and 11th centuries, the chronicler still says nothing of this colonization, though if it had existed, he would as a Slav have been particularly interested.

Though 'Nestor' makes no mention of Slavonic colonization of the land of Rostov-Suzdal', this does not signify that he maintains complete silence regarding the Merya. In fact, his reports on this people are largely confirmed by another source: the *Slovo o pogibeli ruskyia zemli* ('The Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian Land').

The Kievan chronicler enumerates many northern peoples, including the Merya, who paid ('Nestor' uses the present tense here) tribute to the Rus'.¹¹⁴ This tribute could be collected only by a show of force, by compulsion (like in many Slavonic lands). And if there was compulsion, there must have been conquest.

This observation is fully supported by the *Slovo o pogibeli* (13th century). The author of the *Slovo*, in accordance with the beliefs of his time, regarded the Rurikides' conquests of the pagan countries (it is evident from the boundaries of the Rus'ian land given in the *Slovo* that the Merya were among these tribes) as act of God.¹¹⁵ 'God subjected the pagan countries to the overlordship of the Christian yazyk' (*to use pokoreno bylo Bogom krest'ian'skomu yazyku pagan'skyia strany*).¹¹⁶ *Pokorit'* means 'to subdue', 'to subjugate', 'to subject', 'to conquer', etc., but not 'to colonize'.

The positive feature of both sources is that they explain how it came about that the two appellations—the Merya and the Rus'—be-

¹¹⁴ . . . 'izhe dan' dayut' Rusi', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13.

¹¹⁵ The conquests of the Rurikides facilitated the conversion of these countries.

¹¹⁶ M. Gorlin, *Le Dit de la ruine de la terre russe*, 1957, p. 99.

came linked. When 'Nestor' writes of the Rus' under earlier dates he has the Varangians in mind; when he uses the same name with reference to later times, after the conversion of Vladimir, he primarily has in mind the followers of the Rus'ian Church. The *Slovo* uses the appellation 'Rus' ' solely in the latter meaning.

The problem under consideration is treated by both sources as a political and military matter (the conquests of the Rurikides)¹¹⁷ and as an ecclesiastical one (the conversion of the Rostov-Suzdal' land),¹¹⁸ but not as an ethnic matter (Slavonic colonization). Regarding the problem in this light, there is no need to suppose that the Merya were driven out of their native haunts, or that they were swiftly Slavonicized. Both sources yield the conclusion, fundamental to the subject under discussion, that Slavonic colonization was not a necessary condition for a territory to become known as 'Rus'ian'.

Let us assume, however, that the *Povest'* and the *Slovo o pogibeli* were misinformed, or erred, or—to repeat a favourite 'argument' used by Russian historians—that both sources are tendentious because they would not mention the presence of Slavs in the Upper Volga region. Of course, the *Povest'* is based on material collected by people of several generations. It would then have to be assumed that all of them committed the same errors. In view of such distortion of the truth, how then did 'Nestor's' successors react, particularly those who lived and wrote in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'?

Herberstein, who stayed in Moscow in the first half of the 16th century, sedulously amassed materials dealing with its oldest history; but he found no other records than those handed down by 'Nestor'. That there was no other tradition is shown by the many sources written in the 16th century and earlier. When the Rurikides consolidated their power over the north-east—and their achievement was simultaneously a consolidation of the Church—the first chronicled mentions appear in records kept at Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma and

¹¹⁷ Though the *Povest'* and the *Slovo* give somewhat different details, they do not contradict but supplement one another. While 'Nestor' mentions that Rus'ian (Varangian) conquests in the Upper Volga region began at the latest in the second half of the 9th century, the *Slovo* first mentions the Rurikides' conquests under the time of Vladimir Monomakh. 'To vse pokoreno bylo Bogom krest'yan'skomu yazyku pogan'skyya strany velikomu knyazyu Vsevolodu [d. 1212], ottsyu ego Yur'yu [d. 1157], knyazyu kyevs'komu, dedu ego Volodimeru i Manamakhu [d. 1125].' In actual fact, the hold of the Rurikides over the land of Rostov-Suzdal' before the time of Monomakh was feeble and superficial. It was only in the 12th century that fundamental changes occurred, principally evidenced by an influx of clergy into the 'new' territories, the erection of many churches and by a strong missionary drive among the Merian population. The above further underlines that the *Slovo's* approach to the subject was from the point of view of the spread of Christianity.

¹¹⁸ According to the chronicles of the 15th and 16th centuries, Vladimir the Great accepted Christianity for himself and brought it to all his lands, among them the Merian (e.g., under the year 1471: 'veliky knyaz' Vladimir krestisya i vse zemli nashi kresti . . . i . . . Sloven'skuyu i Mer'skuyu . . . ' M. Tikhomirov, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa XV v.*, PSRL XXV, 1949, p. 285; *idem*, *Vologodsko-Permskaya letopis'*, PSRL XXVI, 1959, p. 231). It indicates that, in the eyes of later generations, the Merya tribe still existed in the 10th–11th century, one more proof in favour of my thesis.

elsewhere from the second half of the 12th century. As time passed, this material became ever more numerous and informative.¹¹⁹ Special interest is attached to two recently published chronicles, one dating from the beginning and the other from the end of the 15th century, since they are extensive compilations comprising many earlier sources.¹²⁰ Both were drawn up in Moscow and both begin with the *Povest'*—as do the other chronicles written in the 15th and 16th centuries.¹²¹ 'Nestor's' work was therefore regarded by later generations as a collection of reliable and unique information on the history of Eastern Europe, hence also of the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. The past of the last-named must have, by the nature of things, aroused the special interest of these chroniclers. 'The *Povest' vremennykh let*—states Serbina—was carefully preserved in the Muscovite chronicles and not submitted to any amendment. . . . The surmises of the compiler of the *Povest'* . . . were . . . passively accepted by the Muscovite chroniclers.'¹²² There is no reason to charge these writers with an uncritical approach to 'Nestor's' reports. Nobody knew of any Slavonic colonization of the Rostov-Suzdal' land—if only for the simple reason that such a colonization had not taken place.¹²³

¹¹⁹ Cf. M. Priselkov, *Istoriya russkogo letopisaniya XI-XV vv.*, 1940, *passim*.

¹²⁰ M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis'*, 1950; M. Tikhomirov, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod kontsa XV v.*, *PSRL XXV*, 1949.

¹²¹ These texts have been published in *PSRL*.

¹²² K. Serbina, in M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis'*, pp. 3-4.

¹²³ The validity of the above observation is illustrated by the following example: Great Novgorod was seriously split in the middle of the 15th century by a difference of opinion against a political background. Part of the population came out in favour of Poland and Lithuania whilst the other favoured Muscovy. The latter saw Novgorod bound with Moscow by the common dynasty (the Rurikides) and a common religion ('a iz nachala otchina esmy tekh velikiykh knyazei, i ot per'vogo velikogo knyazya nashego Ryurika, ego zhe po svoei vole vzyala zemlya nasha iz Varyag knyazem sebe i s dvema braty ego. Po tom zhe pravnik ego knyaz' veliky knyaz' Vladimir krestisya i vse zemli nashi kresti Russkuyu i nashu Sloven'skuyu [i.e., Novgorod] . . . I ot togo svyatago i velikogo knyazya Vladimera dazhe i do sego gospodina nashego velikogo knyazya Ivana Vasil'evicha za Latyninoyu esmy ne byvali i arkhiepiskopa ot nikh ne stavivali sebe . . . , k Moskve khotim, k velikomu knyazyu Ivanu i k ottsyu ego mitropolitu Filippu v pravoslavie.' M. Tikhomirov, *Moskovskii letopisnyi svod*, *PSRL XXV*, 1949, p. 285). Though this would have provided a good opportunity to dwell on the alleged Slavonic colonization of the land of Rostov-Suzdal', absolutely no mention of this kind is made. The same applies to the ties of ethnic affinity between Novgorod and Muscovy of which so much is written in the literature on the subject. The first mention of broad masses of Slavs who allegedly left their native countries in order to people the north-eastern lands does not appear until the 16th century, i.e., until the *Kniga stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya* ('The Book of Degrees of the Imperial Genealogy') was drawn up. When Batu Khan launched his invasions in 1237-1238, the inhabitants of the Grand Duchy of Vladimir fled before the danger menacing them and scattered in every direction; after the Mongol withdrawal, the then reigning prince, Yaroslav Vsevolodovich, organized the life of his domain anew and began to reassemble his scattered subjects. This very general yet highly probable report of the contemporary chronicler was 'corrected' by the author of the *Kniga* in the sense that, upon Yaroslav's summons, there came to the land of Rostov-Suzdal' people from Kiev, Halicz, Volynia, Chernihov, Pereyaslavl', Minsk, Smolensk, Polotsk, Ryazan', Murom, etc., i.e., 'from all parts of the Rus'ian land'. *PSRL XX* (1), 1908, p. 253. It can unhesitatingly be stated that this amendment is fictitious from beginning to end and that its purpose was to link Muscovy with 'all parts of the Rus'ian land' in order to bolster up her claims to rule over the vast territories listed. It is significant, however, that the author of the *Kniga* extracts no conclusions from the events he describes in connection with the influx of great masses of Slavs to the Upper Volga region; he

Let us now examine the various elements implicit in the theory that the territory of the Merya was colonized by Slavs. It is often stated in the literature on the subject that the Krivichians took over most of the Upper Volga region. Nasonov, Stroganova and others maintain that the eastward drive of the Slavs from the Smolensk region reached as far as the Lower Oka and colonized the Murom area.¹²⁴ However, the sources contain no data which might support such suppositions.¹²⁵ In fact, they plainly contradict them. The Krivichians must have been neighbours of the Balts, since in the languages of the Balts the name of the Krivichians is applied to Eastern Slavs in general.¹²⁶ The locality of Krevo, on the border of Lithuanian and Slavonic settlements, was undoubtedly so named after the Krivichians. In the years 1127-1128, the chronicler enumerates as Krivichian cities, Drutsk, Borisov, Zaslav (Izyaslavl'), and others.¹²⁷ In the early 14th century, the Knights of the Teutonic Order (in Prussia) state that Novogrodek was situated on Krivichian territory.¹²⁸ It is difficult to treat seriously any hypothesis affirming that the area

does not state that this territory was no longer Merian, that profound ethnic transformations ensued, that the area in question was thenceforth called Rus'ian, and so on. It is, of course, quite incredible that the inhabitants of the territories listed by the author of *Kniga* should have streamed the north-eastern regions in a mass movement because these territories had been no less devastated by the Mongols than their own native lands. Moreover, we have the evidently nonsensical allegation that even the population of Minsk, Smolensk and Polotsk migrated to the Volga region although their lands had not been affected by Batu's invasion and had suffered no devastation. The whole version is, in fact, given in such a misleading form that not a single detail can lay claim to probability. The inevitable conclusion to be reached is that in the Muscovy of the 16th century there was preserved no tradition of its territory having been colonized by Slavs in earlier times. The authors who write so much about Slavonic settlements on the Upper Volga ignore the account in the *Kniga* because it discredits their assertions.

¹²⁴ A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 197; T. Stroganova, K izucheniyu govorov mezhdurech'ya Oki-Klyaz'my, *TIY* VII, 1957, pp. 89-90.

¹²⁵ Rostislav of Smolensk in his document issued to the Bishopric of Smolensk (1150) mentions the tribute paid by Suzdal' to this Prince. Z. Androsenkova and N. Kononova, *Materialy po istorii krest'yan v Rossii XI-XVII vv.*, 1958, No 7, p. 23. This would indicate that Smolensk undertook aggressive expeditions eastwards. *OR*, p. 267. It cannot be ascertained from this text when this tribute was imposed and how long it was paid. Rostislav's document does not mention anything concerning the colonization of the Suzdal' region by the population of Smolensk, although many historians make suppositions to this effect. Were we to deduce that every mention of tribute paid by various tribes to, e.g., the Rus' signified the regions in question had been colonized by these Rus', quite fantastic conclusions could be reached on the basis of 'Nestor's' report. Cf. 'A se sut' inii yazytzi, izhe dan' dayut' Rusi: chud', merya, ves', muroma, cheremis', mordva, perm', pechera, yam', litva, zimigola, kors', noroma, lib'.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13.

¹²⁶ In Latvian: *krievs*, *Krievija*, *krievisks*, in Lithuanian: *kriėvai*, etc. Cf. M. Vasmer, *Russches etymologisches Wörterbuch* I, 1953, p. 663; A. Stender-Petersen, *Russian Studies*, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 21.

¹²⁷ *OR*, p. 267. The localities mentioned are west of the Upper Dnieper. See map No. 2, in *OR*.

¹²⁸ In 1314, The Teutonic Order undertook an expedition against Novogrodek which was a Lithuanian possession: 'frater Henricus . . . venit ad terram Criwicie et civitatem illam, quae parva Nogardia dicitur, cepit.' *SRP* I, p. 180; 'Eodem anno [1314] fratres habebant expeditionem in fines Ruthenorum Criwicz.' *MGH* XXI, Script. XIX, p. 706.

of the Krivichian settlements extended from Pskov,¹²⁹ Novogrodek, the lands of the Balts to as far as Moscow and Murom.

No less fantastic are the suppositions regarding Novgorodian colonization of the Merya region. According to Voronin, 'Novgorodian colonization in the 10th and 11th centuries provided the ethnic basis for the formation of the central core of Great Rus'.¹³⁰ It is generally accepted that vast stretches of territory in North-Eastern Europe belonged to Novgorod. Voronin and Tikhonova state that Novgorod 'as early as the 11th-13th centuries developed energetic colonization of the distant Zavoloch'e region [lands on the Northern Dvina]... Novgorodian settlements were established on the banks of the Northern Dvina in the 12th century and spread towards the coast of the White Sea.'¹³¹ Nasonov affirms that initially the territory of Novgorod extended towards the north-east, in the direction of Lake Onega and the Onega River, and farther towards the Northern Dvina. 'Into the above-mentioned territory—the author writes—Slavonic population had begun to flow since times immemorial... In the second half of the 11th century and in the 12th century, the relevant territory was partially inhabited by Slavs.'¹³²

It is obvious that these two theories clash as regards the directions of Novgorodian expansion. If Novgorod conducted colonization so far to the north, it would have been impossible for the same Novgorod to colonize the basin of the Upper Volga. After all, the territory of Novgorod proper was fairly thinly populated. The only larger settlements were a few towns, of which the largest was Novgorod itself, founded at the end of the 9th or at the beginning of the 10th century.¹³³ Sapunov believes that the population of Novgorod

¹²⁹ On the basis of later sources—for instance, K. Serbina, *Ustyuzhskii letopisnyi svod*, 1950, p. 20 (on the value of this chronicle for the ancient history of Rus' see M. Tikhomirov, *Nachalo russkoi istoriografii*, Vol I, 1960 (5), p. 56)—Sedov and others treat the Pskov region (Izbornik) as the original territory of the Krivichians. Cf. V. Sedov, Krivichi, in R. Rozenfel'dt, II *Mezhdunarodnyi arkhologicheskii seminar*, posvyashchenniy izucheniyu slavyanskikh plemennykh soyuzov v I tys. n.e., Sar, 1959 (2), pp. 295-296; *idem*, Krivichi, *ibid.*, 1960 (1), p. 47.

¹³⁰ N. Voronin, *Vklad v arkhologiyu drevnei Rusi*, VAN XXVI, 1956 (12), p. 120.

¹³¹ N. Voronin and M. Tikhonova, *Puti razvitiya russkoi kul'tury X-XIII vv.*, in *Istoriya kul'tury drevnei Rusi* II, 1951, p. 527.

¹³² A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 103. Cf. S. Platonov and A. Andreev, *Novgorodskaya kolonizatsiya Severa*, in *Ocherki po istorii kolonizatsii Severa* I, 1922, pp. 26-37; G. Chirkin, *Istoriko-ekonomicheskie predposylki kolonizatsii Severa*, *ibid.*, pp. 7-26; S. Platonov, *Proshloe russkogo Severa*, 1923; N. Stepanov, *Istoricheskoe znachenie prisoedineniya narodnostei Krainego Severa k Rossii*, Vol I, 1952 (7), pp. 74-88; M. Belov, *Arkticheskoe moreplavanie s drevneishikh vremen do sereiny XIX v.*, in *Istoriya otkrytiya i osvoiniya severnogo morskogo puti* I, 1956, pp. 27-30; D. Lebedev, *Ocherki po istorii geografii v Rossii XV i XVI vekov*, 1956, pp. 9-14, 64-70. See also the periodical *Letopis' Severa*.

¹³³ N. Voronin, *K itogam i zadacham arkhologicheskogo izucheniya drevnerusskogo goroda*, KSDPI XLI, 1951, p. 10; G. Fedorov and P. Byrnya, *Itogi arkhologicheskikh issledovaniy 1954 goda*, VAN 1955 (8), p. 29; A. Artsikhovskiy, *Novye otkrytiya v Novgorode*, 1955, p. 25; *idem*, *Arkhologicheskoe izuchenie Novgoroda*, MIA LV, 1956, pp. 7-43; A. Uspenskaya and M. Fekhnner, *Goroda i poseleniya gorodskogo tipa (ukazatel')*, in *Ocherki po istorii russkoi drevni X-XIII vv.*, TGIM XXXII, 1956, p. 146; N. Voronin, *Vklad v arkhologiyu drevnei Rusi*, VAN XXVI (12), 1956, p. 119; I. Kushnir, *O kul'turnom sloe Novgoroda*, Sar, 1960 (3), pp. 217-224; M. Tikhomirov,

was between five and ten thousand at the beginning of the 11th century.¹³⁴

Moreover, no good reason has been advanced why the Novgorodians should have wanted to colonize the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. The only argument that might be put forward is an economic one relating to supplies of corn from the Volga region, particularly in the event of crop failures, but it fails to bring conviction as the corn could have been brought in through the usual channels of trade.¹³⁵ No more credible are the alleged successes of the Novgorodians in Slavonicizing the Merya: the Novgorodians did not even assimilate the inhabitants of lands closer to them who formed part of their State, like, for instance, the Finnish Vod'.¹³⁶ This tribe continued to exist for many centuries under the Novgorodians though its possibilities for resistance were smaller than those possessed by the Merya.

The alleged colonization of the Merya territory by the Vyaticians belongs to the same group of hypotheses as the colonization activities of the Krivichians and the Novgorodians, and evokes similar doubts as to its probability. Tret'yakov believes that the Vyaticians subjugated the Middle Oka region (Ryazan') in the 7th–9th centuries;¹³⁷ Mongait puts the date in the 10th century,¹³⁸ whilst Smirnov favours the period from the 9th–11th centuries.¹³⁹ Kozlov affirms that Ryazan' became a Slavonic town in the 12th century.¹⁴⁰ According to him, numerous settlements of Vyaticians in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'

Velikii Novgorod v istorii mirovoi kul'tury, *VoI*, 1960 (1), pp. 42–43. An interesting discussion concerning the criteria for establishing the time of Novgorodian archaeological findings, recently took place between Artsikhovskiy and Rybakov. See A. Artsikhovskiy, O Novgorodskoi khronologii, *SAr*, 1959 (4), pp. 107–127; B. Rybakov, K voprosu o metodike opredeleniya khronologii novgorodskikh drevnostei, *ibid.*, pp. 82–106.

¹³⁴ B. Sapunov, Nekotorye soobrazheniya o drevnerusskoi knizhnosti XI–XIII vv., *TODRL* XI, 1955, p. 318. M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, p. 139 (also in English, *The Towns of Ancient Rus'*, 1959) puts the figure at between ten and fifteen thousand. Similarly—D. Obolensky, *The Society of Novgorod in the Early Middle Ages*, *RdC*, 1960, p. 92. R. Lopez, *East and West in the Early Middle Ages: Economic Relations*, *R* III, 1955, pp. 118–119 points out that the figure of ten thousand souls is very high for a town at that time. B. Kleiber, Zu einigen Ortsnamen aus Gardarike, *SSL* III, 1957, p. 218 rightly remarks that the opinion formerly held according to which 14th-century Novgorod had a population of 400,000 inhabitants is quite untenable. Archaeological research has ascertained the area of Novgorod at that time and found it so small that it could never have housed such an enormous population.

¹³⁵ Cf. A. Kir'yanov, K voprosu o zemledelii v Novgorodskoi zemle v XI–XII vv., *KSDPI* XLVII, 1952, pp. 147–157; *idem*, Istoriya zemledeliya Novgorodskoi zemli X–XV vv. (po arkheologicheskim materialam), *MIA* LXV, 1959, pp. 335, 361–362; L. Danilova, *Ocherki po istorii zemlevaladeniya i khozyaistva v Novgorodskoi zemle v XIV–XV vv.*, 1955, pp. 20–23, 94; A. Artsikhovskiy, La ville de Novgorod le Grand du XIe au XVe siècle, *RdC*, 1960, p. 93.

¹³⁶ *OR*, p. 266. V. Sedov, Etnicheskie sostav naseleniya severo-zapadnykh zemel' V. Novgoroda (IX–XIV vv.), *SAr* XVIII, 1953, pp. 190–229 exaggerates the size and over-rates the significance of Slavonic colonization on the territories of the Vod' and Izhora tribes.

¹³⁷ P. Tret'yakov, K voprosu ob etnicheskom sostave naseleniya Volgo-Okskogo mezhdurech'ya, *SAr*, 1957 (2), p. 77.

¹³⁸ A. Mongait, Arkheologicheskie issledovaniya Staroi Ryazani, *KSDPI* XLI, 1951, pp. 54–55; *idem*, Staraya Ryazan', *MIA* XL, 1955, p. 19.

¹³⁹ A. Smirnov, Nekotorye spornye voprosy finno-ugorskoj arkheologii, *SAr*, 1957 (3), p. 30.

¹⁴⁰ V. Kozlov, Rasselenie mordvy-erzi i mokshi, *SE*, 1958 (2), p. 46.

can be dated from the 11th or 12th century. Nevertheless, the political relations in the north-east rule out such surmises. Rybakov believes that Vyatichian colonization proceeded southwards as far as the Lower Don (Sarkel) from the latter half of the 10th century onwards.¹⁴¹ Mongait, Tret'yakov and other authors fix the 8th–10th centuries as the date of Vyatichian settlements on the Don.¹⁴² The farther south Vyatichian colonization is said to have reached, the less probable it becomes that this tribe could have peopled the northern lands, that is to say, the Merya territory. As it happens, the oldest history of the Vyatichians is quite wrongly interpreted by many authors, especially by archaeologists. Two sources declare independently of each other and in full agreement—Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor'—that this tribe was of Polish origin. An analysis of these sources leads to the conclusion that the Vyatichians (and the cognate tribe, the Radimichians) came to the Oka (and Sozh') from Polish soil in about the 9th century.¹⁴³ In view of this, all the hypotheses drawn up by archaeologists to the effect that the Vyatichians first reached the Oka in the middle of the first millennium after Christ are automatically disqualified. It is likewise improbable that a tribe of Polish stock should have peopled the territory of Muscovy.

The opinion is also encountered that the land of Rostov-Suzdal' was colonized by Slavs from the Middle Dnieper region, a supposition based solely on toponymics. Some authors rightly point out that toponymic material should be treated with extreme caution.¹⁴⁴ There are a few cases of rivers having namesakes (the Irpen', the Lybed', the Trubezh, the Pochaina) and the same holds true of towns (Pereyasavl', Vyshgorod, Zvenigorod, etc.) in the south and in the Upper Volga region. There is no doubt that these names originated in the Dnieper region before they appeared in the north-east. But this does not indicate that massive colonization by Slavs took place.¹⁴⁵ 'The proprietors of vast estates in the north-east—I wrote—primarily princes and members of the clergy, did come from Kiev and the

¹⁴¹ B. Rybakov, *K voprosu o roli khazarskogo kaganata v istorii Rusi*, *SAr* XVIII, 1953, pp. 149–150.

¹⁴² A. Mongait, *Iz istorii naseleniya basseina srednego techeniya Oki v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *SAr* XVIII, 1953, pp. 168–171; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 238–240, 259–260.

¹⁴³ *OR*, pp. 365–380.

¹⁴⁴ B. Serebrennikov, *Ortsnamen der Wolga-Oka-Gegend im europäischen Teil der Sowjetunion*, *ALASH* VI (1–3), 1956, pp. 85–105; A. Popov, *Toponimika kak istoricheskaya nauka*, *M* XIV, 1957, pp. 3–9. Cf. A. Iznoskov, *Mozhno-li odinakovym nazvaniyam naselennykh mest, nakhodyashchikhsya v raznykh chastyakh Evropeiskoi Rossii, sudit' o kolonizatsii etikh chastei?* in *Trudy VI arkheologicheskogo sezda* I, 1886, pp. 310–317.

¹⁴⁵ Some indication of the danger of extracting far-reaching conclusions from toponymic material in reference to the topic of colonization is provided by V. Yatsunsky, *Istoricheskaya geografiya kak nauchnaya distsiplina*, *VG* XII, 1950, p. 37. This author, accepting the same criteria as his predecessors in support of the view that the colonization stemmed from the Middle Dnieper region, comes to the conclusion that Slavonic settlements on the Upper Volga derived from Novgorod because 'the place-names of the land of Rostov-Suzdal' are on the whole saturated with Novgorodian names'.

neighbouring districts; they could, therefore, very well have transferred to their new homes certain names with which they were especially familiar.¹⁴⁶ Tikhomirov's approach is similar: 'The new town was called Pereyaslavl' in honour of the southern Pereyaslavl', well known to Yuri Dolgoruky. The rivulet, at whose mouth on the lake the town arose, was given the name of Trubezh, because the southern Pereyaslavl' was situated at the mouth of the river Trubezh. The towns of southern Rus' were models for the princely towns of *Zallesskaya Rus'*.¹⁴⁷ According to Nasonov, identical place names in the south and the north-east merely indicate the existence of contacts between the two lands.¹⁴⁸ 'We know nothing—states Avanesov—of any large-scale colonization movements from the Middle Dnieper region [towards the land of Rostov-Suzdal']'.¹⁴⁹

The view sometimes encountered, especially in the older works, that colonization from the south was an outcome of the Tartar invasions of 1240–1241 fails to carry conviction for two reasons. First, it is improbable that the population of the Kievan land (and other districts) devastated by Batu Khan should have sought refuge on the Upper Volga because the latter territory had been no less cruelly devastated by the same invaders. Rather, in the light of general probability, it might be assumed that this population fled in the direction of Minsk, Smolensk, Polotsk, Novgorod, *i.e.*, to regions which had been preserved from the incursions of the Tartars.¹⁵⁰ Secondly, the aforementioned names of rivers and towns had been introduced from the south into the north-east before the Tartar invasions began.

Summing up my considerations so far, the conclusion is reached that there are no grounds for asserting that the Slavs from Novgorod, Smolensk, Ryazan' or Kiev populated the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. The texts of the sources in fact quite plainly clash with any such hypothesis. If these regions were not colonized by Slavs, it follows that the Finnish Merya were not Slavonized. They existed to a much later date and maintained their ethnic character much longer than is generally supposed in the literature on the subject.

The above thesis, advanced in *OR*, has been received with approval by many reviewers¹⁵¹ and with protests by others. As regards the latter, Hryčak writes:

¹⁴⁶ *OR*, p. 258.

¹⁴⁷ M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, p. 414.

¹⁴⁸ A. Nasonov, Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo (XII–XIII vv.), in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 322.

¹⁴⁹ R. Avanesov, K voprosam obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka, *VY*, 1953 (2), p. 58.

¹⁵⁰ It is a fact that the Tartars dealt ruthlessly with Kiev (1240). Yet it does not follow that the whole region of Kiev and other adjoining territories were completely and catastrophically deprived of their population. Cf. A. Baranovich, Naselenie predstepnoi Ukrainy v XVI veke, *IZ XXXII*, 1950, p. 230; *OR*, pp. 257–258; C. Bida, *Dialect Vocabulary in the Old Kievan Literature*, *SEES III* (3), 1958, pp. 132–142.

¹⁵¹ See Appendix I of the present study.

The modern Russians, in the opinion of Professor Paszkiewicz, are descendants of the Finnish Meri tribe, which was once strong and numerous; this is certainly one of the best parts of the book, but it would be dangerous to forget that among the modern Russians are also the descendants of the purely Slavic Novgorodians (Slovines), the Vyatichi (later the Ryazanians) and the Radymychi. Thus, it cannot merely be stated that the Russians are slavized Finns.¹⁵²

Łowmiański reasons in the same manner: 'the author [Paszkiewicz] overlooked . . . that Great Rus' embraced not only the land of Rostov-Suzdal', and that of Ryazan'-Murom, but also Novgorod, most of the Severian and Smolensk regions, the Slavonic character of which is not questioned by the author himself.'¹⁵³

Both Hryčak and Łowmiański fail to take into consideration that *OR* ends with the ninth decade of the 14th century, whilst the Muscovite conquests of the above-mentioned Slavonic lands took place in later times. Neither Smolensk, Novgorod nor Ryazan' became the centre of Great Rus', but Muscovy. The ethnic and political aspect of Muscovy was crystallized before she absorbed the Slavonic lands. The query arises: Was this Slavonic population able to change the character of the Muscovite State? Did it influence Muscovy, or did the contrary take place? The fate of Novgorod, once a flourishing republic which fell into decline after the city lost its independence, provides an eloquent enough answer. Smolensk hardly enters into question, for it was situated on the borderland between two conflicting powers and during the 15th-17th centuries passed from hand to hand, to Lithuania and to Muscovy in turn. It is generally accepted, though without justification, that the Ugro-Finnish peoples of the Middle and Lower Oka were either rapidly Slavonicized or driven out to other territories. Nobody doubts that the later Muscovite State comprised among many diverse ethnic elements also a Slavonic one, but it cannot be affirmed with justice that the Slavs were the most important and decisive element insofar as the ethnic character of the country as a whole and its political development are concerned.

Restricting the present considerations to the chronological limits of this book, evidence can be found in the sources which justifies the surmise that there were minor groups of Slavs upon the territory of the former land of Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir or, to use the style more appropriate to later times, in the Muscovite Grand Duchy. This State neighboured with Novgorod, Smolensk, Ryazan', etc., and during raids or invasions of these territories the borderland Slavonic population would be carried off into captivity. Vsevolod III, for example, after his successful foray against Novyi Torg (Torzhok) in 1181, 'carried off with him . . . all the inhabitants of the town

¹⁵² P. Hryčak, in *UQ* XI, 1955, pp. 181-182.

¹⁵³ H. Łowmiański, O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w wieku X-XIV, *KH* LXIV, 1957, pp. 87-88.

(*novotrz'h'tse use*) together with their wives and children, and burnt down the town.'¹⁵⁴ The same Vsevolod, having defeated Ryazan' in 1208, 'ordered all the people to leave the town with [their] belongings—and, when all had gone out, he had the town put to the flames... And the Grand Duke Vsevolod returned to Vladimir [on the Klyaz'-ma] and bore off all the Ryazanians'...¹⁵⁵ The Novgorodian chronicler adds that Vsevolod distributed this captive population among his towns.¹⁵⁶ Yuri, son of Vsevolod, permitted the Ryazanians to return to their country.¹⁵⁷ It can be taken as probable that, just as not the whole population of Ryazan' was carried off to the north, so not all the deported returned to their homes.

The 12th century was an extremely important one in the history of the Upper Volga region owing to the lively organizational activities of the Rurikides in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. Yuri Dolgoruky and his sons (Andrei Bogolyubsky, Vsevolod III) erected their State on the 'new' territories along boldly conceived plans. Kiev, in view of the sad reality of the time, was for these princes more a memory of the past than an encouragement and incitement to resurrect its power for the future. Yet these memories had nevertheless great significance for the north-east, particularly as they offered models for imitation. For this reason, the traditions bound up with the reigning dynasty and with the Church that had arisen on the Dnieper, should not be underrated in their influence on the Volga. The many churches built there recalled the older ones left there. Relics, literary monuments, treasures of intellectual and material culture, were brought from the south to the north-east. Even, when choosing the sites of new towns, topographical conditions similar to those in the south were taken into account.¹⁵⁸ The transfer of old names of rivers and towns into the new territory belongs to the same category. But, again, it must be regarded as one of the elements in the policy of the

¹⁵⁴ A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, p. 37. Novyi Torg (Torzhok), situated on the river Tvertsa, a left-bank tributary of the Upper Volga, marked the border of the Novgorodian State. Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, pp. 385-387; A. Suslov, *Gorod Torzhok i Novotorzhskii raion. Istoriko-ekonomicheskii ocherk*, 1958; A. Sakharov, *Goroda Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi XIV-XV vekov*, 1959, pp. 125-126. The name used by the chronicler when writing of the inhabitants of this town (*novotrz'h'tse*) does not throw light on the ethnic character of these people. Alien elements were often brought in and settled on the borderlands of States. Even if it is assumed that the deported persons were all Slavs, it must be remembered that the inhabitants of such a town as Novyi Torg could not have numbered more than a few hundred (cf. M. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 140). It seems that not the whole population was deported in 1181 or, alternatively, that it returned to its homes, since the chronicler mentions this town and its inhabitants under the next few years. A. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, pp. 43, 51, etc.

¹⁵⁵ PSRL I, p. 434. Cf. N. Voronin, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skaya zemlya v X-XIII vv.*, PIDO, 1935, p. 227.

¹⁵⁶ A. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

¹⁵⁷ PSRL I, p. 437.

¹⁵⁸ M. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, pp. 406, 420 points out that the topographical position of Vladimir (on the Klyaz'ma) resembles that of Kiev in many respects; the same similarity is evident with regard to Bogolyubovo and Vyshgorod, and so on. See also L. Tverskoi, *Russkoe grodstroitel'stvo do kontsa XVII v.*, 1953, pp. 27-33.

princes¹⁵⁹—not as proof of Slavonic colonization on the territory of the Merya.¹⁶⁰

It seems likely that some Slavs, in small quantities, lived in the Rostov-Suzdal' land at that time,¹⁶¹ although the sources do not confirm this. But these insignificant groups of Slavonic population belonging to different, often mutually hostile tribes,¹⁶² do not justify the assumption of a widespread Slavonic colonization of the Upper Volga basin such as the literature on the subject presupposes.

A few remarks of more general character would not be amiss at this point. Hitherto, studies on this hypothetical colonization have been based primarily on archaeological and, in part, on toponymic material, interpreted very onesidedly and with the minimum of caution. More is demanded from archaeology than it can furnish, yet archaeology is now given the decisive voice in determining the

¹⁵⁹ The names of the new towns in the territory of the Vladimirian Grand Duchy can, with but a few exceptions, be divided into several groups: those who derive from the name of the river on which they are situated (Moskva, Kostroma, Tver', Ustyug, etc.); those who derive from the names of the princes (Yaroslavl', Vladimir, Dmitrov, Yur'ev, Ksnyatin=Konstantin, Yaropolch, Mstislavl'—regarding the last-named see P. Rappoport, *Kruglye i polukruglye gorodishcha Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi*, *SAr*, 1959 (1), p. 117); others, previously mentioned, are linked with traditions derived from the southern lands.

¹⁶⁰ The transfer of geographical names from the south to other territories was a fairly common practice in those times. Thus, for instance, there is a Ryazanian Pereyaslav' also on the river Trubezh. Nizhni Novgorod was founded in 1221 on the territory of the Mordva. 'The magnificent situation of Nizhni Novgorod—on hills, on a great river—recalling Kiev, likewise caused Kievan topographical names to be introduced in the new town. Hence, a river Pochaina appeared in Nizhni Novgorod and the monastery was called the Crypt one (*Pecherskii*).', M. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 418. However, nobody would draw from this the conclusion that the Kievans settled in the land of the Mordva and inhabited Nizhni Novgorod.

¹⁶¹ The Rurikides, in order to consolidate their rule over the basin of the Upper Volga, must have been forced to bring in foreign ethnic elements in view of the resistance put up by the Finnish population. And it is possible that there were also Slavs among the newcomers. Such a surmise has the support of the analogy offered by earlier times, when the forefathers of Dolgoruky and Bogolyubsky consolidated their rule over the Dnieper region. The retinues of these princes bore non-Slavonic names, Varangians governed the towns of the land of Kiev (D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 56), newcomers from other countries (the Novgorodians, the Krivichians, the Vyatichians, the Chud', the Poles, etc.) peopled the newly built towns and were settled on the banks of the borderland rivers. D. Likhachev, *op. cit.* I, pp. 83, 101. Nobody would on the basis of 'Nestor' claim that the Kievan land was a Chudian or Krivichian territory or that the river Ros' district was Polish. Merely because some Slavs from the Middle Dnieper region were stationed as garrison troops, or lived as inhabitants, in the newly constructed towns in the land of Rostov-Suzdal', or because other Slavs (inhabitants of regions just across the border) were carried off as captives deep into Finnish territory—all this provides no grounds for affirming that the land of the Merya was Slavonicized or that this Finnish tribe became extinct. It should be added that there is no evidence which indicates that Slavs in this territory occupied important positions in the armed forces or in administration. The only dignitary who played an important role in the land of Rostov-Suzdal' during the first half of the 12th century and who is known to us by name and descent, was a Varangian (George, son of Shimon). Cf. D. Abramovich, *Kievo-Pecherskii Paterik*, *PMPDU*, 1931, pp. 1-5.

¹⁶² M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, p. 429 believes that the well-known antagonism between the Vladimirian and the Ryazanian princes at the time is to be explained by the hostility of the Krivichians to the Severians and the Vyatichians. Following Tikhomirov's line of reasoning, it would be necessary to envisage tribal antagonism among the various Slavonic groups living in the land of Rostov-Suzdal'. This would certainly have weakened the Slavonic element in the north-east.

ethnic character of the population of this region. It is in general difficult to establish the etymology of the oldest geographical names;¹⁶³ in the present case the difficulties are particularly great¹⁶⁴ and the matter remains highly controversial.¹⁶⁵ Moreover, it is not known when the Slavonic geographical terminology first began to appear in the Upper Volga basin. Many of these names (especially those of the newly-founded towns) were created in the 12th century.

The theory of the Slavonic colonization in the Rostov-Suzdal' land was drawn up to explain and reconcile two contradictory facts: (1) the reports of 'Nestor' and other authors that the Merya—universally admitted to have been Ugro-Finnish and not a Slavonic tribe—inhabited the region of the Upper Volga at the dawn of history, and (2) that the territory of the Merya was called Rus'ian in later times whilst its present-day population speaks a Slavonic language.

The application of the name 'Rus' to the land of Rostov-Suzdal' can now be examined. A. Shakhmatov demonstrated that this land was called 'Rus' from the middle of the 13th century on;¹⁶⁶ the appellation was rarely used in this sense by 12th-century sources. Vernadsky affirms that 'the Merians . . . were completely Russianized in the course of the 10th century' and his view is shared by many other authors. Shakhmatov's statement obviously invalidates this

¹⁶³ Cf. M. Vasmer, *The Meaning of Russian River Names*, OSP VI, 1955, p. 44.

¹⁶⁴ A. Popov, *Finno-ugorskaya toponimika SSSR*, VAN, 1954 (7), p. 101 considers that it is difficult to trace the origin of many geographical names in the area under examination by applying present-day Ugro-Finnish languages. It is possible, he believes, that dead languages could have provided the necessary clues, e.g., the Merian tongue, traces of which survive solely in toponymy; cf. A. Popov, *Iz istorii leksiki yazykov Vostochnoi Evropy*, 1957, p. 96. B. Serebrennikov, *Volgo-okskaya toponimika na territorii Evropeiskoi chasti SSSR*, VY, 1955 (6), pp. 19–31 (*idem*, *Ortsnamen der Wolga-Oka-Gegend in europäischen Teil der Sowjetunion*, ALASH VI, 1956, pp. 85–105) supposes that still extant Ugro-Finnish languages do not provide an adequate basis for interpreting place-names in the region of the Upper-Volga and the Oka. He is inclined to suppose that initially the Ugro-Finnish peoples inhabited some other territories (cf. I. Sebestyén, *Zur Frage des alten Wohngebietes der uralischen Völker*, ALASH I, 1951–1952, pp. 273–346) and that some other people, who left traces of its sojourn merely in the geographical names, lived on the Upper Volga and the Oka. P. Tret'yakov, *Volgo-okskaya toponimika i nekotorye voprosy etnogeneza finno-ugorskikh narodov Povolzh'ya*, SE, 1958 (4), pp. 9–17 develops Serebrennikov's surmise and thinks that this unknown people constructed the *gorodishcha* of the D'yakovo type in ancient time and during the first few centuries of our era. In the literature on the subject, beginning with Spitsyn (A. Spitsyn, *Gorodishcha D'yakova tipa*, ZORSA V, 1903, pp. 113–114) and ending with the publications of Goryunova (E. Goryunova, *K voprosu o kul'turnykh i etnicheskikh svyazyakh naseleniya verkhnego Povolzh'ya i zapadnogo Priural'ya v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, UZMI VI, 1954, unavailable to me), the *gorodishcha* of the D'yakovo type are considered to be Merian.

¹⁶⁵ It would exceed the bounds of this work to quote many of the etymological studies connected with the geographical names of the Upper Volga basin. A classical example of the diversity of opinion in this field is afforded by the name 'Moskva' itself (the river and the city on which it stands). Thus—quoting only some of the recently published studies—for instance, P. Chernykh, *K voprosu o proiskhozhdenii imeni 'Moskva'*, IANOLY IX, 1950, pp. 393–401; *idem*, *O nekotorykh starykh nazvaniyakh rek*, M XIV, 1957, pp. 97–98 declares the name is of Slavonic provenance whilst E. Dickenmann, *Aufgaben und Methoden der russischen Ortsnamenforschung*, BN VI (2), 1955, pp. 253–254 treats it as Finnish.

¹⁶⁶ A. Shakhmatov, *Razyskaniya o drevneishikh russkikh letopisnykh svodakh*, 1908, pp. 328–329.

supposition for the simple reason that, if Vernadsky is right, then the land of Rostov-Suzdal' should have been universally called Rus'ian already in the 10th century and not only from the 12th and 13th centuries on.

The actual period of Slavonic colonization throws light on its character. If the region of the Upper Volga became definitively Rus'ian in the 13th century, the process of colonization must have assumed enormous proportions in the 12th century. At that time, the (Novgorodian) Slavs, the Krivichians, the Vyatichians, and the Merya were ruled by various branches of Rurikides at odds with one another. The colonization should therefore be regarded as due to the settlement policies of the princes rather than to the initiative and enterprise of the Slavonic tribes themselves. If—as is generally accepted—Slavs had colonized the land of Rostov-Suzdal' in the 9th–11th centuries, that territory would have been called 'Slavonic' (Novgorodian), 'Krivichian' or 'Vyatichian' land (tribal terminology was then still in use) but not Rus'ian.

In fact, the mere application of the name 'Rus'' to the Upper Volga region lends no support to the hypothesis that the territory in question had been colonized by Slavs. All those authors who state the contrary take up their stand on 'Nestor's' well-known passage: *A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est*'. They argue: since the Rus'ian nation (*yazyk*) is the same as the Slavonic one, hence, when the land of Rostov-Suzdal' became Rus'ian, it also automatically became Slavonic. Herein lies the need for the hypothesis of the Slavonic colonization of the territory. When it transpired that all the sources for the epoch, including the *Povest'*, invalidated this supposition, the search for support was shifted to archaeology which provided the long-awaited 'evidence.'¹⁶⁷

The erroneous interpretation of 'Nestor's' words led to many improbable surmises which include the hypothesis of a Slavonic colonization of the Upper Volga basin in very early times. It can be safely stated that seldom in the history of a nation has a single passage written by a chronicler evoked so much confusion, so many false conclusions and so much animated discussion as this one penned by the so reliable author of the *Povest'*. The erroneous observations and conclusions do not appear solely in present-day literature on the subject; they have been current for many centuries; they have not been restricted exclusively to the domain of theory and research but have influenced political thinking and planning and have evoked wars.

It will be of interest to cite a few noteworthy texts in this connection. 'Nestor's' statement regarding the identity of the Slavonic

¹⁶⁷ A. Mongait, *Raboty sovetskikh arkheologov, VIMK*, 1957 (5), p. 83 rightly remarks: 'In general, it is characteristic for Soviet archaeologists that they endeavour to solve the most complicated historical problems with the help of archaeological material.'

yazyk with the Rus'ian one has been misinterpreted because the word *yazyk* was understood to mean only 'language', 'people' or 'nation'. Later writers thereby felt themselves entitled to effect fundamental changes in the text of the *Povest'*: where the adjective 'Slavonic' appeared in the Chronicle it was supplanted by 'Rus'ian',¹⁶⁸ whilst 'the Slavs' became 'the Rus'. Finally, the meaning of *yazyk* was extended not only from 'language' to 'nation' but also from 'nation' to 'State'. It was upon this far-fetched basis that 16th-century Muscovy based its 'right' to rule over the Poles, the Czechs and other Slavonic countries and nations. All these claims found justification in 'Nestor's' Chronicle: since the Slavonic and the Rus'ian nation was one and the same, and since—according to the Kievan chronicler—Slavs had settled in Bohemia, Poland, etc., it logically followed that these countries were really Rus'ian. This is how matters were presented, for instance, in the so-called *Kniga stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya* ('The Book of Degrees of the Imperial Genealogy')—an important source for a proper understanding of the political mentality of Muscovy in the 16th century. In the chapter: 'The names of the Rus'ian provinces' (*Imena oblastiyam Ruskim*), the *Kniga* enumerates many lands and peoples, including the Czechs, Lyakhs, Lutichians, Mazovians and Pomeranians (*Chekhi, Lyakhi, Lutichi, Mazovshane, Pomoryane*).¹⁶⁹ The passage goes on: 'And in all these lands there were numerous and powerful towns, and numerous, great provinces, and they all went to make up a single Rus'ian State which has now split up into many States' (*I vo vsekh tekh zemlekh mnozi silnyya grady i mnogi velikiya oblasti i sii vsi Russkaya byashe edina derzhava, izhe nyne na mnogiya vlasti razdelisya*).¹⁷⁰

Herberstein, the Habsburg envoy in Moscow (1517, 1526), testifies that he was informed there of the rights of the Grand Duke of Muscovy to Lithuania, Poland and other lands.¹⁷¹ It would seem, therefore, that Moscow treated her claims seriously—and it seems reasonable to suppose that the threatened countries were aware of this danger. So, 'Nestor's' Chronicle (or rather Moscow's political plans

¹⁶⁸ In detail—see Chapter I of the present study.

¹⁶⁹ There is no doubt that this list of Polish tribes was taken from 'Nestor'. Cf. . . . 'sloveni zhe ovi prishedshe sedosha na Visle, i prozvashasya lyakhove, a ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyakhove družii lutichi, ini mazovshane, ini pomoryane.' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 11.

¹⁷⁰ PSRL XXI (1), 1908, p. 63. On the *Kniga stepennaya* see N. Derzhavin, *Stepennaya kniga kak literaturnyi istochnik*, 1902; P. Vasenko, 'Kniga Stepennaya tsarskogo rodosloviya' i ee znachenie v drevnerusskoi istoricheskoi pis'mennosti I, 1904; idem, Sostavnye chasti 'Knigi Stepennoi tsarskogo rodosloviya', LZAK XIX, 1908, pp. 1–51; V. Kuskov, *Stepennaya kniga kak literaturnyi pamyatnik XVI veka*, 1952 (unavailable to me); A. Zimin, K izucheniyu istochnikov Stepennoi knigi, TODRL XIII, 1957, pp. 225–230.

¹⁷¹ 'Referebat Georgius Parvus dictus, natione Graecus, in priori mea legatione inter tractatus volens ius Principis sui deducere ad magnum Ducatum Lithvaniae, regnum Poloniae, etc.' S. Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, 1556, p. 85. Cf. E. Zamyslovsky, *Gerbershtein i ego istoriko-geograficheskie izvestiya o Rossii*, 1884, p. 56.

so specifically based upon it) has great significance for the proper understanding of the root-cause of the long wars conducted in the 16th and 17th centuries between Poland and Lithuania on the one hand and Muscovy on the other.

The authors of the *Kniga* (first of all Afanasi, the later Metropolitan) interpreted and commented on historical facts in a tendentious manner.¹⁷² They even admitted this openly, as was pointed out by M. Shakhmatov.¹⁷³ This tendency was based on the assumption previously mentioned that every land called 'Rus'ian' had to be inhabited by Slavs (and *vice versa*: every Slavonic territory had to be Rus'ian).¹⁷⁴ It would be very instructive to collect all the hypotheses advanced in the Russian historical literature regarding the colonization of various lands by the Rus', *i.e.*, according to the authors of these conjectures, by the Slavs. It would be found that the territories supposedly so colonized extended from the Carpathians to the Urals, from the White Sea to the southern seas—to the Caspian and the Black Sea. And even farther. It is now stated (Derzhavin, Mavrodin, Tikhomirov, and others), chiefly on the basis of similarities among tribal names with the Eastern and the Southern Slavs, that East-Slavonic colonization likewise embraced the Balkan peninsula.¹⁷⁵ All these hypotheses have no value in a serious study of the subject, if only because no explanation has been proffered for the reasons which impelled such a gigantic process of colonization; nobody has allowed for the fact that the colonized territories were much more extensive than the native parts of the Eastern Slavs; nobody has brought any proof that the lands of the Eastern Slavs were then more densely populated than the non-Slavonic ones; nobody has raised the point that the indigenous population would have resisted the influx of alien settlers, etc., etc. The alleged Slavonic settlements in the land of Rostov-Suzdal' at the time under examination constitute therefore only one of a great many equally hypothetical colonizations.

To sum up the results yielded by an analysis of the source-material: (1) The Merya did not become extinct in the 10th century but still existed in the 11th and 12th centuries (Adam of Bremen,

¹⁷² Despite this tendentious approach, they have great influence on the formation of the views held by later-day writers, as witness the case of Tatishchev, the well-known Russian historian who wrote in the first half of the 18th century. He too, interpreted this passage in the *Povest'* like his predecessors and held that, as 'Nestor' stated the Slavonic Lyakhs lived on the Vistula, that river was the natural frontier of Rus' in the 10th century. V. Tatishchev, *Russia ili, kak nyne zovut, Rossiya*, in his *Izbrannye trudy po geografii Rossii*, 1950, pp. 108, 110.

¹⁷³ M. Shakhmatov, *Slavyanskaya ideya u drevne-russkikh knizhnikov*, in *Sbornik prací I. sjezdu slovanských filologů v Praze, 1929, 1932*, p. 385.

¹⁷⁴ As shown in Chapter II of the present study, the Muscovite writers of the 15th and 16th centuries were acquainted with the ecclesiastical-religious meaning of the words *yazyk*, *strana*, *zemlya*, etc. and well knew what 'Nestor' and other authors had in mind when they used these terms. They well knew, too, that 'Nestor' mentioned the tribes settled in the north-east—the Merya, the Ves', the Muroma, etc.—and that he did not treat them as Slavs and differentiated them from the Rus'.

¹⁷⁵ *OR*, pp. 34–37.

'Nestor', The Life of Leontius) as well as in the 13th century, during the great invasions of Batu Khan (the report of Julianus). (2) The *Slovo o pogibeli ruskyya zemli* ('Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'-ian Land'), written under the impact of the terrible destruction of the Vladimirian Grand Duchy by the Tartars (1237-1238),¹⁷⁶ incorporates within 'Rus'-ian land' those territories which 'Nestor' still distinguished by using tribal names (the Ves', Merya, Muroma). The author of the *Slovo* identifies the concept 'Rus'-ian land' with the Christian faith and contrasts this land with all its neighbours who follow other creeds. According to him, the territories in question—particularly the Upper Volga region—became Rus'-ian by conquest, described as an act of God whose instrument were the Rurikides. The *Slovo* dates these events from the time of Vladimir Monomakh (d. 1125). So, the conquests from the end of the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century are of special importance for the application of the Rus'-ian name to this area. Nasonov rightly points out that the conversion of the population of the Rostov-Suzdal' land began in the second half of the 11th century.¹⁷⁷ (3) From the 13th century on, the appellation 'Rus'' definitively gained general acceptance as signifying the land of Rostov-Suzdal', and from the 14th century on these territories were called 'Great Rus' '.

The conclusion reached on the strength of the above facts is that the Rus'—or, more exactly speaking, the Great Rus'—were Finns (the Merya),¹⁷⁸ subjugated by the Rus'-ian princes and converted by the Rus'-ian Church.¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁶ Yu. Begunov, *Vremya vozniknoveniya 'Slova o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli' i ponyatie 'pogibeli Ruskyya zemli'*, *TODRL XVI*, 1960, pp. 147-160. Begunov believes that the author of the *Slovo*, though he wrote in the Rostov-Suzdal' land, was of southern descent. V. Danilov, 'Slovo o pogibeli Ruskyya zemli' kak proizvedenie khudozhestvennoe', *TODRL XVI*, 1960, pp. 132-142 is of the same opinion. According to me, he was a churchman.

¹⁷⁷ A. Nasonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo (XII-XIII vv.)*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 323.

¹⁷⁸ Since the Merya existed until the time of Batu Khan and the sources contain absolutely no mention of Slavonic colonization on the Upper Volga, it would have to be supposed that this colonization (if it is insisted upon in order to support the hypothesis that the Merya became extinct) took place on a large scale during the period of the Tartar occupation. But there are many data which clash with such a surmise: (1) though the 13th-century sources are fairly abundant, they make no mention of any Slavonic colonization; (2) from the middle of the 13th century on, the land of Rostov-Suzdal'-Vladimir was definitively called 'Rus'-ian' (i.e., Slavonic, according to my opponents). This leaves too short a space of time for this 'Rus'-ianization', a process which had to be completed within one generation (mainly between 1238-1250). (3) It is inconceivable that Slavs from Novgorod and from Smolensk—their territories not having been devastated by Batu and being independent of the khans—should voluntarily have left their native lands and migrated to regions occupied by the Tartars.

¹⁷⁹ It is worth noting the views of some authors who, though firm supporters of the theory of Slavonic colonization of the Upper Volga and Oka region, perceive nevertheless that the religious factor played an important role in the spread of the concept of 'Rus'' to that area. 'The quick Russianization (*obrusenie*) of the Muroma was brought about by the intensive... evangelization of the country.' E. Goryunova, *K istorii gorodov Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi*, *KSDPI LIX*, 1955, p. 14. The above observation, which should also be extended to cover the Merya and the Ves', is very much to the point. 'The distinction between them [i.e., the Merya, Ves' and Muroma]

We are faced with two facts: (1) that the Upper Volga region was once inhabited by a non-Slavonic, Ugro-Finnish tribe, the Merya; and (2) that the present population of these areas has now for long past been a Slavonic-speaking one. It must be accepted therefore that the Finnish population of the region in question adopted the language of the Slavs and abandoned its native speech.

Such cases are by no means rare in the history of various peoples. As a result of the Roman conquest the Celts in France and the Iberians in Spain adopted the Latin language. The modern French and Spanish languages have evolved from this Latin base. The Berbers adopted the language of the Arabs when these overran North Africa. The Slavonic language gained the upper hand in the Balkans; Arabic ousted Persian, Turkish replaced Chuvashian, Tartar did the same to Udmurtian (Votyak), and so on.

The dying out of a language replaced by another, not necessarily a cognate one, is linked with the problem of the so-called linguistic substratum. The theory of the substratum, drawn up in the eighties of the 19th century (G. Ascoli), was developed chiefly in connection with research in the Romance languages. The phenomenon of linguistic substratum appears when the discarded language is elbowed out of its territory by another tongue yet hands on certain elements or traces to the supplanting language. This substratum is unknown in many cases and every attempt to secure precise data about it yields but hypothetical findings by the nature of things.

Serebrennikov rightly remarked that the process of a language dying out and being replaced by another differs in various territories. There can be no general rule applicable universally in time and place. Every case of such a clash of tongues is specific and requires individual approach. It sometimes happens that the linguistic substratum exerts a strong influence on the structure of the victorious language, but it also often happens that no such influence can be discerned.¹⁸⁰ It may happen, too, that the linguistic substratum has completely disappeared and that there is little or no possibility of reconstructing it. But there are cases where this substratum survives in some form or other, not having been completely ousted.¹⁸¹ In this

and the Rus' drawn by the monk of the Crypt Monastery ['Nestor'] is explained by a special circumstance: the stubborn resistance of the pagans in the north-east to conversion.' A. Nasonov, *Russkaya zemlya*, 1951, p. 35. Obviously, if the Merya and other Ugro-Finnish tribes had not been so attached to their pagan beliefs and been more willing to accept conversion, they would have been earlier embraced by the concept of Rus'. It cannot be denied that both Goryunova and Nasonov stated that the final application of the name of Rus' to the north-east was contingent on the prior conversion of the Finnish population to Christianity. A. Kartashev, *Sud'by Svyatoi Rusi*, PM I, 1928, p. 138 considers that the East-Slavonic population colonized the Finnish regions and encountered the resistance of the Finns defending their pagan beliefs. The stronger the resistance of the Finns, the more did the concept of Christianity merge with the Rus'ian character of this East-Slavonic population ('khristianstvo slivaetsya s ego russkost'yu').

¹⁸⁰ B. Serebrennikov, in *DSIY IX*, 1956, p. 158.

¹⁸¹ B. Serebrennikov, *Problema substrata*, *ibid.*, p. 41.

process, the time factor is important: with the passage of time, the elements of the linguistic substratum tend to weaken within the victorious language.¹⁸² It is not possible, in the light of our present knowledge, to establish the reasons of the heterogeneity observed in all these cases.¹⁸³

Ol'derogge rightly points out that 'the problem of the substratum ... relates ... to a process having no connection with the natural development of a language and often indeed advances contrary to this development. This process is conditioned by historical circumstances.'¹⁸⁴ According to Abaev, the problem of the substratum is not only of a linguistic but also of an historical character, since the history of a language is interwoven with the history of a nation.¹⁸⁵ Sergievsky believes that the theory of the substratum may be of great service in historico-linguistic studies but only when we are acquainted with the historical facts which elucidate the linguistic transformations in the territories under examination.¹⁸⁶ Shishmarev also ascribes much significance to the historical element when studying such important linguistic phenomenon as the ousting of a language by another tongue.¹⁸⁷

Undoubtedly, when the population of a territory abandons its native speech and adopts an alien language, this is not due to any inner needs or impulses but is the outcome of events evoked by outside factors to which this population has been submitted, often unwillingly. The reason for this phenomenon frequently cited is that there was a massive influx of alien ethnic elements which in the final result caused the assimilation of the indigenous population. Yet numerical preponderance is not the only reason, and in any case does not invariably explain this linguistic process.

Abaev writes: 'The phenomenon of substratum arises in those cases where an indigenous population has massively adopted a foreign tongue owing to, say, conquest, ethnic absorption, political domination, cultural predominance, etc.'¹⁸⁸ Nemirovsky supposes that in the struggle for survival between two languages 'victory falls to the antagonist who is not only stronger numerically but is also qualitatively more outstanding, i.e., who has greater weight in the social and economic sense and whose culture is stronger'.¹⁸⁹ According to Martinet, 'a language does not get the better of its com-

¹⁸² V. Orlova, O vozniknovenii inoyazychnykh elementov v strukture yazyka, *ibid.*, p. 82.

¹⁸³ B. Gornung, *ibid.*, p. 169.

¹⁸⁴ D. Ol'derogge, *ibid.*, p. 128.

¹⁸⁵ V. Abaev, O yazykovom substrate, *ibid.*, p. 58. See also *idem*, Istoriya yazyka i istoriya naroda, in *Voprosy teorii i istorii yazyka v svete trudov I. V. Stalina po yazykoznaniyu*, 1952, pp. 40-55.

¹⁸⁶ M. Sergievsky, *Vvedenie v romanskoe yazykoznaniye*, 1952, p. 157.

¹⁸⁷ V. Shishmarev, *Ocherki po istorii yazykov Ispanii*, 1941; *idem*, Romanskies yazyki Yugo-Vostochnoi Evropy i natsional'nyi yazyk Moldavskoi SSSR, in *Voprosy moldavskogo yazykoznaniya*, 1953, pp. 73-120.

¹⁸⁸ V. Abaev, O yazykovom substrate, p. 57.

¹⁸⁹ M. Nemirovsky, Iz istorii razvitiya teorii substrata, *DSIY IX*, 1956, p. 176.

petitors because of its intrinsic qualities, but because it is that of a more warlike . . . , more cultured, more enterprising or more prolific community.¹⁹⁰ Desheriev likewise considers that the victory of one language over another is more the outcome of political, economic and cultural factors than of the numerical preponderance of one population over another.¹⁹¹ Hempl states that when a territory is thrust into dependency on another State, the subjected population submits, especially if it stands at a lower level of civilization, to the influences of language, customs, etc. flowing from the predominant metropolis. The time factor, that is to say, the duration of such alien hegemony, plays an important role in the consolidation of the external influences which result in the dying-out of the indigenous speech.¹⁹² Ol'derogge describes the Berbero-Arabic relations.

Let us recall—he writes—the history of the Arabic conquests of North Africa. New settlers, the Arabs, arrived in North Africa. They formed a new stratum over the indigenous population which consisted of various Berber tribes whose language had some, though not much affinity with that of the Arabs. The history of the spread of the Arabic language is known: beginning with the 8th century, the majority of the Berbers had passed over to Arabic by about the 14th century. Though the number of migrants was inconsiderable, we know that the Arabic language was victorious.¹⁹³

Popov explains the victory of the Tartar language over Udmurtian (an Ugro-Finnish group of languages) and states: 'The Udmurt people were for many centuries ruled by Tartar princes, the so-called Arsian princes (*Arskie knyaz'ya*) . . . In this case we have to do . . . with the influences of the language spoken by the feudal [Tartar] apex upon the tongue of the exploited masses of the [Udmurt] people'.¹⁹⁴

All these observations (and they could easily be multiplied) are important for an understanding of the ethnic relations in the land of Rostov-Suzdal', as they show that massive Slavonic colonization of the Ugro-Finnish territory was not necessary to cause the Merya to lose their native speech and adopt a Slavonic tongue.¹⁹⁵ It suffices

¹⁹⁰ A. Martinet, *Diffusion of Language and Structural Linguistics*, *RP* VI (1), 1952, p. 5.

¹⁹¹ Yu. Desheriev, in *DSIY* IX, 1956, pp. 103–104.

¹⁹² G. Hempl, *Language-Rivalry and Speech-Differentiation in the Case of Race-Mixture*, *TPAPA* XXIX, 1898, pp. 33–34; cf. V. Yartseva, *Teoriya substrata v istorii yazykoznaniiya*, *DSIY* IX, 1956, pp. 8–32.

¹⁹³ D. Ol'derogge, in *DSIY* IX, 1956, p. 129.

¹⁹⁴ A. Popov, *ibid.*, p. 150.

¹⁹⁵ A. Reformatsky (*ibid.*, pp. 114–115) affirms (in disagreement with the sources) that the various Finnish tribes—the Ves', Merya, Muroma—underwent Slavonicization already in prehistoric times and that Slavonic had ousted the Finnish languages in the north-east at that far-off time. According to him, there are no Finnish elements in the East-Slavonic language of the Rostov-Suzdal' land. A somewhat similar attitude is taken up by S. Bershtein (*ibid.*, p. 132): 'The language of the non-Rus'ian population which had lost its native speech exercised no essential influence [on the East-Slavonic language]. Isolated instances are known to us but they are very impermanent and swiftly disappear. The theory of the substratum offers little to the historian of the Rus'ian language.' Reformatsky's assertions are opposed by V. Sidorov (*ibid.*,

to take the following facts into consideration: (1) The Rurikides, as the sources confirm, subjected the region of the Upper Volga; (2) the conquest of the Merya (and other tribes) undertaken in the 9th century and concluded in the 12th century acquired a permanent character; (3) the predominance of the Slavonic language over the Finnish ones is undoubted. Slavonic in the 'new' territories was first of all propagated by the Church. Slavonic spread automatically with the spread of Christianity for it was the liturgical language of the Rus'ian Church.

It is generally accepted in the literature on the subject that Slavonic colonization of the territory of the Merya (as with the Ves' and the Muroma) explains why the native tongue of that tribe (and the others) died out. With reference to my opinion that this colonization did not take place, Vernadsky writes: 'In Paszkiewicz's opinion, the Great Russians are not Slavs mixed with Finns but pure-blood Finns who learned the Slavic language and accepted the 'Rus'ian faith', *i.e.*, Greek Orthodoxy. They thus became what he calls the 'Finnish Rus'. The question naturally arises, how could the Finns adopt the Slavic language if there were no Slavs around and among them?'¹⁹⁶ Shevelov expresses the same view:

One must ask whether Paszkiewicz does not manifest... an anti-Russian bias. This apprehension is confirmed when the author completely denies the Slavic character of Muscovy and even calls her the second, *i.e.*, Finnish Rus', as opposed to Kievan Rus', which was essentially Slavic. Paszkiewicz is of the opinion that no Slavic colonization took place in the provinces of Suzdal', Vladimir and Moscow, which were and allegedly have remained Finnish. The question arises why the population now speaks a Slavic and not a Finnish language. This, in the author's opinion, is due to the influence of... the church...¹⁹⁷

The assertion that 'the Finns gradually adopted the Slavonic language of the church' is, according to Jakobson, one of 'the arbitrary con-

p. 127), who perceives many features of the Finnish substratum in the Slavonic language, R. Avanesov, *Voprosy lingvisticheskoi geografi govorov tsentral'nykh oblastei, IANOLY XI (2), 1952, p. 164* remarks: 'The spread of the Rus'ian language over an enormous area initially inhabited by peoples speaking other languages, could not in turn but lead to hybridization of the Rus'ian tongue with a number of non-cognate languages.' Serebrennikov, in *DSIY IX, 1956, p. 163* is of the same opinion. He writes: 'The query is raised: Is there a special glossary listing the whole of the non-Slavonic vocabulary in North-Rus'ian dialects? There is no such glossary. How then can one speak of the influence of the substratum since the material has not yet been studied? ... Thus, it is said: there are no materials, no new means to study the phenomena of the substratum—yet it has already been concluded that there was no influence of the substratum. All this is premature and, to my mind, cannot be taken very seriously.' See also *idem, Problema substrata, ibid., p. 36*. The problem of the Ugro-Finnish substratum in East Slavonic was recently discussed at the IV International Congress of Slavic Scholars at Moscow, in 1958. Cf. Kakova rol' substrata v razvitií foneticheskoi sistemy i grammaticheskogo stroya ot del'nykh slavyanskikh yazykov? in *Sbornik otvetov na voprosy po yazykoznaniiyu (k IV Mezhdunarodnomu sezdú slavistov), 1958, pp. 210–220* (especially papers read by V. Ernits and P. Kuznetsov).

¹⁹⁶ G. Vernadsky, in *Sp, 1955, p. 299*.

¹⁹⁷ G. Shevelov, in *HB, 1955, p. 43*.

structions of the author [Paszkievich], eloquently contradicted both by documents and linguistic geography'.¹⁹⁸

All these declarations of my opponents are more or less in agreement with one another and have one conclusion in common: that the activities and influences of the Church in the north-east, to which I ascribe such an important role in supplanting Finnish languages by Slavonic, are unworthy of notice and provide no convincing argument inasmuch as they are not supported by the sources. According to these authors, Slavonic colonization fully explains why this linguistic transformation took place and is the sole factor to be considered. In reply, it must be stated that—as demonstrated in *OR*—the sources not only contain no data in support of the colonization theory but even flatly contradict it. It might therefore appear, at first sight, that both sides, myself and my critical reviewers, are operating with hypotheses divorced from the historical reality as depicted by the texts of source-material. Nothing, however, could be farther from the truth.

The assertions of Vernadsky, Shevelov, Jakobson, Obolensky and others that the sources do not support the thesis advanced by me (the influence of the Church upon the spread of Slavonic in non-Slavonic areas (can only be explained by ignorance of the most basic sources relevant to the subject. But a lack of knowledge of the material is one thing and the absence of the material itself quite another.

Zhirumsky rightly remarks that a due understanding of the problem of the linguistic substratum should be based, as far as possible, on the determination of facts which have been the object of direct observation in modern times.¹⁹⁹ As it happens, Russia still affords many interesting examples of the Russian language extruding native tongues spoken by various non-Russian peoples within the Soviet Union.²⁰⁰ Proceeding along this path, it should be possible to trace conditions back to earlier times. For the purposes of the present

¹⁹⁸ R. Jakobson, in *AHR*, 1955, p. 107.

¹⁹⁹ V. Zhirumsky, in *DSIY IX*, 1956, pp. 93–94.

²⁰⁰ Cf. V. Abaev, *O yazykovom substrate*, *ibid.*, p. 58; V. Orlova, *O vozniknovenii inoyazychnykh elementov v strukture yazyka*, *ibid.*, p. 82; E. Ubryatova, *Vzaimodeistvie yazykov na materiale vzaimootnoshenii yakutskogo i evenkiiskogo yazykov*, *ibid.*, p. 85, and others. There are still languages in Russia which are dying out and are spoken now only by an insignificant number of people. Thus, for instance, the Samoyad' (about 18,000) now living in the Yenisei river basin and on the littoral of the Kara Sea, speak five cognate languages. The Vogulian language is spoken by about 7,000 people scattered on the eastern slopes of the Urals between Perm' and Tobol'sk; about 19,000 people speak Ostyak in the basin of the rivers Ob' and Irtysh, etc. Cf. T. Milewski, *Zarys językoznawstwa ogólnego II*, 1948, pp. 200–203. On these peoples and their languages (some of these peoples began to write in their languages just in the 20th century) see S. Barkhudarov, *Sostoyanie i zadachi nauchnoi i prakticheskoi raboty v oblasti yazykov narodov Severa*, in *Soveshchanie po yazykham narodov Severa*, 1952, pp. 3–12; M. Sergeev, *Nekapitalisticheskii put' razvitiya malykh narodov Severa*, *TIE XXVII*, 1955, pp. 197–200; *idem*, *Kul'tura narodov sovetskogo Krainego Severa za 40 let*, *VIMK*, 1957 (5), pp. 165–181; Yu. Desheriev, *Razvitie mladopis'mennykh yazykov narodov SSSR*, 1958; V. Avrorin, *Ekspeditsionnoe izuchenie yazykov malykh narodnostei Severa*, *VAN*, 1960 (4), pp. 142–143; *Sovremennoe khozyaistvo, kul'tura i byt malykh narodov Severa* (by several hands), *TIE LVI*, 1960, and others.

study, special importance is attached to information deriving from writers who personally observed the reality of their time and described ethnic relations in Eastern Europe as witnessed by themselves or accepted by them on reliable testimony by credible eye-witnesses. In the given case, we are concerned with source-material from the 16th to 18th century—data which will be examined from the angle of linguistic transformations in various territories chiefly under the influence of the activity of the clergy intent on spreading Christianity in pagan lands.

The Polish writer, Matthew of Miechovia ('Miechowita'), in his *Tractatus de duabus Sarmatiis* (1517), relates that in his time 'in Samogitia . . . and in Lithuania people in the villages speak Lithuanian but for the most part they use the Polish language for the priests in the churches preach to them in Polish' (*In Samagithia autem . . . et in Lithuania . . . in villis Lithuanicum loquuntur et in magna parte Polonicum profitentur, nam et sermone Polonice sacerdotes eis praedicant in ecclesiis*).²⁰¹ This report merits attention for many reasons: first of all because there can be no question of Poland having subjected Lithuania. The two countries formed a united commonwealth and would often undertake action in common against external foes both in warfare and in the conduct of foreign policy. Moreover, it was not a Polish dynasty which reigned over Lithuania, but a Lithuanian one—the Jagellonians—over Poland. Furthermore, we know there was no mass Polish colonization of Lithuania, yet little more than a century (from 1386 on) of cultural, religious, political and other contacts sufficed to inaugurate the process by which Polish elbowed out the Lithuanian language.²⁰² Matthew of Miechovia unequivocally stressed the important role played by the clergy in this process²⁰³—a factor of considerable significance for the subject under examination.

Another example referring to the history of the Ves' in the Beloozero region can be quoted.²⁰⁴ 'The Discourse on the Ruin of

²⁰¹ S. Anninsky, *Matvei Mekhovskii. Traktat o dvukh Sarmatiyakh*, 1936, p. 185; cf. S. Krakowiecka, *Maciej z Miechowa — lekarz i uczony Odrodzenia*, 1956; H. Barycz, *Maciej z Miechowa. Studium z dziejów kultury naukowej Polski doby Odrodzenia*, *NPo VI* (3), 1958, pp. 47–100; K. Buczek, *Maciej Miechowita i pisma historyczne* L. Decjusza, *MSH I* (2), 1958, pp. 4–21; Z. Skubała, *Sesja poświęcona Maciejowi z Miechowa*, *ibidem*, pp. 197–202; L. Hajdukiewicz, *Biblioteka Macieja z Miechowa*, 1960. See also B. Baranowski, *Znajomość Wschodu w dawnej Polsce do XVIII w.*, *LTN*, 1950, pp. 24–27; T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja. Studium z problematyki słowiańskiej XV i XVI w.*, *BSSUJ*, 1950, pp. 7–8, 53–66. Although there are many studies devoted to Matthew of Miechovia, no thorough analysis of his *Tractatus* has, unfortunately, been made.

²⁰² Cf. C. Baudouin de Courtenay-Jędrzejewiczowa, *Grupy etniczne na ziemiach Wielkiego Księstwa Litewskiego i trzy narody*, *AMV*, 1953, pp. 350–383; W. Wielhorski, *Stosunki narodowościowe, wyznaniowe i językowe w Wielkim Księstwie Litewskim*, *ibidem*, pp. 215–240.

²⁰³ For the influence of Polish on Lithuanian ecclesiastical terminology, see N. Borowska, *Wpływy słowiańskie na litewską terminologię kościelną na podstawie Dictionarium Szyrwidu*, *SFPS II*, 1957, pp. 320–365; H. Łowmiański, *Uwagi o wpływach słowiańskich na litewską terminologię kościelną*, *ibid.*, pp. 366–372.

²⁰⁴ D. Zelenin, *Drevnyaya finskaya Ves'*, *UZPSO II*, 1922 (unavailable to me). The

the Rus'ian Land' (13th century) does not mention this tribe as one of the neighbours of Rus' and it can therefore be assumed that its territory was embraced by the broad concept of 'the Rus'ian land'. This provides the foundation for the hypothesis of the colonization of the Beloozero region by Slavs. The *Historical Atlas of the SSSR* treats the Ves' territory as a mixed, Finno-Slavonic one during the period between the 8th and the middle of the 9th century.²⁰⁶ Sukhov, Nasonov, Tret'yakov and others consider that archaeological data indicate the Ves' were absorbed in the 9th and 10th centuries by masses of Slavonic colonists and were already then fully Slavonicized.²⁰⁶

The sources contradict the conclusions of the archaeologists. 'Nes-tor' treats the Ves' as a tribe still extant in his time.²⁰⁷ In this respect his report is in agreement with those of other authors, both earlier and later ones. They state that the Ves' existed in the first half of the 10th century (Ibn Fadhlān) and in the latter half of the 11th century (Adam of Bremen), as also in later times (in the 14th–16th centuries).²⁰⁸ The Austrian Baron Sigismund von Herberstein, who visited Moscow twice as an envoy of the Habsburgs (in 1517 and 1526) and who amassed so much valuable information about that country that his book aroused enormous interest in Europe, stated that the indigenous population of the Beloozero region 'has its own language though now nearly all speak Rus'ian' (*Huius loci indigenae proprium habent idioma: quamvis nunc ferme omnes Ruthenice loquantur*).²⁰⁹ It follows from his report that the Ves' were still in existence in the 16th century, that they had maintained their own language to that time, and that before the 16th century not all of them knew a Slavonic (Rus'ian') language.

Tret'yakov calls the Ves' a mysterious (*zagadochnyi*) tribe.²¹⁰ The

toponymic material for this region is listed by A. I. Popov, *Toponimika Belozerskogo kraia*, UZLGU, No. 105, 1948, pp. 164–174. See also A. Kopanov, *Istoriya zemle-
vladeniya Belozerskogo kraia XV–XVI v.*, 1951.

²⁰⁶ K. Bazilevich, I. Golubtsova, M. Zinov'ev, *Atlas istorii SSSR I*, 1954, No. 8.

²⁰⁶ P. Sukhov, *Slavyanskoe gorodishche IX–X st. v yuzhnom Beloz'er'e*, MIA VI, 1941, pp. 89–92; A. Nasonov, *Vladimiro-Suzdal'skoe knyazhestvo (XII–XIII vv.)*, in *Ocherki I*, 1953, p. 321; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 236, 295. According to L. Golubeva, *Drevnee Beloozero*, KSDPI XLI, 1951, pp. 37–40, the earliest traces of Slavonic colonization found there are from the 9th and 10th centuries onwards, and are very few in number.

²⁰⁷ Writing about the Ves'—similarly as with the Merya—the chronicler uses the present tense ('Na Beleezere sedyat' ves''), D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 13.

²⁰⁸ M. Lyubavsky, *Obrazovanie osnovnoi gosudarstvennoi territorii velikorusskoi narodnosti*, 1929, pp. 9–10. See also M. Tikhomirov, *Vologodsko-Permskaya letopis'*, PSRL XXVI, 1959 (... 'rozhdenie zhe ego glagolyut' ot vesi Kudinovskie', p. 256, under the year 1477; ... 'prinesosha devitsu beznozhnu imenem Annu ot vesi, khrist'yanskuyu dscher' ...', p. 309, under the year 1519).

²⁰⁹ S. Herberstein, *Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii*, 1556, p. 77. Russian translations of Herberstein: I. Anonimov, *Zapiski o Moskovii (Rerum Moscoviticarum Commentarii) barona Gerbershteina, s latinskogo bazel'skogo izdaniya 1556 g.*, 1866; A. Malein, *S. Gerbershtein. Zapiski o Moskovskikh delakh*, 1908. The English translation—O. Backus, *Herberstein S. Commentaries on Muscovite Affairs*, 1956 (unavailable to me). The best analysis of the text in E. Zamyslovsky, *Gerbershtein i ego istoriko-geograficheskie izvestiya o Rossii*, 1884.

²¹⁰ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavianskie plemena*, p. 236.

only mystery is that the sources contradict his assertions about them. In fact, there is nothing inexplicable in the history of the Ves'. It only becomes so when the notion of *Ruskaya zemlya* ('the Rus'ian land') is given an ethnic—a Slavonic—meaning. It is only then that no explanation can be found. The matter is cleared up when it is accepted that the expression *Ruskaya zemlya* is understood in an ecclesiastical-religious sense. The beginnings of Christianity among the Ves' tribe date from the 12th and 13th centuries.²¹¹ 'Nestor' testifies that their territory was still pagan in the 11th century.²¹² The author of 'The Discourse on the Ruin of the Rus'ian Land' was fully entitled to treat the Ves' territory as part of 'the Rus'ian land' whilst the historian is entitled to state that the population of Beloozero was Finnish at that time—and later. Kopanев provides much interesting material which demonstrates how the great manors of the Church (the monasteries) kept the native population of Beloozero in economic dependency in the 15th and 16th centuries (we have no data for earlier times).²¹³ There is no doubt that this economic dependency facilitated the consolidation of Christianity and the spread of the Slavonic language in those parts.

By analogy, the history of the Ves' throws light on the fate of the Merya, especially as Beloozero was politically linked with Vladimir, on the Klyaz'ma, and later with Moscow. There is, however, an important difference which must be taken into account. The rule of the Rurikides in the north-east, between the Upper Volga and the Oka, was much stronger than on the area of distant Beloozero from the 12th century on. The activities of the Church proceeded parallel with those of the State. It seems reasonable to suppose therefore that Christianity consolidated its hold more quickly in the Merya territory than in that of the Ves'. Hence, the indigenous population of both tribes differed considerably in their knowledge of Slavonic. While the Ves' in the first half of the 16th century knew both languages—as Herberstein testifies—their own native Finnish and Slavonic, the contrary held good in the territory of Muscovy at this time. The Slavonic impregnation of the Merya must have been much more complete and evident.²¹⁴

Desnitskaya rightly remarks that when one language supplants another, both languages must long have been in general usage in the

²¹¹ In 1957, the Slavonic inscription *maslo* (oil) was found at Beloozero on an earthen pot. L. Golubeva, *Nadpis' na korchage iz Beloozera*, *SAr*, 1960 (3), pp. 321–323. M. Shchepkina (*ibidem*) believes that this inscription can be dated from the end of the 12th century. See also L. Golubeva, *Belozerskaya ekspeditsiya 1957 g.*, *KSDPI LXXIX*, 1960, pp. 35–42.

²¹² D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 117–120.

²¹³ A. Kopanев, *Istoriya zemlevladeniya Belozerskogo kraya XV–XVI vv.*, 1951, *passim*.

²¹⁴ Polish writers in the 16th century, such as Kochanowski (cf. T. Ulewicz, *Świadomość słowiańska Jana Kochanowskiego*, 1948), Strykowski and others, plainly state that the population of Muscovy spoke Slavonic and, therefore, considered them to be Slavs.

territory.²¹⁵ What we know of the Ves' during the first half of the 16th century confirms this observation. For that matter, many other similar examples from North-Eastern Europe can be cited. Herberstein reports that the inhabitants of Ustyug (north-east of Beloozero) have their own language but more often use Rus'ian.²¹⁶ The same author writes that the Permians (an Ugro-Finnish tribe living on the Upper Kama) have their own language whilst Chalcondyles, a Greek writer, wrote that the same people spoke Slavonic ('Rus'ian').²¹⁷ These two reports are not necessarily contradictory but rather confirm that the population in question was bilingual. Herberstein states that the Samoyad' (settled in the far north, on the White Sea littoral at the mouth of the Pechora) spoke their own language. The reports of the English travellers (1556) state that some of the Samoyad' 'can speake the Russe tongue to bee understood'.²¹⁸ This indicates that a part of the population, in particular those converted to Christianity, could albeit with difficulty understand and use Slavonic. The same authors relate that the peoples in the far north affirmed 'that they beleeeve in the Russes God'.²¹⁹

We now approach the essence of the problem. Herberstein states that:

All the peoples, using the Slavonic language and following the rite and faith of Christ according to the Greek manner, and who are called in their national language the Rus', and in Latin the *Rutheni*, have multiplied so exceedingly that they have either driven out all the tribes living among them or have forced them to adopt their way of life, so that they are now all called *Rutheni* as their generic name (... *populi omnes qui lingua Slavonica utuntur, ritum ac fidem Christi Graecorum more sequuntur, gentiliter Russi, Latine Rhuteni appellati, ad tantam multitudinem excreverunt, ut omnes intermedias gentes aut expulerint,*

²¹⁵ A. Desnitskaya, K voprosu o vzaimodeistvii yazykov, *DSIY* IX, 1956, p. 71.

²¹⁶ 'Idioma quoque proprium, quamvis Ruthenico magis utuntur.' S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²¹⁷ K. Dieterich, *Byzantinische Quellen zur Länder- und Völkerkunde* (5.-15.Jhd.) II, 1912, p. 106.

²¹⁸ R. Hakluyt, *The Principal Navigations Voyages Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation*... II, 1903, p. 349; Yu. Got'e, *Angliiskie puteshestvenniki v Moskovskom gosudarstve v XVI v.*, 1937, p. 115. On the English-Muscovite relations at that time see M. Wretts-Smith, *The English in Russia during the Second Half of the Sixteenth Century*, *TRHS*, Fourth Series, III, 1920, pp. 72-102; W. Kirchner, *Russia and Europe in the Age of Reformation*, *ARG* XLIII, 1952, pp. 172-186; T. Willan, *The Muscovy Merchants of 1555*, 1953; *idem*, *The Early History of the Russia Company, 1553-1603*, 1956; M. Anderson, *Britain's Discovery of Russia, 1553-1815*, 1958, and others.

²¹⁹ R. Hakluyt, *op. cit.*, II, p. 345. The following description of the custom of the Rus' deserves also our attention: 'There is one use and custome amongst them, which is strange and rare, but yet it is very ridiculous, and that is this: when any man dyeth amongst them, they take the dead body and put it in a coffine or chest, and in the hands of the corps they put a little scroule, and in the same there are these wordes written, that the same man died a Russe of Russes, having received the faith, and died in the same. This writing or letter they say they send to S. Peter, who receiving it (as they affirme) reads it, and by and by admits him into heaven'. . . . R. Hakluyt, *op. cit.* II, p. 268. It follows from this narration that under the term 'Rus' ' were understood the believers of the Rus'ian Church.

aut in suum vivendi morem pertraxerint: adeo ut omnes nunc uno et communi vocabulo Rhuteni dicantur).²²⁰

The above text is most noteworthy. The author precisely defines the meaning of the term 'the Rus'' as signifying members of the Greek faith acquainted with the Slavonic language—hence, the faithful of the Rus'ian Church. Attention must be drawn to the phrase 'peoples using the Slavonic language' for it indicates that the author was not only writing of Slavs (it would have been superfluous to stress that the Slavs speak Slavonic) but also—if not first of all—non-Slavonic, converted peoples.²²¹

The knowledge of a Slavonic language amongst non-Slavs is not linked by Herberstein with Slavonic colonization of non-Slavonic lands. He tells us nothing of such colonization though he scrupulously examined the past of Eastern Europe. He evidently connects this knowledge with the Greek (Rus'ian) faith, that is to say, with the spread of Christianity. Were the relevant passage in Herberstein's text to be interpreted otherwise (*viz.*, that the nations using Slavonic as their language were solely Slavs), it would have to be concluded that in Eastern Europe of that time a most remarkable population phenomenon took place—that all the Slavs began to multiply to a fantastic extent and that all the non-Slavs began to die out at the same tempo. It is unnecessary to demonstrate how unreasonable any such surmise is.

Matthew of Miechovia states that in Muscovy, in all her provinces and principalities, there is one language and one speech, namely: Rus'ian or Slavonic.

Thus, even the Vogulians and the inhabitants of the Vyatka [river region] are of the Rus' and speak Rus'ian,²²² and profess one faith and religion according to the Greek model (*Accipiat quarto in Moskovia unam linguam et unam sermonem fore, scilicet Ruthenicum seu Slavonicum in omnibus satrapiis et principatibus, sicque etiam Ohulci et qui*

²²⁰ S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 1.

²²¹ I advance another proof in favour of this observation. It concerns not the northern lands but the Black Sea region, the Caucasus, where the Cherkassians lived, certainly not Slavs. Herberstein relates that this mountainous people accepted Greek (Rus'ian) Christianity and owing to this fact spoke Slavonic (. . . 'Circassi, seu Ciki . . . montium asperitate freti, nec Turcis, nec Tartaris parent. Eos tamen Christianos esse, suis legibus vivere, in ritu et caeremonijs cum Graecis convenire, lingua Slavuonica (qua utuntur) sacra peragere, Rutheni testantur', S. Herberstein, *op. cit.*, p. 101). Cf. V. Klyuchevsky, *Skazaniya inostrantsev o Moskovskom gosudarstve*, 3rd ed., 1916, pp. 29-30.

²²² While they adopted the Slavonic language, the Vogulians (the Mansi, according to present-day terminology) did not forgo their vernacular. They were hence bilingual. A. Murzina, *Mansi (voguly) v XVIII veke i v pervoi polovine XIX veka*, *UZLGU*, No. 157, 1953, p. 217 remarks that as late as the 18th century this people still did not have a single, adequately developed language but used a number of dialects which differed considerably one from another. Moreover, the Vogulians used their vernacular only in speech, not in writing (their first writings date from the 20th century). All these factors facilitated the penetration of Slavonic into the territory of the Vogulians.

*in Viatka degunt Ruteni sunt et Rutenicum loquuntur, unamque sectam et religionem instar Graecorum tenent).*²²³

The Vogulians, settled between the Urals and the river Ob', were an Ugrian tribe.²²⁴ The region of the river Vyatka, a right-bank tributary of the Kama, was inhabited by Ugrian and Ugro-Finnish peoples (the Votyaks, the Permians and the Cheremis'). Matthew of Miechovia considers these areas to be Rus'ian, *i.e.*, according to my opponents' views, Slavonic.

It is clear that Matthew of Miechovia, just as Herberstein, justifies the application of the name Rus'ian to the far north-eastern lands not by reason of any Slavonic colonization (both authors say nothing of this) but by reason of the population's Greek (Rus'ian) faith whose development and significance he unequivocally stresses. He mentions this faith and simultaneously the Rus'ian terminology of the given territories as also the use of the Rus'ian (Slavonic) language by their inhabitants.

Matthew of Miechovia provides his report with a very characteristic comment. He emphasizes that, at his time, many northern peoples were still pagan and preserved their native languages (*Aliae vero regiones praexpressae in infidelitate et idolatria persistunt . . . , habent propria lingua et idiomata*).²²⁵ In other words, he indirectly suggests that the conversion of a tribe caused the decay of its vernacular.

Ethnic relations in the north-east were marked by great durability and continuity. This fact is a potent argument in support of my thesis. The picture reconstructed on the basis of the sources written in the 11th–13th centuries and in the 16th century finds full confirmation in the writings of the 18th century. Let us take under consideration two eminent Russian historians of this period—Tatishchev and Boltin.

Tatishchev (1686–1750) has been described as 'an outstanding political personality and thinker of his time',²²⁶ 'the first Russian

²²³ S. Anninsky, *Matvei Mekhovskii*, p. 192.

²²⁴ S. Bakhrushin, *Ostyatskie i vogul'skie knyazhestva v XVI–XVII vv.*, in his *Nauchnye trudy* III, 1955, pp. 86–89 believes that 'Nestor' embraced under the name of Ugra (Yugra) many Ugrian tribes, among them the predecessors of the Vogulians. See also N. P. Nikol'sky, *Obzor literatury po etnografii, istorii, fol'kloru i yazyku khantov i mansov*, SE II, 1939, pp. 182–205; V. Chernetsov, *Ocherk etnogeneza obskikh yugrov*, KSDPI IX, 1941, pp. 18–28; *idem*, *Osnovnye etapy istorii Priob'ya ot drevneishikh vremen do X v. n.e.*, *ibid.* XIII, 1946, pp. 153–156; S. Bakhrushin, *Osnovnye linii istorii obskikh ugrov*, UZLGU, No. 105, 1948, pp. 257–287; E. Prokof'ev, *Khanty i mansi, in Narody mira* (ed. by S. Tolstov), 1956, p. 570. Cf. B. Dolgikh, *Rodovoi i plemennyi sostav narodov Sibiri v XVII v.*, 1960.

²²⁵ S. Anninsky, *op. cit.*, p. 193.

²²⁶ P. Alefirenko, *Sotsial'no-politicheskie vozzreniya V. N. Tatishcheva*, *VoI*, 1951 (10), p. 103. See also *idem*, *Ekonomicheskie vzglyady V. N. Tatishcheva*, *VoI*, 1948 (12), pp. 89–97; M. Iovchuk, *Formirovanie filosofskoi i obshchestvenno-politicheskoi mysli v Rossii XV–XVIII vv.*, 1946, p. 31; Ya. Belyaev, *Sotsial'no-politicheskaya i filosofskaya mysli' epokhi petrovskikh preobrazovaniy*, 1947, p. 23; S. Aleksandrov, *Ekonomicheskie i politicheskie vzglyady V. N. Tatishcheva*, *IANOEP*, 1951 (3), pp. 186–207.

historian',²²⁷ 'the most distinguished historian of the first half of the 18th century',²²⁸ as a scholar who 'determined the trend of development of Russian historiography for the whole century to come'.²²⁹ 'Tatishchev considered the creation of Russian history as his patriotic task.'²³⁰

He was the first to conceive Russian history on a large scale—a scale not even imagined by any previous writer.... This bulky undertaking [Tatishchev's *magnum opus*: 'Russian History from Earliest Times'] was motivated by strong patriotic sentiments, and the author, with candid pride, stated that he did it in order to acquaint Western Europe with Russian history. His work, he hoped, would dispel the calumnies and misunderstanding caused by German, Polish and other unfriendly writers, and prove that Russia had a great past of her own.²³¹

Boltin (1735–1792), 'by reason of his philosophical thought and his scientific method rightly marks the beginnings of a new epoch, of the new Russian historical science'.²³² 'He has set himself the task of "defending truth and fatherland"; moreover, ardent patriotic sentiment is combined in Boltin with a perfect knowledge of Russian history.'²³³ 'Boltin is an educated, well-read and thinking man—one of the most eminent representatives of the historiography written by noblemen in the second half of the 18th century.'²³⁴ Boltin's conception of the historical development of Russia 'is characterized by its patriotic approach'.²³⁵ The object of Boltin's work 'is primarily to establish the truth of historical fact.... Boltin's observations are sharp and biting in form but serious in essence'.²³⁶

In his charges against Leclercq and in his polemic with Shcherbatov, Boltin made many valuable observations, which were to be accepted with recognition by others and further developed; above all, however, he drew up a general scheme which made it possible for the first time

²²⁷ N. Rubinshtein, *Letopisnyi period russkoi istoriografii (istoriografiya feodal'noi Rusi XI–XVII vv.)*, *UZMGU* XCIII, 1946, p. 3. The reliability of Tatishchev's reports are also emphasized by V. Vilinbakhov, *K istorii ognеvogo oruzhiya v drevnei Rusi*, *SAr*, 1960 (1), pp. 284–288.

²²⁸ M. Tikhomirov, Trudy V. N. Tatishcheva, in M. Tikhomirov, M. Alpatov, A. Sidorov (ed.), *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR* I, 1955, p. 179 (see also M. Tikhomirov, Tatishchev kak istorik, *IM*, 1939). Tatishchev is similarly appraised by L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX v.*, 1957, p. 164. It is known that Tatishchev made use of many sources now lost to us. His merits in this field are emphasized by B. Rybakov, Boyarin—letopisets XII veka, *ISSSR*, 1959 (5), pp. 77–79—and in the field of archaeology by D. Gurvich, V. N. Tatishchev i russkaya arkheologicheskaya nauka, *SAr* XXVI, 1956, pp. 153–164.

²²⁹ N. Rubinshtein, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, 1941, p. 85.

²³⁰ M. Tikhomirov, *op. cit.*, p. 183. V. Pankratov, *Filosofskie i sotsial'no-politicheskie vozzreniya V. N. Tatishcheva*, *VMU*, 1947 (8), p. 133 does not deny Tatishchev's patriotism but considers his work had an over-narrow, class character (according to present-day Soviet standards).

²³¹ A. Mazour, *Modern Russian Historiography*, 2nd ed., 1958, pp. 9–13.

²³² N. Rubinshtein, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, p. 149.

²³³ M. Tikhomirov, M. Alpatov, A. Sidorov, *Ocherki*, p. 211.

²³⁴ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya*, p. 246. Similarly—A. Nikolaeva, *Voprosy istochnikovedeniya i arkheografii v trudakh I. N. Boltina*, *AE* II, (1958) 1960, pp. 161–186.

²³⁵ L. Cherepnin, *op. cit.*, p. 241.

²³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 236.

to attain complete insight into Russian history. Quoting Professor Milyukov's words, 'Boltin, who did not write a historical work, yet became the first Russian historian and occupied a position hitherto assumed by nobody, if not as a philosophy of Russian history so at any rate as a man who for the first time thought on Russian history and for the first time comprehended it as a living and complete organic process.'²³⁷

Boltin was absorbed in a comparative study of Russian and West European historical developments: he showed keen interest in national origins and in the history of the institution of serfdom. . . . In this respect, it may be added, Boltin was better qualified than his opponents, since few men of his time either saw the essence of history so clearly or travelled so widely and knew conditions in Russia so intimately as he did.²³⁸

The above opinions current in present-day historiography have been cited for two reasons: (1) to stress the value of Tatishchev's and Boltin's works, and (2) to demonstrate that neither of them can with justice be charged with an anti-Russian bias. For that matter, the origin, career and whole life of both these historians preclude any such allegation.²³⁹

Tatishchev considers language to be the basis of the classification of nations and as the chief criterion for establishing their origin.²⁴⁰ He devotes much attention to linguistic matters in his works. There is no need here to review these at length or to make a critical examination of his views. It suffices to quote those observations of Tatishchev which touch on the key-problem of the present considerations, namely, that various East-European peoples abandoned their native languages and adopted Slavonic.

Tatishchev remarks on a noteworthy phenomenon which had lasted for some centuries: the contraction of Slavonic in the West and its spread in the East. 'The western lands—most of all the Vandals,²⁴¹ Czechs and others—not because of the power of the Germans but through their own negligence, having fallen into the power of the German monarchs, have nearly lost their own language together with the designation of being Slavs . . . ; but to this day, in Lower Saxony, Meissen, Mecklenburg and Pomerania . . . the common people use a great many Slavonic words.'²⁴² He returns in another passage to the same subject and deplores that these Western Slavs

²³⁷ L. Sukhotin, *Kratkii ocherk khoda russkoi istoriografii*, *SRAO* I, 1927, p. 62.

²³⁸ A. Mazour, *Modern Russian Historiography*, p. 39.

²³⁹ Tatishchev, scion of an old noble family, took part in the Northern War and fought at the battle of Poltava; in later years he occupied high posts in the mining and metallurgical industry, was governor of Astrakhan' province, etc. General-major Boltin was a large landowner, and played an important part in the Russian military and civil administration.

²⁴⁰ N. Stepanov, V. N. Tatishchev i russkaya etnografiya, *TIE* XXX, 1956, p. 82.

²⁴¹ Under the name of the Vandals Tatishchev understands those Slavs who inhabited the following lands: Mecklenburg, Pomerania, Holstein, Brandenburg and Meissen. V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen* I, 1768, p. 483.

²⁴² V. Tatishchev, *op. cit.*, p. 486.

'have lost [their own] language and also the name of Slavs together with the old renown, and have become Germans (*i v Germane prevratilis'*), so that barely any traces of their ancient language remain.'²⁴³

Developments in Eastern Europe followed quite a different course, according to this author.

Of all the Slavonic countries, the Rus'ian monarchs most merit fame in that they spread and increased the Slavonic language. Though there were many Slavs in all Rus' before Rurik, with the coming of Rurik and the Varangians, the Slavonic people and language were humbled. It was the blessed Ol'ga, herself of a Slavonic princely line, who uplifted the Slavonic nation, and brought the [Slavonic] language into universal use. By accepting baptism from the Bulgarians, she did most to encourage Slavonic books of the Church. As a result, thanks to the great and prolonged efforts of the [Rus'ian] monarchs, the Sarmatian and Tartar countries conquered [by them] accepted the Slavo-Rus'ian language and forgot their own previous one, and are considered to be Slavs' (*zavoeovannye Sarmatskie i Tatarskie predely yazyk slavenorusskii prinyali, a svoi prezhnii zabyli, i pochitayutsya za slavyan*).²⁴⁴

Tatishchev writes in another place:

The Slavonic nation together with the power of the Rus'ian monarchs spread in Tmutorokan²⁴⁵ and down the Oka, even to the Volga in the field,²⁴⁶ and in Murom. The subjected Sarmatians, having lost their language, transformed themselves into Slavs' (*kupno so vlastiyu russkikh gosudarei narod Slavenskii vo Tmutarakani i vniz po Oke, dazhe do Volgi v pole, i Murome rasprostranilsya, i obladannye Sarmaty, pogubya svoi yazyk, slavyane preimenovalis'*).²⁴⁷

Tatishchev lays stress on the fact that owing to a change of language, 'nations believe themselves to be of different origin than they really are' (*nezheli podlinno sut', pochitayutsya*). Conquered by the Rus'ian rulers, 'the Sarmatians and Tartars . . . , having changed language and faith, believe—on the strength of the language used—that they have been Slavs or Rus' since olden times' (*Sarmaty i Tatara . . . yazyk i veru premenya po yazyku upotrebyaemomu Slavyanami ili Ruskimi iz drevnosti byt' sebya veryat*).²⁴⁸

²⁴³ *Op. cit.*, p. 498.

²⁴⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 497.

²⁴⁵ By Tmutorokan' Tatishchev understands the region of Ryazan'.

²⁴⁶ Tatishchev calls the territories between the Oka and the Upper Volga 'in the field' and he includes amongst them Suzdal', Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma, Moscow, etc. Cf. V. Tatishchev, *Leksikon Rossiiskoi istoricheskoi, geograficheskoi, politicheskoi i grazhdanskoi I*, 1793, pp. 132–133. M. Tikhomirov, *Drevnerusskie goroda*, 1956, p. 394 explains that the towns in the territory in question stood amidst open, fertile 'fields', i.e., large clearings surrounded by enormous forest areas. Tikhomirov gives as examples the immediate districts around Suzdal', Rostov, Pereyaslavl' and others. The word *pole* ('field') appears for this reason in the names of some towns (e.g., Yur'ev Pol'skii, Ugliche Pole).

²⁴⁷ V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya I*, p. 465.

²⁴⁸ *Op. cit.*, p. 431. See also V. Tatishchev, *Razgovor dvukh priyatelei o pol'ze nauki i uchilishch*, *COID*, 1887 (1), p. 90.

True, Tatishchev includes Slavonic and Ugro-Finnish tribes among the Sarmatians, but even so distinguishes between them. For instance, of the Vyatichians he says 'formerly Sarmatians, later Slavs' (*Vyatichi prezhdé sarmaty, potom slavyane*).²⁴⁹ He describes the Krivichians in the same way.²⁵⁰ On the other hand, the Merya, Muroma and Mordva are called Sarmatians without the qualification that they later became Slavs.²⁵¹

The information handed down by Tatishchev is most interesting for it indicates that these territories—on the Lower Oka particularly—were not colonized by Slavs. On conversion to Christianity the indigenous population of this area adopted Slavonic as their language albeit very slowly. The above observation should likewise be applied to the Merya tribe.

Tatishchev makes absolutely no mention of any mass Slavonic colonization of this region so important for the present investigation. In fact, if anything he contradicts any such supposition. Relating that Yuri Dolgoruky (d. 1157) built many new towns in this territory, the author writes:

... and he began to populate these towns, calling in people from everywhere. He gave them not inconsiderable loans, helped them to build houses and supported them with free grants. Many people came to these towns, many [Volga] Bulgars, Mordva, [Kama] Hungarians²⁵² who, besides Rus' [Slavs], settled there (*... i nachal te grada naselyat', sozyvaya lyudei otvysyuda, kotorym ne maluyu ssudu daval, i v stroeni-yakh i drugimi podayaniyami pomagal, v kotorye prikhodya mnogo mnozhestvo bolgar, mordvy, vengrov krome russkikh selilis'...*).²⁵³

Accepting the information handed down by Tatishchev, there is a little justification for calling the land of Rostov-Suzdal' Slavonic territory as there is for naming it Mordvian or Bulgar regions.

As an ardent monarchist, Tatishchev emphasizes the important role of the reigning dynasty for the formation of the powerful Rus'ian States: first the Kievan, and later the Muscovite one. Nevertheless, he regards the conquests made by the princes as being of only indirect significance for the fostering of the Slavonic tongue amongst the non-Slavonic peoples. He ascribes direct significance in this respect to the clergy; as they brought Christianity to regions as distant as the Urals and beyond, so the Slavonic language spread in consequence of the conversion of the non-Slavonic peoples.²⁵⁴ Thus,

²⁴⁹ *Op. cit.*, p. 517.

²⁵⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 521.

²⁵¹ *Op. cit.*, p. 521.

²⁵² Cf. E. Mol'nar (Molnár), *Problemy etnogeneza i drevnei istorii vengerskogo naroda*, SHASH XIII, 1955, pp. 97-115. The Hungarians settled on the banks of the Kama, and more especially along the Belaya—a tributary of the Kama—are still mentioned in the 13th-century sources (Julianus). They disappeared in later times.

²⁵³ V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya* III, 1774, p. 76.

²⁵⁴ There is no doubt that the conquests of the Rus'ian princes facilitated the later missionary efforts of the clergy. It is quite possible, however, that the order of events was sometimes reversed: that the missionaries preceded the forces of invasion.

in his appraisal of the role of the Rus'ian Church as the propagator of the Slavonic language, Tatishchev is in agreement with the reports handed down by Matthew of Miechovia and by Herberstein.²⁵⁵

Boltin likewise links the spread of Christianity with the far-reaching transformation which took place in the north-eastern territories during several centuries. He states that the converted peoples would lose their vernacular and adopt Slavonic and—characteristically—would begin to be embraced by the generic appellation of 'the Rus'. Commenting on various peoples, this is what Boltin writes:

The Zyryanians live on the river Vychegda [a tributary of the Northern Dvina]. . . . After they were baptised by Stephen of Perm',²⁵⁶ they abandoned their vernacular and became Rus'. Only in the north a few of them remained pagan; these preserved their old language (*Zyryan'a zhivut po reke Vychegde. . . . Po kreshchenii ikh Stefanom Permskim yazyk svoi ostavili i v Ruskikh prevratilisya: k severu tokmo ostalos' neskol'ko v yazychestve, kotorye drevnei yazyk svoi sokhranili*).²⁵⁷

Boltin makes a similar mention of the Muroma tribe: 'The Muroma lived where Murom and Kasimov stand now. They have all transformed themselves into Rus'. (*Muroma zhyli gde nyne Murom i Kasimov. Vse prevratilisya v Ruskikh*).²⁵⁸ This author again makes no mention of a Slavonic colonization of the given areas. Similarly to Tatishchev, Boltin maintains that the expression 'Rus' has an ecclesiastical-religious implication. Moreover, he explicitly warns against extracting over-hasty conclusions of an ethnic nature from linguistic data. 'I will only say—he states—that one cannot ascribe a common origin to nations [merely] because they speak similar languages' (*skazhu tol'ko, chto ne mozhen nazyvat' odnorodtsami tekh narodov, koi govoryat nyne skhodstvennym yazykom*).²⁵⁹

Boltin clearly distinguishes between the Rus' and the Slavs. 'The present Russian language²⁶⁰ has . . . little resemblance to Old-Rus'ian.'²⁶¹ 'The Old-Rus'ian language is in no wise similar to Slavonic, . . . and Russian to-day is a medley of Slavonic with Rus'ian, as also to some extent with Sarmatian and Tartar.'²⁶² 'Whoever knows the

²⁵⁵ Tatishchev describes in a similar way the development of the Latin language in Western Europe and ascribes it to religious necessity (. . . 'na vostokey, severe i zapade yazyk latinskii byl vo upotreblenii takom, chto kto onogo ne razumel, tot pis'ma svyatogo, sledstvenno zakona bozhiya i sluzhby tserkovnoi razumet' ne mog'. . . , *op. cit.* I, p. 496).

²⁵⁶ Stephen of Perm' began his missionary activities among the Zyryanians and Permians in about 1379. He was consecrated first Bishop of Perm' in 1383.

²⁵⁷ I. Boltin, *Primechaniya na istoriyu drevniya i nyneshniya Rossii* G. Leklerka I, 1788, pp. 48–49.

²⁵⁸ I. Boltin, *op. cit.* I, p. 46.

²⁵⁹ *Op. cit.* II, p. 50.

²⁶⁰ Boltin often uses the adjective *ruskoi-ruskii* in a double sense: Rus'ian and Russian.

²⁶¹ *Op. cit.* II, p. 41.

²⁶² *Op. cit.* II, p. 44.

Slavonic language will very quickly learn to speak Russian . . . , because there are many Slavonic words in the Russian language.'²⁶³

The Slavonic language has remained in the books just as it was at the time when the Slavs and the Rus' accepted Christianity, without any admixture. On this basis, it must be said that though the Russians speak to this day a dialect which is very near to the Slavonic language as used by all the nations of direct Slavonic stock, yet they [the Russians] are not of the same stock as the Slavs. . . . This proves that linguistic affinities are not a decisive proof of the common origin of nations (*Dokazatel'stvo, chto skhodstvo yazyka edinoplemennymi narody ne delaet*).²⁶⁴

Boltin reproaches Shcherbatov²⁶⁵ for using the expressions 'Russia' (*Rossiia*) or 'Slavo-Russia' (*Sloveno-Rossiia*), when discussing the earliest times, instead of 'Rus'.'²⁶⁶ 'Our State—writes Boltin—is not called Slavo-Russian but Russian or Rus'ian; not Slavo-Russia, but Russia; not the Slavo-Russian nation, but the Rus'ian (Russian) nation, because our forefathers were the Rus'; it is from them that we have inherited our nature and we live in the same places where they were born and were buried.'²⁶⁷ With regard to the ethnic character of the Russians, he states:

Not only Slavs alone but also various other tribes admixed with the ancient Rus'; thus, in the north, Goths and Cimmerians; in the south, Khazars, Yasians, Kasogians, Turks, and, later, Tartars.²⁶⁸ I will say nothing of peoples of the same origin as we are and inhabiting the same land, such as the Merya, the Krivichians, the Chud'²⁶⁹ and others (*ne govoryu uzhe o soplemennyykh i edinozemnykh, kakovy sut' Merya, Krivichi, Chud' i pr.*). But all their names and natures were absorbed in the name and nature of the Rus'ian (Russian) nation, and all traces of them . . . were obliterated after their amalgamation with the Rus' (Russians).²⁷⁰

Particular attention is drawn to what Boltin writes about the ethnic bond between the Russians and the Slavs: 'Though it is our duty to call the Slavs, after their amalgamation with the Rus', our forefathers, yet all that we owe to them [to the Slavs] has been

²⁶³ *Op. cit.* II, p. 48.

²⁶⁴ *Op. cit.* II, p. 51.

²⁶⁵ M. Shcherbatov (1733-1790), whose principal work was *Istoriya Rossiiskaya ot drevneishikh vremen* (seven volumes brought up to the year 1610), paid much less attention to ethnic problems than Tatishchev and Boltin. His influence on Russian historiography was smaller than theirs.

²⁶⁶ Modern historians are frequently guilty of this fundamental error. Cf. Chapter I of the present study.

²⁶⁷ I. Boltin, *Kriticheskie primechaniya na I tom Istarii Shcherbatova*, 1793, pp. 40-41.

²⁶⁸ I am not concerned with the degree of reliability attaching to various items of information handed down by Boltin, particularly those relating to divers elements having merged with the Rus', in this case, the Goths, the Cimmerians, etc. The problem in hand is regarded here solely from the aspect of the ethnic relation of the Russians to the Slavs.

²⁶⁹ As is well known, the Merya and the Chud' were Ugro-Finnish peoples, the Krivichians—a Slavonic tribe.

²⁷⁰ I. Boltin, *Kriticheskie primechaniya*, p. 41.

transformed into Russian by climate and time—and hardly a single drop of Slavonic blood remains in our veins' (*i edva li ostalas' v zhilakh nashikh odna kaplya krovi Slavyanskiya*).²⁷¹

It is out of the question to suspect Tatishchev and Boltin of harbouring anti-Russian prejudices, but it may be presumed that their writings evoked violent and numerous protests on the part of other Russians—that they called forth a great outburst of indignation amongst historians or politicians. But nothing of the kind occurred. The absence of such a reaction demonstrates that the views expressed by both these authors were widely shared by many other people in the 18th century. Mazour states—and there is proof of this—that 'Catherine II sought his [Boltin's] advice on many occasions and appreciated his wide knowledge of history, geography and ethnography.'²⁷²

Tatishchev and Boltin wrote not only about the past but also dealt with their own time. Both were witnesses of the great historical process of the formation of Russia and of her absorption of various ethnic elements. Tatishchev hands down a most characteristic and important commentary on these developments:

Thus, the whole of this great State—from the Arctic to the Sea of Azov in the south, in the west from the rivers Dvina and Dnieper to the Eastern Ocean and the Pacific in the east—cannot be regarded other than a Slavonic State. Though there are still not a few idolaters, Moslems and unbaptised people . . . , there are sufficient reasons [for supposing] that these remnants will in a short time abandon their creeds and languages (*sledstvenno vse sie velikoe gosudarstvo ot morya Ledovitogo k yugu do Meotisa, a s zapada ot reki Dviny i Dnepra na vostok do vostochnogo Oki'ana i morya tikhogo, ne inache kak za gosudarstvo slavenskoe pochest'sya mozhet, khotya mezhdru tem idolopoklonnikov i magometan i nepriyavshikh kreshcheniya ne malo . . . ; no dovol'no est' prichin, chto ne v prodolzhitel'nom vremeni onye ostatki svoi zakony i yazyki ostavyat*).²⁷³

It follows from these concluding words that, according to Tatishchev, the spread of Christianity caused the vernaculars of the converted peoples to die out. If colonization by Slavs of the various non-Slavonic territories is to account for the Slavonic character of Russia, then it would have to be accepted that this colonization extended, in Tatishchev's time, from the Dvina and the Dnieper to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Black Sea and the Caspian Sea.

²⁷¹ I. Boltin, *Kriticheskie primechaniya*, p. 41. In another work quoted above (*Primechaniya na istoriyu II*, p. 45), the author deals with the same matter and states that he did not believe the Russians to be without any Slavonic blood. But the Rus' of old times were not Slavs (and any admixture of the Slavonic element was neither the sole, nor the principal element in the ethnic structure of the Russians).

²⁷² A. Mazour, *Modern Russian Historiography*, p. 39.

²⁷³ V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya I*, p. 497.

This evident absurdity must be unacceptable even to authors who are addicted to flights of fantasy.

Examining the foregoing observations of Tatishchev and Boltin and finding them in agreement with all the earlier sources headed by 'Nestor', I now come to the conclusion that in the vast expanses of Eastern Europe (and Asia) peoples at a low level of civilization accepted the liturgical language of the Church simultaneously with their conversion to Christianity. It must be specially emphasized that this was not an isolated fact but a recurrent phenomenon. The surmise that the Slavonicization of the Merya was due to colonization by Slavs is untenable in the light of all the written sources: to accept it as a fact would necessitate a deviation from a universally binding rule—an exception arising from a hypothetical supposition without the slightest backing to give it even the semblance of validity.

We dispose of too few data to reconstruct in detail the process of the ousting of Ugro-Finnish (and other) languages by Slavonic during the course of several centuries. It is, for instance, difficult to establish whether for some peoples an alphabet was created and the books of the Church translated into their languages, as Stephen of Perm' did for Zyryanians and the Permians.²⁷⁴ It is certain that the north-eastern peoples, of interest to us here, had spoken but no written vernaculars. This lack was one of the reasons for the superiority of Slavonic over other languages in these regions. Among 375 (till 1959) birch-bark tablets²⁷⁵ excavated in Novgorod²⁷⁶ with Slavonic writing,²⁷⁷ there was

²⁷⁴ 'I izuchisya sam yazyku perm'skomu, i gramotu novu perm'skuyu slozhi, i azbuky ne znayemy s'chini po predlozheniyu perm'skago yazyka, yakozh est' trebe, i knigy russkya na perm'skii yazyk prevede, i prelozhi i prepisa,' *Zhitie sv. Stefana episkopa perm'skogo, napisannoe Epifaniem Premudrym*, 1897, p. 8 (Photomechanic reprint with an introd. by D. Čiževsky, 1959). Cf. A. Nekrasov, *Perm'skie pis'mena v rukopisyakh XV v.*, 1890; K. Lübeck, *Die Christianisierung Russlands*, 1922, pp. 21–23; J. Danzas, *La Russie et l'expansion du Christianisme*, RC, 1937 (1), pp. 21–22; V. Lytkin, *Drevneperm'skii yazyk*, 1952; A. Andreev and A. Zimin, *Narody Severa, in Ocherki II*, 1953, pp. 455–457; B. Collinder, *Survey of the Uralic Languages*, 1957, p. VII; N. Vodovozov, *Istoriya drevnei russkoi literatury*, 1958, p. 162, and others. It is quite probable that Fedor Sidenov, in the 16th century, created an alphabet for the Karelian language; cf. M. Alekseev, *Zapadnoevropeiskie slovarnye materialy v drevnerusskikh azbukovnikakh XVI–XVII vv.*, in *Akademiku V. V. Vinogradovu . . . sbornik statei*, 1956, p. 30.

²⁷⁵ A. Artsikhovskiy, *Novgorod Velikii v XI–XV vekakh*, Vol, 1960 (9), p. 28; also in French, *La ville de Novgorod le Grand du XIe au XVe siècle*, RdG, 1960, p. 93; *idem*, *Novye novgorodskie gramoty*, *SAr*, 1960 (1), pp. 230–244; M. Kislov, *Raboty Novgorodskoi ekspeditsii*, *VMu*, 1960 (3), p. 70.

²⁷⁶ Moreover, single tablets were found in Smolensk (D. Avdusin, *Smolenskaya berestyanaya gramota*, *SAr*, 1957 (1), pp. 248–249; *idem*, *Vozniknovenie Smolenska*, 1957, pp. 49–51), in Vitebsk (N. Drochenina and B. Rybakov, *Berestyanaya gramota iz Vitebska*, *SAr*, 1960 (1), pp. 282–283) and in Pskov (A. Artsikhovskiy, *Velikii Novgorod po arkheologicheskim dannym*, in Yu. Bem, *Nauchnaya teoreticheskaya konferentsiya, posvyashchennaya 1100-letiyu Novgoroda*, Vol, 1960 (1), pp. 199–200; A. Medvedev, *Drevnerusskie pisala X–XV vv.*, *SAr*, 1960 (2), p. 63).

²⁷⁷ There exists an abundant literature on this subject. See studies by A. Artsikhovskiy, R. Avanesov, D. Avdusin, N. Bakhilina, V. Borkovskiy, L. Cherepnin, V. Chichagov, A. Kir'yanov, M. Kislov, F. Kuz'min, P. Kuznetsov, D. Likhachev, V. Matveenko, N. Meshcherskoy, M. Tikhomirov, L. Zhukovskaya and many others. The literature on the Novgorodian birch-bark tablets published in other languages (not in Russian) is listed by A. Khoroshkevich, *Zarubezhnye otkliki na otkrytie Novgorodskikh berestyanikh gramot*, *ISSSR*, 1958 (5), pp. 224–231. It is generally accepted

one, found in 1957 and dating from the 13th century, with writing in a non-Slavonic language though the Slavonic alphabet is used. Eliseev believes that the language was that of the Karelians.²⁷⁸ If various peoples made use of the Slavonic alphabet (though far-reaching conclusions should not be drawn from this single example), this could have been a factor which facilitated the Slavonicization of such ethnic groups. In this field, we are faced with a whole complex of exceedingly interesting problems which require further research and which, by the nature of things, transcend the limits of the present study. It is in any case clear that the starting point for such investigations must be the fact that, not an imagined colonization by Slavs, but the conversion of these countries to Christianity was the fundamental cause of the great linguistic transformations in the north-east.

3. THREE RUS'IAN NATIONS

Two views on the formation of the three Rus'ian nations find expression in the literature on the subject. Some authors state these nations originated from a common stem, *i.e.*, the 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation'; others, however, consider that they arose independently of one another. These contrary points of view regarding the earliest history of the Rus' clash most significantly when it comes to establishing at what time the three nations arose.

The authors adhering to the first group affirm that the beginnings of the three Rus'ian nations, especially the Great Rus' one,²⁷⁹ date

on the basis of these birch-bark tablets that reading and writing (in Slavonic) was common in Novgorod, even among the lower classes of the population. This conclusion seems to me too far fetched. The Novgorodians may have used the help of special writers. In the recently published Polish source from the first half of the 15th century we find a correspondence in Latin between Polish peasants concerning strictly private matters (like in Novgorod). Cf. E. Winkler, 'Liber disparata antiqua continens' Alexandro Masoviensi Episcopo Tridentino dicatus, *EFE* II, 1960, N.N. 226, 227, p. 116. It is unlikely that the common people in Poland knew Latin well enough to use it for every-day needs.

²⁷⁸ Yu. Eliseev, *Drevneishii pis'mennyi pamyatnik odnogo iz pribaltiisko-finskikh yazykov*, *IANOLY* XVIII (1), 1958, pp. 65-72.

²⁷⁹ The opinion held by some authors (cf. I. Ionenko, *Ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh prevrashcheniya kursko-orlovskogo dialekta v osnovu russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, *VoI*, 1952 (7), pp. 89-100; B. Rybakov, *Problema obrazovaniya drevnerusskoi narodnosti v svete trudov I. V. Stalina*, *VoI*, 1952 (9), pp. 44-59; G. Zikeev, *K voprosu ob istoricheskikh usloviyakh razvitiya russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka na osnove kursko-orlovskogo dialekta*, *VoI*, 1953 (2), pp. 67-79) that the Great Rus'ian language evolved from the dialect spoken in the Kursk-Orel region, is rejected by those who affirm that this language comes from the Rostov-Suzdal' dialect and later from the Muscovite one. See R. Avanesov, *K voprosam obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1953 (2), pp. 47-70; *idem*, *Problemy obrazovaniya yazyka russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, *VY*, 1955 (5), pp. 20-42; *idem*, *Voprosy istorii russkogo yazyka v epokhu formirovaniya i dal'neishego razvitiya russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii. Sbornik statei*, 1958, pp. 174-175; *Za dal'neishee tvorcheskoe razvitie marksistskogo yazykoznaniiya*, *VY*, 1953 (3), pp. 3-24; *Sostoyanie razrabotki i zadachi dal'neishego izucheniya voprosa o dialektnoi osnove russkogo obshchenarodnogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1958 (5), pp. 3-10. Cf. S. Kardashevsky, *O naselenii Kursko-Orlovskoi territorii v period formirovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo yazyka*, *UZMOPI* XXXV (3), 1956, pp. 101-160.

from the 12th and 13th centuries, that the process reached its height in the 14th and 15th centuries, and definitely ended in the 16th century.²⁸⁰ At the same time, it is constantly stressed that the Great Russian nation arose before the Ukrainian and the White Russian nations.²⁸¹

Much attention is devoted also to the last named peoples. Stankiewicz believes the beginnings of the White Russian reach back to the pre-Slavonic era.²⁸² Vakar has recently discussed the process which led to the formation of this nation.²⁸³ Some scholars admit that the first stages of the formation of a Ukrainian nation go back to the primary period of Slavdom,²⁸⁴ and that the Ukrainians were a distinct nation at the time of the foundation of the Kievan principality which was therefore a Ukrainian State²⁸⁵; but others declare for a later date. Chubaty believes that the gradual formation of the Ukrainian nation began with the death of Yaroslav the Wise in 1054, and was completed towards the close of the 12th century.²⁸⁶ According

²⁸⁰ V. Mavrodin, *Formirovanie russkoi natsii*, 1947, p. 24; *idem*, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, *VoI*, 1950 (4), pp. 67-70; *idem*, *Obrazovanie edinogo russkogo gosudarstva*, 1951, p. 75; G. Vernadsky, *Kievan Russia*, 1948, p. 215; V. Petrus', *Slavyanskaya yazykovaya obshchnost' i slavyanskii yazyki*, *IANOLY* X (4), 1951, p. 364; V. Vinogradov, *Znachenie rabot I. V. Stalina dlya razvitiya sovetskogo yazykoznaniiya*, in *Materialy obedinennoi nauchnoi sessii, posvyashchennoi trudem I. V. Stalina po yazykoznaniiyu*, 1951, p. 51; *idem*, *Ponyatie vnutrennikh zakonov razvitiya yazyka*, *VY*, 1952 (2), pp. 40-42; *idem*, *Voprosy obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo literaturnogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1956 (1), pp. 3, 11; V. Levin, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii russkogo yazyka v svyazi s istoriei naroda*, *RYS* XIII (3), 1952, p. 15; L. Cherepnin, *Razvitie russkoi narodnosti v period feodal'noi razdroblennosti*, in *Ocherki* I, 1953, p. 473; *idem*, *Skladyvanie russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Ocherki* II, 1953, p. 315; *idem*, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 25, 178; *idem*, *Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV v.*, in *Voprosy formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii. Sbornik statei*, 1958, p. 105; A. Pankratova, *Nasushchny voprosy sovetskoi istoricheskoi nauki*, *Kom* XXX (6), 1953, p. 63; V. Ivanov, *Obsuzhdenie voprosov formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti i natsii*, *VY*, 1954 (3), p. 134; M. Tikhomirov, *Znachenie drevnei Rusi v razvitiu russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, *VoI*, 1954 (6), p. 23; R. Avanesov, *Problemy obrazovaniya yazyka russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, *VY*, 1955 (5), pp. 26-31; S. Dmitriev, *K voprosu ob obrazovanii i osnovnykh etapakh razvitiya russkoi natsii*, *VMU*, 1955 (11), pp. 38-39; *idem*, *Obrazovanie russkoi natsii*, *VoI*, 1955 (7), pp. 43-45 and many others. Cf. *Ob obrazovanii vostochnoslavyskikh natsional'nykh literaturnykh yazykov*, *VY*, 1960 (3), pp. 42-43, 62-64; 1960 (5), pp. 40-44, where the opinions of F. Filin, N. Meshchersky and P. Kuznetsov are given.

²⁸¹ If the question which of these three nations first achieved national status is to be established solely on the basis of the literature on the subject, three different answers will emerge depending on the national allegiance of the authors concerned.

²⁸² J. Stankiewicz, *Czas powstania narodów białoruskiego i ukraińskiego*, *SN* V (4-6), 1931, pp. 444-453, 601-612.

²⁸³ N. Vakar, *Belorussia. The Making of a Nation*, 1956; see also *idem*, *A Bibliographical Guide to Belorussia*, 1956.

²⁸⁴ M. Hrushevs'ky, *Zvichaina skhema 'russkoi' istorii i sprava ratsional'nogo ukladu istorii Skhidn'ogo Slovyanstva*, in V. Lamansky (ed.), *Stat'i po slavyanovedeniiyu* I, 1904, pp. 299-303 (in English: *The Traditional Scheme of 'Russian' History and the Problem of a Rational Organization of the History of the Eastern Slavs*, *AUA*, 1952) affirms that three separate East-Slavonic nations were already in existence at the dawn of history.

²⁸⁵ S. Shelukhin, *Nazva Ukraïni*, 1921, pp. 1-7; V. Shcherbakivsky, *The Formation of Ukrainian Nation*, *UQ* IV (2), 1948, p. 124. See also Chubaty's report at the International Congress of Historians in Stockholm (1960).

²⁸⁶ J. Stankiewicz, *op. cit.*, p. 444. Cf. N. Chubaty, *The Ukrainian and Russian Conceptions of the History of Eastern Europe*, *PSSS* I, 1951, pp. 10-25.

to Korduba, it was the speed of Lithuanian domination in the southern Rus'ian lands in the 14th century that prepared the ground for the rise of the Ukrainian nation in the following century.²⁸⁷ In accordance with the theory of the existence of an 'Old-Rus'ian nation', Soviet publications for the most part affirm that both nations—the Ukrainians and the White Rus'—and their languages arose in the 14th and 15th centuries.²⁸⁸

The manner in which the three Rus'ian nations were formed is an extremely complicated problem bristling with many difficulties. First of all, there is the stumbling-block presented by the constant and stubborn use of a faulty terminology. Many authors use the term 'Russia' (or using 'Rus' ', have in mind Russia) when writing about the events of the epoch under examination. Another group, likewise numerous, with the same determination uses the terms 'Ukraine' and 'White Rus' '. During the relevant period there was no 'Russia' (or Rus' in the sense of Russia), no 'Ukraine', and no 'White Rus' '. Just as I demonstrated in previous chapters the error of identifying Rus' with Russia, so must I now no less categorically oppose the introduction of the terms 'Ukraine' and 'White Rus' ' into the early history of Eastern Europe. It is essential that a terminology of ethnical and geographical names contemporary to the epoch be applied; it is most confusing and even misleading to transfer present-day concepts to times when these concepts were not in existence or implied a content other than the modern one.

Stankevich points out that the name 'White Rus' ' was unknown to the population which inhabited the territory known as White Rus' today, during the epoch under discussion.²⁸⁹ In the 15th century and later, White Rus' signified Muscovy. The name belongs to the category of the so-called 'coloured names' (White Rus', Black Rus' and Red Rus'), which are the subject of many hypotheses,²⁹⁰ but their origin remains obscure.

²⁸⁷ M. Korduba, *Die Entstehung der ukrainischen Nation* (Contributions à l'histoire de l'Ukraine au VII Congrès International des Sciences Historiques, Varsovie, Août, 1933, pp. 19–67). Cf. *OR*, pp. 450–451.

²⁸⁸ L. Bulakhovsky, *Pitannya viniknennya ukrains'koi literaturnoi movi*, *M* XII, 1953, pp. 3–16; *idem*, *Voprosy proiskhozhdeniya ukrainskogo yazyka*, *VY*, 1953 (2), pp. 101–102; *idem*, *Narisi z istorii ukrains'koi movi*, *M* XIII, 1955, pp. 30–46; E. Korneichik, *Ekonomicheskie predposylki formirovaniya belorusskoi burzhuaiznoi natsii*, *VoI*, 1955 (8), p. 94; K. Guslisty, *Obrazovanie ukrainskoi narodnosti*, in *Istoriya Ukrainskoi SSR* I, 1956, p. 150; *idem*, *K voprosu o formirovanii ukrainskoi burzhuaiznoi natsii*, *KSIE* XXIX, 1958, pp. 10–16. See also T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Początki języka ukraińskiego*, in his *Studia i szkice wybrane z językoznawstwa słowiańskiego*, 1957, pp. 399–420; A. Varonič, *The History of Belorussia in the Works of Soviet Historiography*, *BR* II, 1956, pp. 73–97; J. Stankievič, *The Soviet Falsification of Belorussian History*, *BR*, IV, 1957, pp. 56–82.

²⁸⁹ Ya. Stankevich, *Karotki nachyrk gistoryi Kryvich-Belarusi*, *V*, 1951, p. 50.

²⁹⁰ H. Ludat, *Farbenbezeichnungen in Völkernamen. Ein Beitrag zu asiatisch-osteuropäischen Kulturbeziehungen*, *Saec* IV, 1953, pp. 138–155; O. Pritsak, *Orientierung und Farbsymbolik. Zu den Farbenbezeichnungen in den altaischen Völkernamen*, *Saec* V, 1954, pp. 376–383; P. Krapivin, *Pakhodzhanne nazvau 'Rus' ', 'Belaya Rus' ', 'Chornaya Rus' ' i 'Chyrvonaya Rus' '*, *VANB* III, 1956, pp. 53–66; A. Soloviev, *Weiss- Schwarz- und Rotreussen*, *JGO* VII (1), 1959, p. 1–33. Examining this problem

The view is often encountered that the appellation 'Ukraine' first appeared with a precise ethnic and territorial meaning in the 12th century, though it probably existed in oral tradition still earlier.²⁰¹ Hypotheses in respect of these earlier times will not be examined here because there is a complete lack of data which would justify drawing conclusions.²⁰² The present considerations will, therefore, be restricted to the period of the 12th–14th centuries. It is a striking fact that in hundreds of entries in chronicles originating in this period and written by 'Ukrainians', the word *ukraina* makes only a few appearances. And even in these few cases we find no confirmation of the Ukraine's existence as a clearly defined territory.²⁰³

Guslisty believes that during this period the expression 'Ukraina' was applied to the south-western part of the Rus'ian lands.²⁰⁴ He, therefore, gives this concept a geographical-territorial meaning rather than an ethnic one. In company with other authors, Guslisty disregards many mentions in the chronicles which show that there was a *ukraina* also in other territories, in the regions of Pskov²⁰⁵ and Polotsk,²⁰⁶ in Poland,²⁰⁷ Muscovy,²⁰⁸ etc. A close examination of these entries yields the clear conclusion that in Slavonic the word *ukraina* meant a borderland, a frontier area of some political entity.²⁰⁹ Kiev, Halicz, Pskov, Polotsk, Moscow, and other principalities all had their

it must be borne in mind that many peoples in those times were known by 'colour' names (White Croats, White and Black Huns, Black Bulgars, Black and White Ugrians, etc.). See also A. Vaillant, *Les Hongrois 'blancs' et les Hongrois 'noirs'*, *RES XXXVI*, 1959, pp. 17–22.

²⁰¹ P. Kovaliv, *Name of Ukraine in Foreign Languages*, *UQ VI* (4), 1950, p. 348.

²⁰² Vasmer supposes that the name of the Antes is an Iranian translation of the Slavonic words: 'a border-land' or 'border-people'. Basing himself on this hypothesis, J. Rudnyckij, *Der Name 'Ukraine' im Deutschen*, *SF XVII*, 1958, pp. 177–178 advances another conjecture, namely, that the name 'Ukraina' existed already in the 6th–7th century of our era. Unfortunately, there is no evidence in the East-Slavonic sources to support Rudnyckij's guess.

²⁰³ After the death, in 1187, of Vladimir, Prince of South Pereyaslavl', 'the *ukraina* groaned with grief for him'. In 1189, the inhabitants of Halicz called to the throne a prince who was resident in Smolensk. He accepted and, 'having come to the *ukraina* of Halicz', occupied two cities, and then proceeded to Halicz. Again, in 1213, Prince Danilo took from the Poles a number of strongholds in the Bug region 'and the whole *ukraina*'. *PSRL II*. On the basis of these three mentions in the chronicles, the idea has been accepted that the Ukraine, in the 12th and 13th centuries, comprised all the lands from Pereyaslavl' in the east, to the Dniester and the Bug in the west.

²⁰⁴ K. Guslisty, *Obrazovanie ukrainskoi narodnosti*, in *Istoriya ukrainskoi SSSR I*, 1956, pp. 154–155.

²⁰⁵ In 1271, the knights of the Livonian Order 'took from the *ukraina* several villages belonging to Pskov'. A. Nasonov, *Pskovskie letopisi I*, 1941, p. 3.

²⁰⁶ In 1348, Andrew, Prince of Polotsk, sallied forth 'from his *ukraina*' and looted several Pskov villages. A. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

²⁰⁷ Prince Leo wished to annex a part of Poland's territory, 'the cities of *ukraina*'. *PSRL II*, under the year 1280.

²⁰⁸ Cf. Ya. Rudnitsky, *Slovo i nazva 'Ukraina'*, *O I*, 1951, pp. 49–50.

²⁰⁹ Many scholars present the matter, quite rightly, in this way. Cf. I. Sreznevsky, *Materialy III*, 1912, p. 1184; D. Dorošenko, *Die Namen 'Rus'', 'Russland' und 'Ukraine' in ihrer historischen und gegenwärtigen Bedeutung*, *AUWIB III*, 1931, pp. 10–11; *idem*, *Was ist die osteuropäische Geschichte?* *ZOG IX*, 1935, pp. 41–42; E. Borščak, *Rus', Malaya Rosiya, Ukraina*, *RES XXIV*, 1948, p. 174; I. Mirchuk, *Ukraine and its People*, 1949, p. 1; G. Simpson, *The Names 'Rus'', 'Russia', 'Ukraine' and their Historical Background*, *SI X*, 1951, pp. 5–18, and others.

ukrainas, and this shows that the word was a simple noun, and by no means a proper name. Thus, the assumption that *ukraina* at that time referred to one well-defined territory, and that there was a Ukrainian nation which inhabited it,³⁰⁰ inevitably collapses. This interpretation is confirmed by the fact that after the 13th century, the word *ukraina* disappears from the sources for a long time with reference to the southern part of Eastern Europe. It was restored to use in the 16th century, but this later period falls outside the scope of the present study.

Stender-Petersen made several noteworthy remarks on the term 'Ukraina'.

It is true—he writes—that the fact of its appearance in the Hypathian Chronicle, a. 1187, is generally argued in favor of the age-old existence of this name, but is quite clear from the context where it appears in the Chronicle, and even more so from other contexts, that no such thing as a definite area or state was implied by this term. Though from time immemorial the present Ukraine had been part of, and indeed the nucleus of, the original native home-land of the East Slavs, and though it was almost identical with the original state of *Rus'*, it was by the irony of Fate forced to give up the latter name. It was the powerfully rising Muscovite Empire which, through a policy of deliberately assembling the Russian peoples, increasingly annexed the name of *Russian* to denote the people which under its leadership was welded together into national unity. By the side of the Muscovite Empire stood long the Lithuanian Grand Duchy as a rivaling power, uniting the Byelorussian people and considerable parts of the people we now call Ukrainian under its sceptre, but making no claims to the name of *Rus'* or *Russia*. Other, more westerly parts of the Ukrainian people belonged to the Kingdom of Poland. The Ukrainians in consequence remained without a name essentially their own.

In the further course of his observations, Stender-Petersen deals with names used in later times to signify the territory of the present-day Ukraine. He states:

... under the rule of the so-called *Hetmans* the country on both sides of the river Dnieper, later only that on the eastern side, was called the *Hetman Country* (*Hetmanščyna*). In the heyday of the Cossacks it also bore the name of the Cossack Country (*Kozachyna*). All these names were more or less artificial and always temporary. Gradually the name of the *Ukraina* triumphed over all rival terms. This name, too, was an artificial one.³⁰¹

³⁰⁰ In the oldest text containing the word 'ukrainian'—'ukrainians', with reference to the inhabitants of a territory, the word was used in relation to Poles and not to members of the Ukrainian nation. The Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia (*PSRL* II), under the year 1268, speaks of the 'ukrainian Poles' (*Lyakhove ukrainyane*). I Sreznevsky, *Materialy* III, p. 1185 says that the word *ukrainyanin* signifies 'a borderland dweller'. T. Kostruba, *Halits'ko-volins'kii litopis*, 1936, p. 72 translates the above text as 'Poles living in the borderland' (*okrainni lyakhi*). Similarly, B. Barvins'ky, *Nazva 'Ukraina' na Zakarpatti*, O IV, 1952, p. 9: 'the Polish borderland population' (*pol's'ke pogranichne naselennya*).

³⁰¹ Ad. Stender-Petersen, *Russian Studies*, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 42. The author further remarks: 'It is very characteristic that during the long centuries when the country found itself without a name, the Great Russians simply called the Ukrainians

It is necessary to define what is understood by the expressions 'natural' and 'artificial' in this connection. Doroshenko's point of view, in my opinion, can be fully accepted: 'All terms, appellations, and names—he writes—derive from convention; but the decisive argument for applying this or that name to a nation is, what it calls itself, and what it wishes to be called.'³⁰² I believe that the term 'Rus' was an artificial one in the ethnic sense.³⁰³ At first it signified the Norse Varangians and their State, then it became a purely ecclesiastical-religious concept. During the first phase (up to 1054, i.e., the death of Yaroslav the Wise) the State element predominated over the religious one; later, in the measure as the Kievan State became weaker, the predominance of the Church was more and more evident. Finally, during the Muscovite period, both these elements merged along the lines of an equality of status such as arose in Byzantium.

There is no doubt that two names which first appeared in the 14th century, 'Little Rus' (*Malorus*) and 'Great Rus' (*Velikorus*), were artificial constructions, alien to the inhabitants of the territories in question. They were coined in Constantinople by the Greek clergy for ecclesiastical reasons, in connection with the division of the Rus'ian (Kievan) Metropolitan See.³⁰⁴ The artificial character of the expression 'Great Rus' is glaringly demonstrated by the fact that this name in the ethnical sense, with the designation of the people as *Velikorossy*, is not encountered before the 17th century.³⁰⁵ The very name *Rossiia* ('Russia') is also an artificial one. It was coined, in the form of *Rosiya*, by Byzantium in the 10th century.³⁰⁶ It was not applied in Eastern

after their special characteristic, the tuft of hair hanging down on the clean-shaven crown (*khokhol*, plur. *khokhly*). The Ukrainians, on the other hand, either named their Great Russian neighbours *kacapy* (billy goats) after their long beard, or simply *moskali* (Muscovites), *ibid.*, p. 43.

³⁰² D. Doroshenko, *Naris istorii Ukraini*, PUNI IX, 1932, p. 20.

³⁰³ The appellation 'Rus' was not introduced by the wishes of the population inhabiting the Kiev region. It was not a name used from times immemorial. 'Nestor' plainly states this term was something new for the Polyanians. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 21.

³⁰⁴ When, in 1303, the Patriarch created the Metropolitan See of Halicz, the new Church dignitary received from Constantinople the title of Metropolitan of Little Rus'. P. Kovaliv, *Name of Ukraine in Foreign Languages*, UQ VI (4), 1950, p. 348 rightly remarks: 'Thus, it appears that originally *Mala Rus* was of an ecclesiastical character, the name of a religious administrative unit.' Similarly—A. Soloviev, *Der Begriff 'Russland' im Mittelalter*, WAGSO II, 1956, p. 156. The term 'Great Rus' appears for the first time in a letter of the Byzantine Emperor, John Kantakuzen, to the Lithuanian Prince Liubartas (Lubart)—Dimitri of Volynia (1347) connected also with ecclesiastical affairs. Cf. G. Vernadsky, *The Mongols and Russia*, 1953, p. 237. Though some authors (Mavrodin, Solov'ev, Cherepnin) assume that the name 'Great Rus' arose in the 10th or in the 12th century, these conjectures find no support in the sources. *OR*, pp. 323–324.

³⁰⁵ The term *Velikorossy* is encountered for the first time in a work by Pamva Berynda (1627). Cf. V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, Vol. I, 1950 (4), p. 65.

³⁰⁶ A. Solov'ev, *Vizantiiskoe imya Rossii*, VV XII, 1957, pp. 136–139, (also in French, *Le nom byzantin de la Russie*, 1957); cf. I. Dujčev, in *BS XXI* (2), 1960, pp. 315–318. A. Florovsky, *K izucheniiu istorii russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii*, *BS XX* (1), 1959, pp. 73–74 also emphasizes the artificial nature of the appellation *Rossiia*, since it was a borrowing from Byzantium and not devised in Eastern Europe. 'It is interesting

Europe for many centuries,³⁰⁷ which proves that there was resistance to its use. It finally gained a foothold, not because the nation so desired but because Peter the Great decided on it³⁰⁸ and definitively settled it was to signify his Empire.³⁰⁹

Stender-Petersen is right when he affirms that the name 'Ukraina' is an artificial one; but all the above-mentioned appellations—which with time acquired an ethnic connotation—are likewise artificial.³¹⁰ M. Shakhmatov, in company with many other authors, observed that in the chronicles written during the period under examination (9th–14th centuries), 'no signs of Ukrainian national patriotism can be perceived'.³¹¹ The justice of this observation is not questioned, but it is necessary to emphasize that no traces of any national 'patriotism' can be found in East-European sources of that period. The Rus'ian 'patriotism' that appeared in those times had an exclusively ecclesiastical-religious character, and no amount of far-fetched commentary can change this fact.

Apart from the application of a false terminology, there is another factor which complicates studies on the question of the formation of the three Rus'ian nations, namely the over-fervent national feelings of many authors concerned.

Cherniavsky levels the charge of tendentiousness at me because I reject the hypothesis of the existence of 'the Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation'. 'He [Paszkievich]—writes Cherniavsky—denies any Slavic or national connotations of the term *Rus'* even though, for the same period, he sees the word *Liakhs* (Poles) as an expression of a national concept; but he goes much further than this, for he is also able to see in 14th-century Lithuania a clear national consciousness.'³¹²

Bodnarczuk states: 'In spite of his obvious liking for the Lithuanians, quite understandable in a Pole, P[aszkievich] remains objective.' On the other hand, this reviewer finds that I lack objectivity with regard

—writes Florovsky—to ask why the Byzantine name *Rossiya* widely used primarily by the State and ecclesiastical authorities of Byzantium in documents directed to Rus' as a whole, to her princes and dignitaries of the Church, was adopted by the Rus' themselves with so little alacrity.'

³⁰⁷ According to M. Tikhomirov, *O proiskhozhdenii nazvaniya 'Rossiya', Vol.*, 1953, (11), pp. 93–96; *idem*, *Maloizvestnye pamyatniki. Letopisets XV v. z nazvaniyami 'Rossiya' i 'Rossiiskaya zemlya'*, *TODRL XVI*, 1960, pp. 452–454, the name *Rosiya* or *Rossiya* appears for the first time in the 15th century.

³⁰⁸ B. Sumner, *Peter the Great and the Emergence of Russia*, 1950.

³⁰⁹ The appellation *Rossiya* did not fully oust the older traditions linked with Rus'. This is seen in the adjectival form: 'Russian' = *rossiiskii*, but also *russkii*; cf. A. Martel, *Un point d'histoire du vocabulaire russe: Rossija, russkij*, in *Mélanges publiés en l'honneur de M. Paul Boyer*, 1925, pp. 270–279. Similarly, we have 'the Russians' = *Rossiiane*, but also *Russkie*. V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy*, p. 62 rightly remarks that the use of such a terminology leads to an evident confusion (*putanitsa*).

³¹⁰ There is no reason why the present-day White Rus' should not, if they wish, adopt the name of the Krivichians, once one of their chief tribes, since this term had among the Balts a supra-tribal meaning.

³¹¹ M. Shakhmatov, *Ucheniya russkikh letopisei domongol'skogo perioda o gosudarstvennoi vlasti. Opyt po istorii drevnerusskikh politicheskikh idei*, 1926, p. 52.

³¹² M. Cherniavsky, in *PSQ*, 1955, p. 299.

to the Ukrainians. 'P[aszkiewicz] denies the Ukrainians the right of inheriting any part whatsoever of that political creation that was Rus'.³¹³ Hryčak is of the same opinion: 'Professor Paszkiewicz says few kind words on Ukrainian history. . . . He denies the right of the present-day Ukrainians to any part of the Rus' political heritage, although he himself states that some separate nation, different from the Russians, would have come into being anyway on the territory of present-day Ukraine.'³¹⁴

It is obvious that there is an inherent contradiction between Cherniavsky's charges and those made by Bodnarczuk and Hryčak. Acceptance of Cherniavsky's theory that a single, common Old-Rus'-ian nation³¹⁵ arose in the period under discussion excludes the possibility of a separate Ukrainian nation having existed at the same time. This existence is emphasized by Bodnarczuk and Hryčak. Nevertheless, all these reviewers are unanimous in ascribing pro-Polish and pro-Lithuanian tendencies to me. They also charge me with harbouring a decidedly negative attitude towards one or other of the three Rus'-ian nations depending upon their national allegiance. Actually, I consider that all emotional elements detract from the value of a historical work and, therefore, I adopt a fully neutral attitude towards the Russians, the Ukrainians and the White Rus'. I would have come out in favour of the ethnic community of the three Rus'-ian nations with the same intransigence with which I now oppose this view, had the sources of the epoch contained evidence for the existence of such a community. 'Nestor' and other authors of the period rule out the use of the term 'Rus'' as the native ethnic appellation of the Eastern Slavs. In this respect, charges of bias should be directed not so much against me but rather against the chroniclers. This is in fact what the Soviet historians do by disqualifying the source-material as 'tendentious'.

It might be as well to deal here with my alleged pro-Polish bias with which I am charged because I attribute an ethnic content to the appellation 'the Poles' (*Lyakhs*) yet deny it to that of 'the Ukrainians'. In this connection, it will suffice to point out that the terms *Polonia*, *Poloni* appear more often even in the shortest Polish chronicle (or foreign source dealing with Poland) than does the appellation *Ukraina* in all the 'Ukrainian' sources of the 10th-14th centuries. It is an undeniable fact that in those times the word *ukraina* was not a proper noun.

The difference in content between such appellations as 'Czechs', 'Hungarians', 'Poles', 'Lithuanians', etc. and 'the Old-Rus'-ian nation' indicates how different was the history of the formation of all these

³¹³ S. Bodnarczuk, in *WSJ*, 1956, pp. 202-203.

³¹⁴ P. Hryčak, in *UQ*, 1955, p. 182.

³¹⁵ Tantamount, according to Cherniavsky, to Russian, since this author identifies 'Rus'' with 'Russia'.

nations. It also fully supports my opinion that the term 'Rus' had a State-ecclesiastical meaning, with the stress on ecclesiastical. This important period of (religious) 'Rus'ian patriotism', formed under the influence of Byzantium, had no counterpart among the Hungarians, Czechs, Poles or Lithuanians. The multiplicity of conflicting views on the ethnic relations in Eastern Europe during the relevant period has been caused primarily by a failure to comprehend the important political role of the Rus'ian Church, enhanced by the progressive enfeeblement of the Kievan State from the middle of the 11th century on. The Church did not create nations but gathered in the masses of the faithful. The task of the Rus'ian metropolitans, in pre-Tartar times almost exclusively Greeks, was not to produce some Ukrainian (or other) national consciousness but to strengthen the feeling of religious solidarity among the various tribes and peoples scattered over a vast area and thereby provide some measure of defence against the infidels. But this prolonged period of 'Rus'ian patriotism' inhibited the formation of nations out of the tribal units and delayed their rise.

It can be supposed that had there not been a tragic juncture of political circumstances³¹⁶ and geographical conditions,³¹⁷ the Slavs of the Middle Dnieper would have formed already in early times a great nation since they succeeded in doing so later. By 'a great nation' I understand one which builds up the durable values of its specific intellectual and material culture, preserves its feeling of separateness from other nations and whose nationals are ready to give up their lives to defend their independence. These traits cannot be denied to the present-day Ukrainians and the White Rus' by any scholar who views the history of Eastern Europe objectively.

It must be pointed out, in answer to Bodnarczuk and Hryčak, that in *OR* I neither recognize nor deny the right of the present-day Ukrainians to a share in the Rus'ian political heritage built up in olden times. The book did not touch on this subject at all. The process of the formation of the Ukrainian nation—and the same applies to the Russians and the White Rus'—lay beyond the chronological limits of *OR*. Paramoniv, though also a Ukrainian, realizes this and considers my approach an obvious one.³¹⁸

Stender-Petersen stated in the above-quoted passage on the artificial character of the appellation *Ukraina*, that Kiev was forced to yield up its Rus'ian name to Moscow as the latter began to gather

³¹⁶ The conquests of the Rus', i.e., Norse Varangians, embraced enormous areas and the subjugated Slavonic tribes were cruelly exploited by the conquerors. The endless internal wars between the Rurikides in later times laid further burdens on the Slavonic population. Both these factors delayed the natural ethnic process of developing national formations in Eastern Europe.

³¹⁷ The close proximity of the steppe, the lack of natural frontiers, the frequent raids and invasions of the nomads so disastrous for the 'land of Rus', were serious obstacles to the consolidation of the Slavs in the Dnieper region.

³¹⁸ See Appendix I of the present study (*Ukrains'ka Dnmka*, 10. 11. 955 and 5. 6. 1958).

together more and more Russian territories under its domination. It seems, however, misplaced to imply that there was any compulsion for this, if only because the Ukraine was independent of Muscovy until the 17th century. At the turn of the 13th and 14th centuries, Moscow³¹⁹ not only deprived Kiev of its Russian name but, much more significantly, took over its status as a Metropolitan See.³²⁰ Since the Metropolis was the spiritual and intellectual centre of Rus', it was at the same time the symbol of the name of Rus'.

The Muscovite metropolitans considered themselves the representatives of all the followers of the Russian faith, of 'all Rus' (*vseya Rusi*), the capital of which was to be Moscow itself. These ambitions found expression first of all in the chronicles written in the chancelleries of the Muscovite metropolitans in that time, chronicles which upheld the idea of the unity of the Russian land.³²¹ This programme, though based on the Kievan model and its traditions,³²² bore only outwardly a purely ecclesiastical character but acquired a clearly evident political content when the Grand Dukes of Muscovy in the role of 'the secular arm' of the metropolitans declared 'the gathering together of the Rus' (*sobiranie Rusi*) to be their prime task and mission. This 'gathering' implied the spread of their domination over all the Russian peoples—Russian in the ecclesiastical sense though diverse in their ethnic origins. These ambitions were conceived on a large scale since they were used to justify the conquests by Muscovy³²³ not only of Christian peoples but also of those it was hoped to convert. These conquests received the full approval of the Muscovite metropolitans who endowed them moreover with a halo of sanctity.

The idea of the Grand Ducal authority as determined by God—writes Kudryavtsev—... played an important role in the formation and consolidation of the Muscovite State, for it strengthened the posi-

³¹⁹ 'Moscow' is used metaphorically here, since the Metropolitan See was formally at Vladimir, on the Klyaz'ma. Vladimir remained the Metropolitan seat for a long time, but only in name. Actually Moscow very soon assumed that position. Peter was the first metropolitan who resided in Moscow and was buried there, in 1326. Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Srednevekovaya Moskva v XIV-XV vv.*, 1957, pp. 181-185.

³²⁰ Though this success of Moscow was undoubtedly a great one, it was only a partial achievement as Kiev, thanks to the efforts made by Lithuania, maintained its Metropolitan character in later times.

³²¹ For instance, the compilation (*svod*) of the Metropolitan Cyprian of 1408, i.e., the so-called *Troitskaya letopis'* (The Trinity Monastery Chronicle); the compilation of the Metropolitan Photius in about 1418, etc. Cf. V. Mavrodin, *Formirovaniye russkoi natsii*, 1947, p. 27; K. Serbina, in M. Priselkov, *Troitskaya letopis'*, 1950, pp. 3-6; L. Cherepnin, *Skladyvaniye russkoi (velikorusskoi) narodnosti*, in *Ocherki II*, 1953, p. 319; I. Pereni, *Legenda o svyatom Vladislave v Rossii*, SSASH I (1-3), 1955, p. 231, and others.

³²² Moscow consolidated and developed the ecclesiastical-State concept upon a grand scale, but it took the idea over from Kiev. And this, it would seem, is the most valuable bequest inherited by Finnish Rus' from Slavonic Rus'. Attention is drawn to the revival of Kievan traditions during the Muscovite period by D. Likhachev, *Kul'tura Rusi epokhi obrazovaniya russkogo natsional'nogo gosudarstva*, 1946, p. 6.

³²³ Cf. G. Stökl, *Russland von der Mongolenzeit bis zu Peter dem Grossen*, HM VII, 1957, pp. 396-403.

tion of the Grand Duke of Muscovy, assured his primacy [among many other princes] as the chosen of God, and hence as the incontestable head of a single State. This concept merged in many minds with that of the Grand Duke as the head of the Church—an essential point since the Church was an all-Rus'ian institution.... The head of the Church could not be imagined otherwise than as the supreme leader of all Rus'. In his person, the leadership of the Church was closely bound up with political, State leadership. A great role in the development of this concept [in Muscovy] was played by Byzantium, where the Emperors since the ecumenical councils became the Emperors of all the Romans, that is, of all Christians.

In the further course of his remarks, this author discusses the second concept revived by Muscovy: the idea of the Rus'ian nation as the chosen people of God.³²⁴ It is clear that Kudryavtsev's observations fully support my opinion regarding the decisive significance of ecclesiastical-religious factors (and not ethnic or national ones) in the formation of the political structure of Eastern Europe at that time.

After the fall of Constantinople, the influence of Byzantine ideology upon Muscovy became still stronger. Muscovy now regarded itself as the natural heir of the Empire, as the sole representative and propagator of the true faith.³²⁵ Enjoying the special favour of God, according to the propaganda of the clergy, Moscow's historical mission assured its rulers, who were the objects of a god-like veneration after the model of the Byzantine Emperors, an unrestricted and autocratic position *vis-à-vis* their subjects.³²⁶ The acceptance of this mission required from the Grand Dukes (and, later, from the Tsars) the propagation of the faith. This found expression in practice by the subjugation of ever new territories with the final aim of 'converting', *i.e.*, subjugating, the whole world.³²⁷ In such wise, in line with the ambitions of the rulers of Muscovy, a supra-national, universal State³²⁸ was to arise, with Moscow as its capital,

³²⁴ I. Kudryavtsev, 'Poslanie na Ugru' Vassiana Rylo kak pamyatnik publitsistiki XV v., *TODRL VIII*, 1951, pp. 167-169.

³²⁵ N. Kapterev, *Kharakter otnoshenii Rossii k pravoslavnomu Vostoku v XVI i XVII stoletiyakh*, 2nd ed., 1914, pp. 2-9, 21-24 stresses that, according to Muscovite political literature in the 15th and 16th centuries, all the Greek Orthodox nations beyond the frontiers of Muscovy—the sole source of the pure faith—professed an inferior religion. This referred, for example, to the Balkan nations subjugated by the Turks, chiefly to the Greeks, who had allegedly lost the right to primacy in the Greek Orthodox world and had been terribly punished by God (the fall of Constantinople, according to these authors, was a consequence of the union with the Latins at Florence).

³²⁶ 'When the final catastrophe took place (1453) Byzantium... had but two bequests to make in her last testament: the treasures of Ancient Greece she left to Western, and her own tradition of despotic, universal, exclusive sovereignty to Eastern Europe.' R. Jenkins, *The Byzantine Empire on the Eve of the Crusades*, 1953, p. 23. See also W. Sas-Zaloziecky, *Die Folgen des Falles von Konstantinopel*, SV VI, 1954, pp. 263-264; I. Ševčenko, *A Neglected Byzantine Source of Muscovite Political Ideology*, HSS II, 1954, p. 141; *OR*, p. 328; B. Tsvetkova, *Problema padeniya Konstantinopolya*, VV XIV, 1958, pp. 247-259.

³²⁷ Muscovy was of course too weak to carry out the whole of this grandiose plan; nevertheless, a considerable part of it was actually realized (the conquests of many East-European and Asiatic peoples).

³²⁸ N. Berdyaev, *Russkaya ideya*, 1946, p. 12.

bound by the unity of religion with its subject nations, supported by its military power and enjoying the justification of historical 'arguments' hurriedly fabricated to meet its specific needs.³²⁹ Moscow was to be the longed-for 'third Rome', which would exist and rule to the very end of the world.³³⁰

The view is often encountered that the process of the formation of the three Rus'ian nations took place during the 14th and 15th centuries at the latest, and that it was definitively concluded in the 16th century. Lacking adequate support in the sources, such a presentation of the matter is bound to evoke objections, though it must be stated that the new structure of political relations in Eastern Europe (particularly the conversion of Lithuania to Catholicism and its union with Poland, from 1386–1387) favoured the rise of the Ukrainian and the White Rus'ian nations.³³¹ The situation in the north-east, however, was quite different. Applying the old ecclesiastical terminology, Muscovy of the 15th and 16th centuries propagated with some success the idea of a single Rus' and of a single

³²⁹ Moscow was to be not only the heir of Byzantium, 'the second Rome' (cf. W. Hammer, *The Concept of the New or Second Rome in the Middle Ages*, *Sp* XIX, 1944, pp. 50–62), but also—independently of Constantinople—of the first Rome. With this in mind, a new legend was then created, *viz.*, that the Emperor Augustus had a brother named Prus, who settled on the Lower Vistula and ruled there. His descendant was Rurik. Hence this genealogy extended to the Rurikides and thereby to the Grand Dukes of Moscow. Cf. E. Ivánka, *Rurik und die Brüder des Augustus*, *OCP* XVIII, 1952, pp. 393–396. In order to bolster up these far-reaching claims, the older chronicles were suitably 'corrected' and supporting documents were fabricated in Moscow. Cf. A. Vvedensky, *Fal'sifikatsiya dokumentov v Moskovskom gosudarstve XVI–XVII vv.*, *PI* I, 1933, p. 85 ('The forging and falsification of historical documents was one of the efficient instruments of Rus'ian absolutism for vindicating its existence'); I. Budovnit, *Otazhenie politicheskoi bor'by Moskvyy i Tveri v tverskom i moskovskom letopisanii XIV v.*, *TODRL* XII, 1956, p. 79 ('The records of the 14th-century chronicles have been handed down to us not in their original form but in the altered versions produced by later compilers in the execution of the political tasks allotted to them. In particular, the Tverian entries were distorted after having passed through the censorship of Moscow'). See also M. Priselkov, *Lavrent'evskaya letopis' (istoriya teksta)*, *UZLGU*, No. 32, 1939, p. 142; L. Cherepnin, *Istochniki po istorii antimongol'skogo vosstaniya v Tveri v 1327 g.*, *AE* II, (1958) 1960, pp. 50–53.

³³⁰ N. Chaev, 'Moskva—tretii Rim' v politicheskoi praktike moskovskogo pravitel'stva XVI v., *IZ* XVII, 1945, pp. 3–23 admits that the concept of the third Rome implied the idea of conquest. Despite the evident facts, this is denied by N. Maslennikova, *Ideologicheskaya bor'ba v Pskovskoi literature v period obrazovaniya Russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva*, *TODRL* VIII, 1951, pp. 192–193. See also O. Ohloblyn, *Moskov'ska teoriya III Rimu v XVI–XVII st.*, 1951; C. Toumanoff, *Moscow the Third Rome: Genesis and Significance of a Politico-Religious Idea*, *CHR* XL (4), 1955, pp. 411–447; H. Schaefer, *Moskau das Dritte Rom. Studien zur Geschichte der politischen Theorien in der slavischen Welt*, 2nd ed., 1957, and others.

³³¹ 'Through Lithuania's embracing Roman Christianity, the Eastern Slavs, or at least the great majority of those who formed part of the [Lithuanian] Grand Duchy, found themselves in a very difficult situation. They were now distinct from Lithuania, not only ethnically, but also in religion and creed. With Moscow they had a common faith, but, on the other hand, they were ethnically entirely distinct from her; they were strangers to her political aims, as these conflicted with their own interests. The Eastern Slavs had behind them the tradition of a common life with Lithuania, and of her tolerance in relation to their faith, their customs and their language. Thus, the new situation prepared the ground for the formation and development of two new nationalities, ethnically Slavonic, Rus'ian in creed; in modern parlance: the Ukraine and White Rus' (Belorus).' *OR*, pp. 251–252. Cf. A. Presnyakov, *Ukraina*, *VKP*, 1918 (9), p. 6.

Rus'ian nation. But this single nation, continually appearing in the pages of the sources, was neither a 'Great Rus'ian', 'Ukrainian' nor a 'White Rus'ian' one, but solely a 'Rus'ian', ecclesiastical people comprising the masses of the faithful, a conglomeration of many peoples of diverse origin, traditions and interests yet bound by the community of their religion.³³² The idea of 'all Rus' (*vseya Rusi*) was quite incompatible with the existence of three Rus'ian nations.

While, according to the authors of the 14th–16th centuries, the ties between Moscow and Kiev were based on the old ecclesiastical and State traditions, a new element began to appear in the second half of the 17th century: the common origin of the population of both countries. Thenceforth it is possible to speak of the beginnings of a conception which in the following centuries assumed the form of three Rus'ian nations. The development of this programme was facilitated by the fact that, owing to the activities of the clergy and

³³² It must be stressed that the concept of the three Rus'ian nations does not exist in the texts of the 14th and 15th centuries. L. Cherepnin, *Istoricheskie usloviya formirovaniya russkoi narodnosti do kontsa XV v.*, 1958 rightly remarks that, for instance, the famous poem of the 14th–15th century, *Zadonschina*, speaks only of one Rus'ian nation and does not differentiate between the Velikorus', the White Rus' and the Ukrainians ('Avtor govorit o Russkoi zemle v shirokom smysle, kak o territorii, naselennoi russkim narodom, eshche bez deleniya na velikorussov, belorussov i ukrainsyev', p. 83). 'Religion and faith—writes Cherepnin—are [in Eastern Europe at that time] the signs of nationality. . . . These ideas clearly appear in the *Khozhenie* of the Rus'ian traveller of the 15th century, Afanasi Nikitin. . . . According to Afanasi Nikitin, the concept of a "Rus'ian" was linked with the notion of "a Christian" and the Rus'ian land was understood as the Christian faith' ('Priznakami narodnosti . . . yavlyayutsya religiya i veroispovedanie. Eti idei yarko vystupayut v "Khozhenii" russkogo puteshestvennika XV v. Afanasiya Nikitina . . . Ponyatie "russkii" dlya Afanasiya Nikitina svyazano s ponyatiem "khristianin", predstavlenie o Russkoi zemle—s predstavleniem o khristianskoi vere', p. 103). Cherepnin emphasizes that the idea of identity between 'the Rus'ian land' or 'the Rus'ian nation' and the Christian Orthodox faith appears also in other sources of the period ('"Slovo izbrano ot svyatykh pisanii ezhe na latynyu" daet kharakteristiku velikogo knyazya Vasiliya II . . . Moskovskii velikii knyaz' risuetsya blyustitelem pravoslaviya, nalichie kotorogo v Russkoi zemle yavlyatsya ee natsional'noi osobennost'yu', p. 104. 'Ideya bogoustavlenosti velikoknyazheskoi vlasti i bogoizbrannosti russkogo naroda provoditsya v poslanii . . . Vassiana Rylo Ivanu III na Ugru v 1480 g. Upotrebyaemye v "Poslanii" terminy "slovesnoe stado khristovyykh ovets" i "pravoslavnoe khrest'yanstvo" otzhdvestvlyayutsya s terminami "Russkaya zemlya" i "otechestvo"', p. 104). There is no doubt that all these facts were the result of the activities by the Rus'ian clergy. 'The Church—writes Cherepnin—played a definite organizing and ideological role in the unification of the Rus'ian lands, in the creation of the Rus'ian [Muscovite] centralized State and in the struggle for its independence. This promoted the formation of the Rus'ian [Great Rus'ian] nation' ('Tserkov' sygrala opredelennuyu organizatsionnuyu i ideologicheskuyu rol' v obedinenii russkikh zemel', sozdaniu Russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva i bor'be za ego nezavisimost', chto sposobstvovalo formirovaniyu russkoi narodnosti', *op. cit.*, p. 103). The last sentence confirms my thesis—see also W. Wielhorski, Uwagi o psychologii religijnej Rosjan do wieku XIX, *RPTNO* X, 1960, pp. 65–73—that 'the Great Rus'ian nation' was actually created by the Rus'ian Church. Other factors (political, ethnic, economic, social, etc.) were important to a certain degree but, nevertheless, played a secondary part. There exists an abundant literature on this subject, listed by L. Cherepnin, *Obedinenie russkikh zemel' vokrug Moskvy kak osnovy i initsiatora obrazovaniya russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva*. *Istoriografiya*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* II, 1953, pp. 7–25; E. Doronin (and others), *Istoriya SSSR, Ukazatel' sovetskoi literatury za 1917–1952 gg.* I, 1956, pp. 299–300; L. Yaresh, *The Formation of the Great Russian State*, in C. Black (ed.), *Rewriting Russian History*, 1956, pp. 198–223; M. Tikhomirov, *Srednevekovaya Moskva v XIV–XV vv.*, 1957.

Of especial importance in this connection is the book: 'Summary or Short Collection [of reports] from various chroniclers regarding the beginnings of the Slavo-Russian Nation. . . .' (*Sinopsis ili kratkoe sobranie ot raznykh letopistsev o nachale Slavyano-Rossiiskogo naroda . . .*), widely read as it was a printed work, the first edition of which appeared in 1674. Innocent Gizel', the initiator and possibly in large measure the author of the *Sinopsis*,³³³ was the prior of the Kievan Crypt Monastery and an outstanding political personality, one of the ardent supporters of the plan to join the whole Ukraine to Muscovy.³³⁴ He was appointed envoy plenipotentiary by Tsar Aleksei Mikhailovich for the negotiations with hetman Doroshenko whereby this plan was to be realized. Gizel's political activities, the timing and contents of the *Sinopsis* demonstrate that this work, although dealing with bygone times, was intended to justify current political events and claims.³³⁵

³³³ S. Petshich, 'Sinopsis' kak istoricheskoe proizvedenie, *TODRL* XV, 1958, p. 285.

³⁶⁴ Cf. V. Eingorn, *Ocherki po istorii Malorossii v XVII v. Snosheniya malorossiiskogo dukhovenstva s moskovskim pravitel'stvom v tsarstvovanie Aleksey Mikhailovicha*, 1899. Gizel' was not born a Ukrainian but a German; he derived from a Protestant family in Prussia, came to Kiev when still a young man and was converted to the Orthodox faith. Cf. J. Janów, *Inocenty Gizel*, *SFPS* III, 1958, pp. 201–202.

³³⁵ Cf. K. Ponomareva, U istokov russkoi istoricheskoi nauki, *IsZ*, 1940 (4-5), p. 85; L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX v.*, 1957, p. 132.

³³⁶ I. Eremin, K istorii obshchestvennoi mysli na Ukraine vtoroi poloviny XVII v., *TODRL* X, 1954, pp. 212-214; L. Cherepnin, *Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV-XV vekakh*, 1960, p. 23.

³³⁷ According to the tradition, the dwelling-place of the descendants of Mosokh (Mosoch, Meshech, Mesech) was somewhere in the neighbourhood of Armenia. Cf. E. Pannier, Mosoch, in F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible* IV, 1908, pp. 1319-1321; H. Wallace, Meshech, in J. Orr, *The International Standard Bible Encyclopaedia* III, 1930, p. 2038; H. Haag, *Bibel-Lexicon*, 1956, p. 1114, and others.

³³⁸ G. Génébrard (1537–1597), *Chronographiae Libri quatuor*, 1600, p. 31 connects Mosokh with Moscow. Similarly, A. Calmet, *Commentaire littéral sur tous les Livres de l'ancien et le nouveau Testament I*, 1707, p. 237. The legend of Mosokh appears also in the Polish literature of the 16th century; cf. M. Strykowski, *Kronika polska, litewska, zmozdka i wszystkiej Rusi . . . z r. 1582 I*, 1846, pp. 23, 60–70;

advanced to demonstrate the ethnic community of the Ukraine with Muscovy, though no efforts were spared to find the requisite proofs.

Nobody in the 17th and 18th centuries, with an elementary critical faculty, could believe the story about Mosokh; nobody had heard of the existence of the three Rus'ian nations—the Great Rus', the White Rus' and the Ukrainians. By 'Great Rus'', Tatishchev understood the regions of Ladoga, Novgorod, Pskov, etc., and by 'White Rus'' the territory of Muscovy.³³⁹ Tatishchev's division of the Slavs into an eastern and a western group fundamentally differs from the views now currently held. According to him, the Eastern Slavs lived on the left-bank territories of the Dnieper, whilst the inhabitants of the right-bank territories were classified as Western Slavs.³⁴⁰ Boltin came out strongly against the use of the misleading expression 'Slavo-Rus'ian nation',³⁴¹ arguing that it clashed with the sources of the epoch. It would appear that this author could not claim a common origin for the Ukrainians and the Russians since he did not consider the latter as Slavs.

Several valid observations on this subject were made by the widely known Russian historian and patriot-emigrant, Lappo. His remarks merit all the more attention because he ardently supported the theory of the existence of three Rus'ian nations. Concerning the Ukrainian and White Rus'ian territories, Lappo writes in his book³⁴²: 'Their incorporation within the Russian State in the 17th and 18th centuries with their State-organization and culture differing from the Russian, ... inevitably gave rise ... to the erroneous notion [among the Russians] that they were unrelated and in character alien to the fundamental features and physiognomy of the Russian nation which was considered to consist almost only of the Russians.'³⁴³ He goes on to say

What was the status of the West Russian lands incorporated within the Russian Empire? What were they in the eyes of the then Russian

S. Sarnicii, *Annales, sive de origine et rebus gestis Polonorum et Lituanorum, libri octo* . . . , 1587. Cf. T. Ulewicz, *Sarmacja*, 1950, p. 126. The history of the legend of Mosokh has not yet been sufficiently explored. It would be interesting to know from what source Strykowski (and other authors) derived the information regarding Mosokh as the forefather of the Muscovites and all the Slavs.

³³⁹ V. Tatishchev, *Leksikon Rossiiskoi istoricheskoi, geograficheskoi, politicheskoi i grazhdanskoi* I, 1793, pp. 132–133, 230–231; *idem*, *Russia ili, kak nyne zovut, Rossia*, in his *Izbrannye trudy po geografii Rossii*, 1950, pp. 110–111; *idem*, *Vvedenie k gistoricheskomu i geograficheskomu opisaniyu Velikorossiiskoi imperii*, *ibidem*, p. 145.

³⁴⁰ V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen* I, 1768, pp. 464, 477.

³⁴¹ Boltin likewise protests against the use of the appellation 'Russia' instead of 'Rus', with reference to times prior to Ivan the Terrible. Cf. I. Boltin, *Primechaniya na istoriyu drevniya i nyneshniya Rossii* G. Leklerka II, 1788, p. 48; *idem*, *Kriticheskie primechaniya na I tom Istorii Shcherbatova*, 1793, p. 40.

³⁴² I. Lappo, *Zapadnaya Rossiya i eya soedinenie s Pol'sheyu v ikh istoricheskom proshlom*, 1924. Since the author—as it follows from the title of his study—calls the Ukrainian and White Rus'ian lands 'Western Russia' (*Zapadnaya Rossiya*), I translate the adjectives 'Rus'ian' and 'Great Rus'ian', used by Lappo, by 'Russian'.

³⁴³ I. Lappo, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

government and public? They were lands 'incorporated [torn away] from Poland'.... The new possession of the Russian Empire began to be called in official documents 'the provinces incorporated [torn away] from Poland'. They were described in Russia, by the Russian community, as 'our western provinces which formerly belonged to Poland'. But Prussia and Austria likewise annexed lands 'from Poland' to their State territories at the same time. Was it consciously felt in Russia that she had not only increased her territory but had also effected the unification of the tribes of the single Russian nation...? Even in Catherine's aphorism 'The torn-away restored' (*ottorzhenneya vozvratikh*) one feels more the triumph of an old idea—which had found expression in the words of a Grand Duke of Muscovy at the turn of the 15th–16th century: 'The whole Russian land is our patrimony inherited from our ancestors'—than consciousness that the Russian nation as a whole now formed a single Russian State.... In this way was the beginning of the nation overshadowed by the beginning of Statehood....³⁴⁴

In his further considerations, Lappo points to the great significance of the religious factor as a bond between Muscovy on the one hand and the Ukraine and White Rus' on the other. In Eastern Europe—he states—'religion even in our time is often the sign of nationality. Even in our time one still hears in Western Russia: "Catholic" instead of "Pole" and "Russian" (*ruskii*) instead of "Orthodox" (*pravoslavnyi*).'³⁴⁵ It is known that, after the partitions of Poland, there was a renaissance of this Polish nation. It found expression primarily in tendencies to rebuild the State and to recover the lands lost in the east. 'How did—asks Lappo—the Russian authorities react to these claims, and what did they do in Western Russia to counteract them? Unfortunately, the authorities betrayed an almost complete ignorance of the country and its history.'³⁴⁶ According to Lappo, it was only after the failure of the Polish insurrection of 1830/31 that the Russian government put through a number of measures in order to bind the western territories more strongly to the rest of the State. He writes:

It was then that the Russian authorities, and to some extent the Russian public slowly began to apprehend consciously what had been forgotten after the Catherinian period, namely, that this land was by no means Polish but for the most part purely Russian, bound to the rest of the Russian nation by the community of tribal origin, its native tongue and its long historical past. The Russian authorities began to learn something about the Western Country, to govern it. Russian [historical] science was still not able to throw light on its past and its historical ties with the remainder of the Russian nation.³⁴⁷

Picheta, a Soviet historian, expresses similar views when dealing with the attitude of the Russians to the White Russian nation in the 19th century.

³⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 15.

³⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 19.

³⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 21.

³⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 29–30.

After the collapse of the [Polish] insurrection of 1863—he states—the White Rus'ian nation became an object of special attention on the part of the ruling class and government circles. A. N. Pypin writes: 'After the Polish insurrection something akin to a discovery was made with relation to the White Rus'ian nation: the mass of the [Russian] public which had theretofore only a vague notion about the western country . . . , were delighted to learn that it is a Russian country. This recognition [of the ethnic ties between the White Rus' and the Russians] was a novelty for most [Russians] and this novelty was zealously propagated.'³⁴⁸

What conclusion can be extracted from the foregoing observations?

The concept of a single Rus' drawn up in Kiev and resumed by Moscow with great drive and energy contradicts the thesis of the existence of three Rus'ian nations. The idea of an 'all Rus'' (*vseya Rusi*) glaringly clashes with the three-nation theory. The source-material of the period (9th–15th cent.) gives absolutely no support to it. Even the terminology in use today (the Velikorus' or the Russians, the White Rus' and the Ukrainians) did not exist at that time. The first attempts to prove the existence of ethnic ties between the Russians and the Ukrainians appear in the latter half of the 17th century to justify Russian rule over the Ukraine. The arguments advanced in support of this view are so naïve and artificial that they need no comment. Tatishchev and Boltin, in the 18th century, are ignorant of the concept of the three common East-Slavonic, Rus'ian nations. And so the matter remained until the 19th century.

During the partitions of the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1772–1795), neither official nor private circles in Russia advanced any ethnic argument in justification of the current policy although it would seem the occasion offered an excellent opportunity to do so. It is explained that, after the death of Catherine II, the alleged ethnic community between the Russians, Ukrainians and White Rus' was 'forgotten', to quote Lappo. Yet how could this have happened since the self-same author informs us that, as late as the middle of the 18th century, nothing was known of this community in Russia. In any case, the fundamental question arises: Is such a lapse of memory credible, is it possible to forget ethnic ties to kindred nations?

It is important to note Lappo's statement that, after 1831, the Russian government recognized the ethnic affinity between Russia and her western possessions before Russian scholars were in a position to pronounce on this subject. Lappo therefore indirectly admits that political factors were decisive for the creation of the concept of the three Rus'ian nations, and that the scholarly approach played only a secondary, auxiliary role.

Russian historians treat the problem of the three Rus'ian nations

³⁴⁸ V. Picheta, *Obrazovanie Belorusskogo naroda*, *Vol.*, 1946 (5–6), p. 6.

in a specific manner. They approach the subject from the unproven premiss—not to say dogma—that the Great Rus'ian (or Russian) nation was the first of the three to be formed. This nation is described as 'the elder brother'³⁴⁹—to bring out its special rights to rule over the other two. It is claimed that the three Rus'ian nations are bound by 'indissoluble ties' (*nerazryvnye svyazi*), to quote Tikhomirov³⁵⁰ (whose views are shared by all the other Russian historians). The true aims to be served by this thesis of the common origin of the three Rus'ian nations are admitted in all candour. This alleged ethnic affinity is, however, nowhere reflected on the pages of sources written in times when these nations are said to have assumed concrete form, but was 'discovered' in the 19th century and only after this 'discovery' (to use Pypin's and Picheta's expression) were the implications of the concept transposed to earlier centuries. The whole hypothesis is based on two elements: on a very uncertain interpretation of archaeological material, and on the pontifical tone of statements made by various authors who address their critics from the heights of an imagined superiority.

The legend of Mosokh in the sense in which it was presented in the *Sinopsis* (though this legend did not originate in it) and the thesis that the three Rus'ian nations descended from one stem ('the Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation') have much in common. Both concepts were used to meet current political requirements and to serve the same purpose. If I had to choose between them, I would give preference to the story presented by the *Sinopsis*. There is no need to waste words on Mosokh's role in the history of Eastern Europe. Yet, this story has advantages over that of the common origin of the three Rus'ian nations: it does at least not pretend to be a theory worthy of scholarly treatment.

GENERAL REMARKS

The present study has led to the conclusion that the theory of the existence of an 'Old-Rus'ian or East-Slavonic nation', from which the modern Russians, Ukrainians and White Rus' allegedly derive, fails to meet the most elementary requirements of critical examination. *The Making of the Russian Nation* does not record solely negative observations but also determines many facts which, in my opinion, should provide points of departure for further research on the past of Eastern Europe—and that in more than one domain of scholarly interest. Without exhausting the subject as a whole, I should like to draw attention only to some of its aspects. Thus:

³⁴⁹ It is true, three Rus'ian nations joined by their faith, by the liturgical language of the Church, and by common ecclesiastical culture were brethren, but only brethren in Christ.

³⁵⁰ M. Tikhomirov, *Znachenie drevnei Rusi v razviti russkogo, ukrainskogo i belorusskogo narodov*, Vol. 1954 (6), p. 19.

(1) The criteria hitherto applied by various authors (Soviet ones in particular) in the attempt to establish the ethnic character of the East-European peoples on the basis of archaeological remains, are found to be inexact. It is essential to effect a general revision of these criteria and that with the utmost precision and care. Many of my predecessors pointed out that archaeology by itself can be of service in ethnic matters only to a limited degree. Archaeologists must, in much greater measure than hitherto, take written sources into account and allow linguistic data broader scope.

(2) Views on certain linguistic problems likewise need reappraisal. The Slavonic language spoken in the Upper Volga region (and in many other parts of Eastern Europe) was not a natural development but an artificial one imposed by the clergy and to some extent by the administration of the Rurikides. The process of the linguistic Slavonicization of the non-Slavonic territories began very much later than has hitherto been supposed, and developed much more slowly than is generally affirmed.

(3) In the domain of written sources, views on the *Povest' vremennykh let* require a thoroughgoing re-examination. On the assumption that the Chronicle contains obscurities and is self-contradictory in places, suggestions have been made that it was the work of several authors representing diverse, hence contradictory, opinions. This assumption has been found to have no substance. 'Nestor's' work is lucid and consistent in its totality, and its credibility cannot validly be questioned.

(4) After the baptism of Vladimir and concurrently with the progressive enfeeblement of the Kievan State, the appellation of Rus', in the broader sense of the term, acquired an ever clearer religious content. The Church created 'Rus'' as the sole concept which extended beyond the boundaries of the various tribes and principalities—a concept which passed the test of time and attained exceptional durability amidst the involved ethnic relations of Eastern Europe. The ecclesiastical-religious meaning of the term 'Rus'' invalidated the conjecture according to which 'The Tale of Igor's Raid' (*Slovo o pulke Igoreve*) was a poem written in the 12th century, for it contains pagan elements combated by the Church and presents a Rus'-ian supra-tribal, national concept (i.e., ethnic unity) unknown at the time.³⁵¹

(5) Views on the history of settlement in Eastern Europe likewise need reassessment. Hypotheses affirming large-scale Slavonic colonization in the Upper Volga region (and other lands) not only find no support in the written sources but are invalidated by them. The sheer improbability of suppositions that radical and swift ethnic

³⁵¹ The opinion that the *Slovo* was a forgery of a much later epoch was discussed in detail in *OR*, pp. 336-353. From the linguistic point of view it also evokes doubts; cf. W. Taszycki, *Les formes patronymiques insolites dans le Slovo d'Igor*, *RES XXXVI*, 1959, pp. 23-28.

transformations took place in these territories is particularly noteworthy.

(6) The Slavonic rite was spread in the Middle Dnieper region before Vladimir's time and the Rus'ian (Kievan) Metropolis was the successor of the Metropolis of Methodius (*A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est'*). For these reasons, further studies on the history of the Slavonic rite in many countries north and south of the Danube, have special importance also for the history of Rus'.

(7) Owing to the dominant influence of Constantinople in Eastern Europe, further research on the history of Byzantium is most desirable from our point of view. In particular, an effort should be made to carry out a more thoroughgoing analysis of ethnic relations in the Eastern Empire, *i.e.*, of the 'Byzantine nation'. I believe that this would help, by analogy, to throw light on many aspects of the history of Rus' which still need clarification.

(8) In view of the important role played by the Rus'ian Church in Eastern Europe, attention is drawn to the urgent need for published editions of hitherto unknown texts from the rich storehouse of purely ecclesiastical Rus'ian writing.³⁵² In this connection, it should also be borne in mind that new editions of the already known texts are overdue. The editions which were published are mostly out of date in the light of the requirements of modern scholarship; they have, moreover, been long out of print and difficult to acquire in the West.

(9) Further studies on the history of the Rus'ian Church should be undertaken. Soviet historians are not able to accomplish this owing to the ideological restrictions imposed upon them—restrictions which take no account of the spiritual climate of the epoch in question. It must be emphasized that Soviet contributions to the history of the Rus'ian Church are non-existent.³⁵³

³⁵² The new Soviet plans for the publication of many sources, undoubtedly very useful, do not envisage the inclusion of strictly religious literature. Cf. R. Dmitrieva, *Proekt serii monograficheskikh issledovaniĭ—izdaniĭ pamyatnikov drevnerusskoi literatury*, *TODRL* XI, 1955, pp. 491–499; G. Stökl, *Von der Entstehung des Kiever Staates bis zum Ende der Wirren (862–1613)*, *JGO* IV (2), 1956, pp. 208–209; Yu. Bem, *Raboty arkheografov*, *VAN* XXVII, 1957 (8), p. 88; R. Dmitrieva, *Itogi i zadachi izucheniya letopisaniya*, *IANOLY* XVIII (2), 1959, p. 167; M. Tikhomirov, *Russkie letopisi, voprosy ikh izdaniya i izucheniya*, *VAN*, 1960 (8), pp. 69–73; D. Likhachev, *Seriya monograficheskikh issledovaniĭ pamyatnikov drevnerusskoi literatury*, *IANOLY* XIX (3), 1960, pp. 237–242. See also the periodical *Arkheograficheskii ezhegodnik*. K. Kasper, *Die Zeitverbundenheit der altrussischen Predigtliteratur*, *ZS* III (2–4), 1958, p. 336 rightly remarks that editions of Old-Rus'ian texts do not extend over the whole range of this literature. Interest is centred on political, social and economic matters, with little attention paid to ecclesiastical-religious ones. Cf. L. Zhukovskaya and S. Kotkov, *O publikatsii pamyatnikov russkogo yazyka i pis'menosti*, *VY*, 1960 (4), pp. 134–140.

³⁵³ The bibliography of Soviet historical literature for the years 1917–1952 (I. Doronin and others, *Istoriya SSSR. Ukazatel' sovetskoi literatury za 1917–1952 gg. Istoriya SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do ustupleniya Rossii v period kapitalizma*, 1956) gives some very noteworthy data: for the period from the 6th century after Christ to the seventies of the 15th century, there are 2,666 items (Nos. 6336–9002); of these, seven deal with the conversion of Rus' (Nos. 7024–7030) and three (Nos.

Obviously, very much more could be said on the subject and many other fields for further research be suggested.

Grekov rightly remarks that without exact elucidation of the fundamental problems of the early East-European past, it is impossible to comprehend the later processes in the history of Rus' and Russia.³⁵⁴ He also rightly perceives the difficulties which stand in the way of attaining such positive results owing to the emotional attitude, national prejudices and political passions of the authors working on this subject.³⁵⁵ They cite some facts and ignore others, 'correct' or disqualify the texts of the period if these clash with their own concepts drawn up without recourse to the sources.³⁵⁶ It is self-evident that all conclusions should be arrived at only after a thorough critical examination of the source-material—not before, as is the general practice.

Moreover, all these authors express their views with the utmost emphasis; the categorical tone of their statements is often the only force to support them. Defending their own theses, they evidently consider themselves individually the sole depositaries of truth. Thus, we are faced with many versions of 'truth' quite contradictory to one another.

But there is only one truth. And to achieve it a new history of Eastern Europe should be written in the spirit of scholarly research.

7415-7417) refer to the history of the Church, and that mostly with respect to heresies. These ten items constitute almost 0.4 per cent. of all the items listed for the literature of the period.

³⁵⁴ B. Grekov, *Kievskaya Rus'*, 1953, p. 11 ('bez resheniya etikh zadach nel'zya poluchit' pravil'nogo predstavleniya o russkom istoricheskom protsesse v tselom').

³⁵⁵ B. Grekov, *op. cit.*, pp. 11-12 ('vokrug nikh shla ostraya bor'ba, obuslovlennaya natsional'nymi i politicheskimi pozitsiyami uchastvovavshikh v nei lits').

³⁵⁶ Grekov himself is one of these authors. He disregards the source-material in the most arbitrary manner ('v nashem rasporyazhenii imeyutsya libo skudnye, libo neyasnye i netochnye svedeniya', *op. cit.*, p. 11).

APPENDIX I

THE ORIGIN OF RUSSIA REACTIONS AND REFLECTIONS

THE present stage of research on *The Origin of Russia* explains why my book came to be considered by some reviewers as a controversial publication. There is also another contributory factor: I put forward a considerable number of theses which strongly differed from opinions hitherto current and which therefore challenged historians accustomed to the old traditional schemes. When writing *OR* I was fully aware what the reaction of some reviewers would be.

The more difficult the problem and the wider the divergence of opinion among scholars, the greater should be the reviewer's caution; he should concentrate on concrete questions and only pass to general matters after an accurate analysis of the former. Only then can a review lead to advancement of knowledge.

I had a right to expect that the reviews which took a critical attitude towards *OR* would, above all, contain some well documented objections to my theories. However, the majority of my critics only produced empty accusations expressed in very categorical terms, and this decisive tone remained the chief if not the only basis of their argumentation.

It cannot be denied that this way of writing is very easy, for it arouses in readers little conversant with the matter under discussion the impression that the reviewer has a thorough knowledge of the subject, while at the same time exempting him from the obligation of proving that knowledge. But this facility is somewhat treacherous. There can arise and there did arise in the case of *OR* a situation highly paradoxical, not to say comical, in which the various critics, while surpassing each other in the violence of their attacks, put forward against my book arguments which contradicted one another, thus bringing to light the specious value of their arguments.

As I intend to limit myself to questions of learning in the present study, I beg to be allowed to quote here some examples, which illustrate the political passions of my reviewers. Thus, Shevelov discovers in *OR* 'an anti-Russian bias',¹ while Stepanovich thinks it too pro-Russian and says: 'the author has written it following the line of

¹ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, p. 43.

least resistance and adapting himself to the demands of present-day "lovers" of Russia'.² In a similar trend, Riasanovsky accuses me of lack of originality of thought and subjection to the influence of certain Russian historians: 'It is natural, therefore, that in his [Paszkiewicz's] statements and conclusions he reflects the opinions of others, most often those of A. Solovyov . . . and M. N. Pokrovsky'.³ The author's general conclusion . . . is nothing but a paraphrase of Pokrovsky's views.'⁴ On the other hand, A. Solovyov (Soloviev) has published an article in which he categorically expresses views contrary to mine.⁵

Jakobson speaks of my hostile attitude towards the eastern neighbours of Poland and imputes to me the desire to belittle the value of their national cultures (. . . 'his [Paszkiewicz's] own . . . naïve "neighbor deprecation". He underestimates one of the most intensive outbursts of early Slavic culture, the Kievan Russia chapter').⁶ The question arises, therefore, whether I really have shown such tendencies in relation to the Ukrainians, White Rus' and Lithuanians. It is worth noting that Smal-Stocki, although a Ukrainian, judges my book quite differently. 'Paszkiewicz's work—he writes—is virtually an encyclopaedia of all important questions of East European history and will become an indispensable handbook for studies of political, religious and cultural history.'⁷ In the face of Jakobson's reproach the word 'cultural' is here of special significance. Similar opinions have been expressed by the Lithuanians. 'This work—says the Lithuanian paper *Draugas*—commands respect by its great objectivity. Without any hidden intentions, Paszkiewicz with his authority of a serious historian places the history of Lithuania in an international framework. He assigns to her a very important place in the history of Eastern Europe.'⁸ The observations of Trumpa, published in *Lietuva*, follow the same line:

'This short review of the contents shows how many interesting problems concerning Lithuania are raised by Paszkiewicz in his work "The Origin of Russia". The problems are not only examined but also resolved, the author taking his stand on the sources which he analyses critically. . . . The most valuable characteristic of H. Paszkiewicz's work is perhaps that he introduces into world historiography Lithuanian geographical and personal names. It is to be expected that this will help other historians to be conscientious in writing about the historical problems of Lithuania.'⁹

Jakobson criticizes the chief thesis of *OR* regarding the ecclesi-

² R. Stepanovich, in *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, London, December 22, 1955.

³ M. Pokrovsky, who was violently attacked in the Soviet Union after his death, is now being gradually restored in his reputation as a historian. Cf. *Ob izuchenii istorii istoricheskoi nauki*, *Vol*, 1956 (1), p. 11.

⁴ V. Riasanovsky, in *RR*, 1956, p. 135.

⁵ A. Soloviev, *Der Begriff 'Russland' im Mittelalter*, *WAGSO* II, 1956, pp. 143-168.

⁶ R. Jakobson, in *AHR*, 1955, p. 107.

⁷ R. Smal-Stocki, in *CHR*, 1955, p. 197.

⁸ *Draugas*, Chicago, March 5, 1955.

⁹ V. Trumpa, in *Lietuva*, New York, 1956 (8), p. 93.

astical and religious significance of the term 'Rus'' and sees in it an instance of my political, polonophile tendencies. Now, it must be stressed that the same interpretation of the meaning of Rus' was formulated by White Rus'ian scholars.¹⁰ Thus, Jakobson's assertions are also directed against them. Where is then my deprecation of Poland's eastern neighbours?

The differences of opinion in the historical literature on the present subject have found a very clear expression in the echoes and reactions produced by *OR*. I shall begin this survey with those authors who in a greater or a lesser degree approve of my stand-point. It would indeed be surprising, in view of the wide variety of problems examined in *OR*, if a reviewer were to agree with me on every point. I am concerned here with something different, *i.e.*, with the general appraisal of my book. That is why I shall mention first of all those scholars who, in their papers, reviews, or notes considered *OR* as not devoid of historical value.

Arne, after reviewing the results of research done by Soviet authors and by Vernadsky, writes:

'A definitely more critical opinion is maintained by H. Paszkiewicz, the Polish professor who works in England. In a volume of more than 550 pages, he has put forward his views on the Rus' and the Varangians, their nationality and their contribution to the development of the Rus'ian State.... Paszkiewicz rightly emphasizes that the Rus'ian problem must be solved entirely on a basis of the sources, without the interference of national, political, and other elements. Primarily he trusts the written sources and others, such as archaeological and linguistic ones, provided they agree with the texts.... The chapter concerning the Volga Finnish population is of particular interest. Paszkiewicz denies the Russian thesis that Finnish peoples, such as the Merya and Ves', were expelled by the Slavonic colonization at an early period. Their language was still alive in the 11th century, but when they became Christians and were influenced by the Slavonic, they gradually adopted that language. The Finnish population still exists, although speaking Russian.... Seldom has a bibliography as exhaustive as the one which Paszkiewicz adds to his monumental work, been published'....¹¹

'The work [*OR*]'—says Bodnarczuk—based on an enviable knowledge of sources and on an extensive bibliography (over 2000 items),

¹⁰ I have to point out, for the sake of accuracy, that I reached my conclusion quite independently of the White Rus'ian authors. When I was about to finish *OR*, I came across two articles with corresponding views to the thesis I was putting forward. Cf. Yu. Verashchaka, *Ob naimen'nyakh 'Gudy', 'Kryvichy', 'Rus'*, *Kryvich*, 1923 (1), pp. 17–24; L.A., *Shto takoe 'Rus' smalenskai targovai gramaty 1229 g.?*, *ibid.*, 1923 (6), pp. 23–24; *OR*, p. 14. Similar White Rus'ian publications have since appeared. Cf. Ya. Stankevich, *Korotki nacyrk gistoryi Kryvich-Belarusi*, V, 1951, pp. 50, 55; D. Davidovich-Goradzinski, *Belarus' i Ukraina*, *ibid.*, 1953, p. 117. Hryčak draws attention to the congruence of my views with those of the White Rus'ian scholars: 'He [Paszkiewicz] believes the primary use of the word: Rus' was in religious connections (here he follows consciously or unconsciously the thesis of some representatives of the Kryvychy wing of the Byelorussian intelligentsia'...), *UQ*, 1955, p. 181.

¹¹ T. Arne, in *HT*, 1956, pp. 88–95.

constitutes an important contribution to the medieval history of Central and Eastern Europe. All the problems implied by the title [of the book] are independently examined and are presented in a well thought-out, original and absorbing manner.'¹²

And this is the opinion of Bruce Boswell:

'The great qualities of Professor Paszkiewicz, besides his learning, are his lucidity [and] the logic of his arguments. . . . However the reader may differ from some of the author's conclusions, he will find the book original, stimulating, readable and well planned, bringing him in close contact with the sources, and with critical views of them published by modern historical students, both inside and outside the USSR. The high quality of the copious notes is maintained throughout and enhances the value of the text, both of the main work and of the appendices. It is a book to keep on one's bookshelves.'¹³

According to Hellmann, *OR* is 'a book of paramount importance'.¹⁴

'He [Paszkiewicz]—states Kirchner—is intimately acquainted with the extensive literature on the various topics, listing in his bibliography more than a thousand sources, monographs, and periodical articles by Soviet, older Russian, Polish, Scandinavian, German, American, and other scholars, and directing the reader in countless extensive footnotes to views supporting, as well as differing from his own deductions. . . . It would be an injustice to the author if the impression were left that he is either simply reemphasizing earlier views or that he is giving new apodictical answers to old and involved questions. The merit of the work is great. It lies in the penetration and infinite care with which the author arrives at his answers and the logic and scholarship with which differing conclusions are considered and discussed. . . . There is no doubt that Paszkiewicz's work will rank as an outstanding contribution to the controversy over the origin of Russia and that because of its scope it will remain indispensable to all serious students of Russian history.'¹⁵

'While distinctly original in its method—affirms Koczy—the work [*OR*] produces a synthesis of vast dimensions; it impresses by its scholarly erudition and by the force of its exposition. There cannot be any doubt that it is one of the most important recent contributions to the general history of the Middle Ages.'¹⁶

'This is—observes Ledit—a colossal reference book. . . . Professor Paszkiewicz has studied the origins of Rus' with a breadth of vision that considered all questions raised by historians. Always, the scholarship is excellent and the documentation exhaustive.'¹⁷

'With the exception of. . .—here Lopatin mentions two problems which are dealt with more fully in another place of the present study—the rest of the book is scholarly and well-documented and, therefore,

¹² S. Bodnarczuk, in *WSJ* V, 1956, pp. 201–203.

¹³ A. Bruce Boswell, in *SEER*, 1956, p. 504.

¹⁴ M. Hellmann, *Grundfragen slavischer Verfassungsgeschichte des frühen Mittelalters*, *JGO* II, 1954 (2), p. 403. Similarly—H. Halm, *Achtzig Jahre russischer Geschichtsschreibung ausserhalb Russlands*, *JGO* V (1–2), 1957, p. 41.

¹⁵ W. Kirchner, in *Hi*, 1956, pp. 115–116.

¹⁶ L. Koczy, in *Ant* II, 1955, pp. 95–96. See also *idem*, in *OE* VII, 1957, pp. 107–108.

¹⁷ J. Ledit, in *T*, 1956, pp. 464–466.

may be recommended to readers interested in the early history of Russia.¹⁸

Mazon limits his remarks concerning my book to the poem *Slovo o polku Igoreve*, on the subject of which he is an outstanding expert:

'The Polish historian Henryk Paszkiewicz in the course of his great work on the origins of Russia... includes an appendix (pp. 333-353) in which he presents with objectivity and penetration some observations based on a comparison between the *Slovo [o polku Igoreve]* and the *Zadonshchina*. He stresses particularly the contrast between the wholly Christian conception of the Rus'ian land, homeland of Orthodox Christianity, which the *Slovo o pogibeli* and the *Zadonshchina* evoke in keeping with the spirit of the Middle Ages, and the "ethnic and national" interpretation of the *Slovo [o polku Igoreve]*—an interpretation alien to the Middle Ages which strengthened by neopaganism further aggravates the modern obsession with race and frontiers.'¹⁹

'Professor Paszkiewicz's history of Rus' (rather than Russia), from the 9th to the 14th century, is written—remarks McGraw—for the scholar rather than the casual reader. Though the work presents the basic developments of the period, it is not a complete history of events. Instead, it is an investigation of significant arguments, which have long been the subject of vast polemics. Discussing the value of 'Nestor's Chronicle', the effect of the Norse, Tartar and Lithuanian peoples on the history of Russia and Eastern Europe, and other controversial questions, the author challenges many of the jealously guarded, though possibly false, beliefs of certain respected historians. Those who are especially interested in this period will find the book controversial but stimulating reading. It is heavily footnoted and contains a useful fifty page bibliography.'²⁰

'The Russian poet [Tyutchev] was wrong—says Meysztowicz—when he wrote that Russia is an immeasurable phenomenon, that the human mind cannot comprehend it; it is not so.... But the understanding of Russia requires a breaking away from imposed patterns.... In Paszkiewicz's work we have an element of polemic, which takes a lot of space.... Its extent is the result not merely of the extremely wide learning of the author...; it results also from the fact that, relying on a deeper and a fresh analysis of sources, the author fashions a new concept of history, destroying... Karamzin's synthesis.... This exposition contains the most thorough review of all works dealing with the history of medieval Rus', being based on the fullest and most exhaustive bibliography.'²¹

Meyvaert writes:

'This work [OR] makes an important contribution to a well-known problem. Not the least of Prof. P.'s merit is his faithful adherence to the principles which—rightly underlined by him many times, especially on pp. 110-113—should form the foundation of all historic research: exhaustive and complete study of the sources, objective interpretation without concession to either national sympathies or ideological theories.... The extensive knowledge shown by the author not only

¹⁸ I. Lopatin, in *WAI*, 1955, p. 109.

¹⁹ A. Mazon, in *RES* XXXII, 1955, p. 149.

²⁰ J. McGraw, in *JIA* IX (2), 1955, p. 102.

²¹ W. Meysztowicz, in *TH* VIII, 1956-1957, pp. 144-147.

of ancient documents but also of the most recent works is impressive. His bibliography, 50 pages (pp. 470-519), which enumerates historical sources and modern works, is a valuable research tool.²²

According to Miller:

'The time has not yet come to write a narrative history of Russia from the earliest times to the rise of Muscovy. The first merit of Paszkiewicz's book is that he attempts no such narrative, but divides the subject-matter into an illuminating series of problems so that he is enabled, to a considerable extent, to reap the harvest of the controversies. Another and independent merit is that, unlike many other writers on the period, Paszkiewicz apparently feels himself under no obligation to reflect back into pre-Christian times the phenomena of states, nationalities and rigorously delimited churches. His survey of problems is thereby set free to consider the real fluidity of political, proto-national and ecclesiastical frontiers in early mediaeval times in Eastern Europe. . . . The fruitfulness of this approach in handling such barren controversies as have raged about the "Normanist Question" is refreshing and most welcome.'²³

'Two conclusions—states Mosse—may be drawn from Paszkiewicz's detailed analysis. The first is that traditional views of early Russian nationality and statehood are, in their more extreme forms, untenable. The second is that religion, not ethnography, is the dominant factor in dividing Eastern Europe. By clearly establishing these points, Professor Paszkiewicz has rendered a service both to scholarship and to historical understanding.'²⁴

'He [Paszkiewicz]—remarks Nowak—is thoroughly familiar with the sources and their interpretation by scholars. By an exhaustive, minute, and methodical analysis of the chronicles of the period, he demonstrates their essential reliability in fundamental matters. . . . This work of meticulous scholarship is an excellent compendium of the work done by scholars in this area and will serve both scholars and laymen with the best information on the subject to date.'²⁵

And here is the opinion of O'Brien:

'Paszkiewicz's work is important for its comprehensive approach to a difficult subject. His erudition, energy, and care in re-examining virtually all the literature on the topic command admiration. The book will not end the controversy over Russia's origin, but it will create fresh thinking on the subject. It is by far the most impressive study of its kind to appear for some time. The information contained in its fully annotated chapters and appendices, plus a splendid bibliography, is alone worth the price of the volume.'²⁶

'Henryk Paszkiewicz, "The Origin of Russia", presents—says Onasch—an extensive monograph on the period of the ascendancy of Kiev. It is a presentation in full of the political, ecclesiastical and cultural foundations of the State of Kiev. . . . An extensive bibliography,

²² P. Meyvaert, in *RHE*, 1955, p. 585.

²³ J. Miller, in *SS*, 1956, pp. 285-286.

²⁴ W. Mosse, in *H* (New Series) XL, 1955, No. 140, pp. 329-330.

²⁵ F. Nowak, in *SM*, 1955, p. 45.

²⁶ B. O'Brien, in *JCEA*, 1956, p. 74.

pp. 479-519, the numerous indexes and maps make Paszkiewicz's *OR* an important scholarly aid also for ecclesiastical history.²⁷

According to the publication *Ost-und Südosteuropa im westlichen Schrifttum der Nachkriegszeit*, *OR* is 'a many-sided and scholarly well founded examination of a controversial problem which is very important in East European history.'²⁸

Proehl writes:

'[*OR*] is a very noteworthy and significant contribution to the history of early Russia. In its critical analysis of the current opinions and the existing source-material, the book deals with the main points of the historical development of the Rus'. P. interprets the controversial term "Rus'" in a twofold meaning: in the narrow sense of Kiev as a geographical-political concept; in the wider sense as the appellation of all the followers of the Kievan Metropolis (in contrast to pagans and peoples of other denominations). By so doing he gains a very important vantage-point for the examination of the earliest times and the history of the 12th-14th centuries. He considers it an inadmissible interpretation of the sources to speak of a "Russian nation" at that period. . . . Special interest deserves the comparison [of the Rurikides' role in Eastern Europe] with the similar development of the Lithuanians on Rus'ian soil in the 12th-14th centuries. The Lithuanian princes as well as the Rurikides tried finally to escape their threatened absorption by the Slavonic majority population. Lithuania chose the solution of union with Poland; of the Rurikides only one branch—that of Yuri Dolgoruky—avoided this absorption in the region of Oka and Klyaz'ma, where in contrast to the Slavonic Rus'—a Finnish Rus' . . . came to flower. . . . Added to the text are 13 studies on individual questions. Of special importance are the notes in which Soviet and not easily available Polish works are considered. A bibliography of nearly 50 pages, 2 maps, 5 genealogical tables and 4 indexes complete this standard work on the Varangian and Rus'ian problem.'²⁹

Shimizu believes that *OR* is an 'original and new [book] which in a scholarly way establishes the actual processes of the formation of the Russian nation. . . . Without the work of Professor H. Paszkiewicz the origins of the Russian history would still have legendary features.'³⁰

Skwarczyński expresses similar views:

'Numerous studies in at least a dozen languages were written on the origin of Russia and its early history and for a long time controversial opinions were expressed by many writers on the subject. H. Paszkiewicz takes it up again and discusses the difficulties which face historians who study this part of Europe. . . . The book is a work of great learning, written with clarity and based on a critical examination of the sources. . . . This is one of the most scholarly books written on this period available in English.'³¹

'The work of Professor Paszkiewicz—states Smal-Stocki—is the achievement and result of a tremendous amount of reading, research,

²⁷ K. Onasch, *Christentum und Kirche im Kiever Russland. Ein Bericht über die nichtrussischsprachige Spezialliteratur*, *TR* XXIV (4), 1958, pp. 354-355.

²⁸ 1956, p. 29.

²⁹ F. Proehl, in *HGe* LXXIV, 1956, pp. 202-203.

³⁰ M. Shimizu, in *P* VI (1), 1957, pp. 98-108. See also *idem*, *Problems on the Origin of the Russi*, *ibid.* V (1), 1956, p. 54-76.

³¹ P. Skwarczyński, in *CRe*, No. 1076, 1955, pp. 140-141.

and the re-thinking of many fundamental problems of East European history which urged him to attempt to interpret them from new points of view. He presents the problems of the Kievan Rus' State with a keen sense of their interdependence on the basis of a gigantic bibliography which is utilized in extensive footnotes and citations. . . . The discussion which this book will provoke on both sides of the Iron Curtain, and among scholars of various nations will in the long run prove a great stimulus to the clarification of fundamental problems of Eastern European history.'³²

'In construction and appearance Paszkiewicz's book—writes Stökl—bears the stamp of a strictly scientific monograph. The main presentation [of the subject matter] is backed by accurate footnotes. . . . Irrespective of how many of Paszkiewicz's theses will hold their own against criticism, it will be a long time before we have another work to introduce us into the problems of East-Slavonic medieval history with greater intensity and on a more solid foundation of learning.'³³

'Altogether—says Szcześniak in his summing up—it is a great historical work by a great scholar.'³⁴

'A book which has appeared outside Russia . . . —observes Vercauteren—will be of great use to medievalists who wish to get a precise idea of a body of research with which they are often none too familiar because of their lack of knowledge of Russian—[it is] "The Origin of Russia" by H. Paszkiewicz.'³⁵

Similar views on the book were expressed by reviewers in a number of well-known periodicals and newspapers writing for the general public:

'This is a formidable but important tome the weight of which is equal to its weightiness. It will be indispensable to students of the pre-Muscovite history of Russia, particularly for the abundance of the documentation. . . . This is not an easy book to read. It not only assumes a good deal of prior knowledge—how many of us have the "Chronicle of Nestor" on our shelves?—but to make his points Professor Paszkiewicz is very repetitive, pressing them home in chapter after chapter and even into most relevant appendices. But of its value and of the learning of its author there is no doubt at all.'³⁶

'This book of five hundred pages . . . (judging by the number, variety and nationality of the authorities quoted in the text or in footnotes) must have engaged the author for years. . . . The author has spared no effort in making this book a worth-while contribution to the history of Russia.'³⁷

'Professor Paszkiewicz's book is a historical work of flesh and blood, woven of a very fine and rich material. The author sticks close to his

³² R. Smal-Stocki, in *CHR*, 1955, pp. 197–198.

³³ G. Stökl, *Russisches Mittelalter und sowjetische Mediaevistik*, *JGO* III (1), 1955, pp. 7 and 22.

³⁴ B. Szcześniak, in *RP*, 1955, p. 420.

³⁵ F. Vercauteren, *Travaux d'histoire du moyen âge* (1945–1954), *R* VI, 1955, p. 76; also in Russian, *idem*, *Raboty po istorii srednikh vekov v 1945–1954 godakh*, *Vol.*, 1956 (4), p. 211.

³⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, Glasgow, January 27, 1955.

³⁷ *Irish Independent*, Dublin, January 8, 1955.

sources, leading us step by step through the maze of texts.... "The Origin of Russia" provides the reader with a certain degree of initiation into mysteries of the historical craft. A considerable part of this work is devoted to a fresh reading of medieval texts. Professor Paszkiewicz does this in a masterly manner, with even a touch of the virtuoso. In the eyes of the reader texts which appear tortuous begin to speak in a clear and simple language.'³⁸

'The book is indeed a mine of information on subjects about which most of us in the West—historians and general readers alike—know little.'³⁹

'The greatest merit of the well-known historian is an unrivalled knowledge of the sources and studies concerning the beginnings of Rus'.... It must be admitted that Paszkiewicz has for most of the problems he studies, found and presented solutions which are new. Not only are they always based on an analysis of the sources, but they also take into account the newest research.'⁴⁰

'Up to the present day Western historians have very often relied on Russian historians and accepted their theses.... In the last years the most trustworthy ancient sources have been examined and appraised anew.... The biggest contribution in this sense was made... by the Polish historian, Henryk Paszkiewicz.'⁴¹

'The controversy centres largely on the meaning of the name: Rus', on the provenance of the rulers of Rus', and on the ethnical character of the inhabitants of the region which later became the principality of Moscow and the heart and driving force of the modern Russian state. It is with these subjects that Professor Paszkiewicz, one of the most distinguished of living Polish historians, is largely concerned in the present volume, an exhaustive but highly specialized treatise, the unsurpassed learning and scholarly acumen of which make it indispensable to serious future study in its field.'⁴²

'The past of Russia is as obscure as its present, and it has taken Professor Paszkiewicz... well over five hundred pages of almost incredible erudition to unravel one small part of it. His great work... will prove of fundamental importance for the understanding of all Eastern Europe.... He has built a monument which will not easily be surpassed.'⁴³

'Professor Paszkiewicz... confines his study on the origin of Russia to a limited period (9th to 14th century). His research on this period is exhaustive and the conclusions drawn from it betray a scholar of the highest standing. To tackle this complicated subject is by no means an easy task.... This book is a treatise on Slav history written by a par excellence Slav historian operating predominantly in East-European sources. But it is a work of exceptional authority.'⁴⁴

'Mr. Paszkiewicz is a Polish historian now writing in Great Britain. ... His work is a work of real learning based on an exhaustive study

³⁸ *Kultura*, Paris, No. 6/92, 1955, pp. 138-139.

³⁹ *Liverpool Daily Post*, Liverpool, December 8, 1954.

⁴⁰ *Osservatore Romano*, Vatican, February 10, 1955.

⁴¹ *Il Popolo*, Rome, February 23, 1955.

⁴² *The Spectator*, London, November 26, 1954.

⁴³ *The Statesman*, Calcutta, March 27, 1955.

⁴⁴ *Sunday Standard*, Madras, Bombay and Delhi, April 10, 1955.

of the sources and of a large array of modern authorities. . . . This is a noteworthy product of scholarship in emigration.⁴⁵

'Professor Paszkiewicz . . . makes a fundamental and detailed study of the origin of Russia, a study that has a vital bearing on the history of all Eastern Europe. It is a massive piece of research dealing with the ethnical and political conditions which developed in the regions of the Dnieper and the Volga, from the 9th to the end of the 14th century.'⁴⁶

'[The book] is lucid, exact, and extremely well arranged. Moreover, it answers the question with which it begins.'⁴⁷

'Professor Paszkiewicz's style is that of research worker. On every page he refers to written sources. . . . When anything lacks clarity he adduces all the opinions extant on the subject, including those contrary [to his views]. Thanks to this the reader can appreciate the value of the arguments of the partisans of differing view-points and can arrive at a judgement of his own. . . . Professor Paszkiewicz's book is not a manual of the history of the ancient Ukraine but it contains sufficiently abundant material which could not be passed over when compiling such a manual or when undertaking a profound investigation of our [Ukrainian] past. . . . Concerning the question of the lack of ethnic kinship between the Ukrainians and the Russians our own [Ukrainian] scholars have achieved nothing that will pass into international scholarship. The best proofs of this absence of ethnic kinship have been given by a Polish professor, and that quite unintentionally, as this problem did not constitute the main subject of his work.'⁴⁸

'The great value to learning of Professor Paszkiewicz's book, both where its content and its extent are concerned, should be firmly fixed in our minds. The fact alone, that it puts in order, without omitting anything, the sources and the literature on the subject . . . makes it permanently indispensable to further research. But, what is more important, this work throws fresh light at every step. Professor Paszkiewicz's careful, reliable and sober analysis accepts and gives backing to some views while it rejects others, it denounces what is doubtful and confirms what is certain.'⁴⁹

It will be seen that the opinions quoted above,⁵⁰ although many of them belong to eminent historians and deserve, in the interests of learning, a more detailed mention, have been but briefly noticed, owing to limitations of space. They reflect the views of authors living in various countries and belonging to many nations, a fact not devoid of importance. The accusations made against *OR* by my opponents are being dealt with in detail in the body of my book. At this point

⁴⁵ *The Times Literary Supplement*, London, December 17, 1954.

⁴⁶ *The Times of India*, Bombay, March 6, 1955.

⁴⁷ *The Twentieth Century*, London, January, 1955.

⁴⁸ *Ukrains'ka Dumka*, London, November 10, 1955 and June 5, 1958 (O. Paramoniv).

⁴⁹ *Wiadomości*, London, February 6, 1955.

⁵⁰ I have heard about many positive reviews of *OR* (and I presume that there have been others, unknown to me, which were negative), unfortunately only in a very imprecise form, without obtaining the name of the periodical in question or the date of appearance. I have had neither the time nor the facilities to obtain such materials. I have obtained the reviews mentioned in this appendix mainly from my publishers, Messrs. Allen & Unwin, Ltd., London, and Philosophical Library, New York, to whom I wish here to express my thanks.

I shall merely mention some general negative appraisals and observations.

Hence, *audiat et altera pars*.⁵¹

The theses put forward in *OR* have been attacked with the utmost animosity by three authors: Jakobson, Shusharin and Pashuto. Such an approach makes a concrete discussion most difficult, especially as my opponents do not adduce any arguments or proofs in support of their own views. According to them, it suffices for their assertions to be formulated in a categorical manner, albeit devoid of substantiation. Jakobson considers *OR* to be a product of 'fantasy' and describes it as 'a mockery... of common sense generally', as a publication 'altogether inept, sometimes grotesque'.⁵² Shusharin writes in the same way: 'Thus, H. Paszkiewicz's book is directed in its whole content against Soviet historical science. A number of historians in the U.S.A., England, West Germany and Belgium have expressed favourable opinions of this book.... Of course, it would be more correct to speak about Paszkiewicz's ignorance of the literature [on the subject] and about his falsification of the evidence of the sources.'⁵³

According to Pashuto, 'the book [*OR*] has the stigma of reactionary, émigré propaganda'.⁵⁴ I do not think that this epithet is in any way injurious to me since the most eminent historians of Western Europe and the United States are described in Soviet historiography as 'gangsters' and 'falsifiers of truth'. There is no need to consider the question who is the more reactionary, Pashuto and his companions,⁵⁵ who uncritically fulfil only the commands of the Communist Party, or the present author who wishes to write in the name of freedom of thought and of research.

⁵¹ I have not answered my opponents in the periodicals in which their reviews had appeared, thinking, as I do, that it is preferable to deal with all the opinions expressed together. This provides the reader with a much clearer picture of the controversial problems.

⁵² R. Jakobson, in *AHR* LXI (1), 1955, pp. 106-107.

⁵³ V. Shusharin, *O sushchnosti i formakh sovremennogo normanizma*, *VoI*, 1960 (8), pp. 75-76.

⁵⁴ V. Pashuto, *Protiv nekotorykh burzhuznykh kontseptsii obrazovaniya Litovskogo gosudarstva*, *VoI*, 1958 (8), p. 62. Similarly—*idem*, *Obrazovanie Litovskogo gosudarstva*, 1959, p. 213.

⁵⁵ Other Soviet historians, like Cherepnin and Shaskol'sky, also categorically reject all my theses without any proof but simultaneously admit: 'Some authors abroad [i.e., outside Russia]—for instance the Polish émigré Paszkiewicz—show adequate learning. They are acquainted with the most recent literature and publications in various languages....' L. Cherepnin, *Obrazovanie russkogo tsentralizovannogo gosudarstva v XIV-XV vekakh*, 1960, p. 141. 'The Normanist historians in the U.S.A. and England (Vernadsky, Paszkiewicz, Vasiliev, Dvornik, Cross, Chadwick and others) discuss mainly general questions; their works on the whole are based on the written sources.... The largest in size among the works under consideration is the capital monograph (*kapital'naya monografiya*) by H. Paszkiewicz, the Polish émigré living in England, "The Origin of Russia" which elucidates the rise of Rus' and the development of the Russian State organization up to the 15th century. The author is acquainted with almost the whole Russian and West European literature of the 20th century and also, to a considerable extent, with the Soviet historiography concerning his subject. From this point of view, he must be differentiated from many of his colleagues, especially G. Vernadsky. The bibliography added to Paszkiewicz's book comprises nearly 50 pages.' I. Shaskol'sky, *Normanskaya teoriya v sovremennoi burzhuznoi istoriografii*, *ISSSR*, 1960 (1), pp. 226-227.

Jakobson in his review says: 'Only when the author [Paszkievicz] confines himself to Polish questions does fantasy yield to scholarship.' I raised problems of Polish history several times in my book when these were connected with the European East. Can an author exhibit scholarship on the top of a page and fantasy at the bottom (or *vice-versa*)? It is hard to believe that there are readers with so little elementary critical sense to fall for such observations. Either one is a historian knowing the source-material and capable of analysing it, who has mastered the literature on his subject and assumes responsibility for the views he expresses, or one is a dilettante without proper academic training.

On the one hand Jakobson wants to create the impression that he is writing his review in an objective and serious manner and that is why he does not deny me the rank of a historian (although it should be noted that Jakobson himself is not a historian), and on the other, he wishes to prove at all cost that the history of Eastern Europe is a domain completely unknown to me and alien to my field of studies. A similar attitude was taken up by another of my opponents, another 'historian', Shevelov who describes *OR* as 'a kind of journalism'. Referring to the passages in my book dealing with Polish problems, he writes: 'Here he [Paszkievicz] is at home in the range of familiar problems.'⁵⁶ Before beginning his actual review, in the opening words, Shevelov introduces me to his readers as 'an expert in early Polish history', thus epitomizing a record of my earlier studies. It might be supposed from this that he must have read my publications. Unfortunately, this description of my previous books and treatises is wide of the mark. Never have I, before writing *OR*, published anything on early Polish history. I have concentrated exclusively on the 13th and 14th centuries, and even then I wrote very little on the Polish past, in the strict sense, devoting all my attention to the history of Eastern Europe.⁵⁷

Obolensky tries to outdo my other opponents in the violence of his attacks on *OR*. Like Jakobson and Shevelov, he asserts in his review that I display ignorance of East European history, that I enter a 'realm of pseudo-historical mythology', and that I put forward theses which 'are demonstrably at variance with the evidence of medieval sources'.⁵⁸ 'The author's [Paszkievicz's] arguments and conclusions . . . too often betray a serious lack of judgment.' At the same time the reviewer considers me 'an authority on the medieval history of Poland and Lithuania'.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, p. 44.

⁵⁷ This is stressed by my opponent, G. Vernadsky ('Henryk Paszkiewicz's name is well known to the readers in the history of Eastern Europe of the late Middle Ages through such works of his as. . . ' *Sp*, 1955, p. 293). But Jakobson and Shevelov are not among these readers.

⁵⁸ Obolensky does not say which sources these are.

⁵⁹ D. Obolensky, in *EHR* LXXIV, 1958, pp. 469-470.

Does knowledge of Lithuanian history help studies on 'The Origin of Russia'? Bruce Boswell, whose knowledge of the past of Eastern Europe is both sound and thorough, writes: 'The author, Professor Paszkiewicz, is a well known . . . historian . . . whose important works on Lithuanian history entitle him to approach his new subject with authority'.⁶⁰

The history of Lithuania in the 13th and 14th centuries belongs to the most important problems of Eastern Europe of this period since it is most closely connected with the past of the lands lying on the Dnieper, the Dvina, the Volga, the Oka, Lake Ilmen', etc. Obolensky himself acknowledges that much: 'the expansion of the Grand Duchy of Lithuania—he admits—. . . began in the 14th century to compete with Muscovy for hegemony in Eastern Europe'. Thus, 'an authority on the medieval history of . . . Lithuania' automatically signifies an expert on East European problems. What sort of an expert would a man be if he betrayed gaps in his learning of such magnitude as suggested by the reviewer? Obolensky was faced with two possibilities: either to pass in silence over my studies on Lithuania of the period in question, as was done by Jakobson and Shevelov, or to get nearer the truth and to mention them, at the same time contradicting himself. He chose the second alternative.

⁶⁰ A. Bruce Boswell, in *SEER* XXXIV, 1956, p. 502.

APPENDIX II

THE EARLIEST RUS'IAN-POLISH BORDERLANDS

WHEN I wrote *The Origin of Russia*, I was obliged to discuss some matters connected with the past not only of Rus' but also of Poland and arising from the territorial contiguity of the two countries. Two of these topics merit more detailed examination: the existence of the Slavonic rite in Poland as a factor to be considered in the development of the Christianity of Rus', and the delimitation of the earliest frontier between Rus' and Poland.

My observations on the Slavonic rite in Poland, though supported by an abundance of source-material, were strongly opposed by Lehr-Spławiński.¹ It is not my intention to engage herein in a polemic with this scholar if only because he is isolated in his views² and is in sharp discord with the sources of the epoch; furthermore, he has rather modified his original attitude during the last few years.³ Still more important is the fact that recently a new work by Lanckorońska appeared⁴ which is a valuable contribution to the subject under discussion. It constitutes a development and synthesis of a number of studies previously published by her.⁵ Since, apart from a few minor details, the views of this author are fully accepted by me, it would seem that her work provides an adequate reply to those historians who deny or minimize the role and significance of the Slavonic rite in Poland.

The subject of the earliest Rus'ian-Polish frontier, however, does require full examination, if only because my book (*OR*, 1954) was

¹ T. Lehr-Spławiński, Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce, *NP* VII, 1958, pp. 235-256. See also *idem*, Czy są ślady istnienia liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce? *S* XXV, 1956, pp. 290-299.

² Cf. L. Koczy, Slavonic Rite in Poland, *P* IV (3-4), 1955, pp. 319-328; B. Havránek, Otázka existence církevní slovanštiny v Polsku, *S* XXV, 1956, pp. 300-305; J. Umiński, Obrządek słowiański w Polsce IX-XI w. i zagadnienie drugiej metropolii polskiej w czasach Bolesława Chrobrego, *RHKUL* IV, 1957, pp. 1-44; H. Kapiszewski, Zagadnienie metropolii słowiańskiej w Sandomierzu, *MSH* I (1), 1958, pp. 73-78, and others.

³ T. Lehr-Spławiński, Pierwszy chrzest Polski, *S* XXIX (3), 1960, pp. 341-349.

⁴ K. Lanckorońska, Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland, *OCA* CLXI, 1961.

⁵ Le vestigia del rito Cirillo-Methodiano in Polonia, *Ant* I, 1954, pp. 13-28; Początki kościelne Krakowa, *RPTNO* V, 1954-1955, pp. 72-79; De altero Archiepiscopatu Poloniae saec. XI, *Ant* II, 1955, pp. 167-168; De 'reactione pagana' in Polonia a. 1038, *Ant* III, 1956, pp. 165-167; De limitibus dioecesium romano-slavonicarum in Polonia temporibus Boleslai Magni, *RHP* No 37, 1957, pp. 1-4; W sprawie sporu między Bolesławem Śmiałym a św. Stanisławem, *TH* IX, 1958, pp. 1-15; 'Reakcja pogańska' i powrót Odnowiciela, *TH* XI, 1960-1961, pp. 21-39.

followed by several works on this subject in which the relevant authors expressed views at variance with mine on many matters; moreover, the present work establishes a number of facts which are not without relevance to this problem.

It goes without saying that an historian must take linguistic and archaeological data into consideration, particularly when dealing with such distant times. They can often prove serviceable when the source-texts prove inadequate either because of their paucity, brevity, or the contradictory nature of the information transmitted. In the present case, however, there is no shortage of strictly historical sources. In fact, they are unexpectedly abundant, originate from various territories and on the whole are in agreement in their description of Polish-Ruś'ian borderland relations. As in the preceding sections of the present book, so in this appendix linguistic and archaeological material is taken into account but only in an auxiliary role. I am in absolute disagreement with the position adopted by some linguists, such as Jakobson,⁶ Shevelov,⁷ Stender-Petersen⁸ and others, who in glaring fashion disregard or make light of the information handed down by historical sources. These authors transpose the frontiers of Eastern and Western Slavonic dialects from later periods to the most ancient times on the assumption that ethnic and linguistic relations underwent no changes in the relevant territories during entire centuries. Their approach is contradicted by many facts. Constantine Porphyrogenitus located the Pechenegs at the borderland with Poland in the middle of the 10th century; yet we know that they disappeared from those territories in later times. 'Nestor' wrote that two Polish tribes, the Radimichians and the Vyatichians, migrated towards the north-east, to settle on the Sozh' and the Oka. The fate of the Croats after the beginning of the 11th century is unknown to us. A classical example of the tribal migration in those times is afforded by the Ulichians: they lived at first on the Dnieper, south of the Polyanians, then (about the middle of the 10th century) they inhabited the region between the Upper Boh and the Middle Dniester, and later moved farther to the south in order to settle on the Lower Dniester.⁹ During many centuries, the southern steppes witnessed waves of migrations which pushed Slavs and non-Slavs for the most part towards the west, towards the Carpathians. Ethnic changes may also have been brought about in these areas under the Rurikides of the 12th and 13th centuries by the introduction of East Slavonic settlers to strengthen their position in the Polish-Ruś'ian borderland territories. Similar policy was conducted by Vladimir and Yaroslav in the Middle-Dnieper region in

⁶ R. Jakobson, in *AHR*, 1955, p. 107.

⁷ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, pp. 44. Similarly—P. Hrycak, *The Duchy of Halycz-Volhynia*, *US V*, 1958, p. 16.

⁸ A. Stender-Petersen, *Russian Studies*, *AJ XXVIII* (2), 1956, pp. 21–22.

⁹ *OR*, pp. 354–358.

the 10th and 11th centuries.¹⁰ Furthermore, one should not under-rate the influence of the liturgical language of the Rus'ian Church upon the language spoken by the population inhabiting the area under examination. It is true that the East Slavonic dialects spoken in the Dniester and Bug regions were older than the Polish ones: but it does not follow that they were already in use there from the 9th to 11th century. According to some scholars (Lehr-Splawiński, Tymieniecki, etc.), later westward migrations of East-Slavonic elements should be taken into account.¹¹ All these considerations indicate that, in view of the fluid relations of settlement during the 9th to 11th century in the territories adjoining the steppe, linguistic criteria based on data from later periods do not afford a reliable basis for studies on the earliest Polish-Rus'ian borderlands.

A similar reservation must be made with regard to archaeological findings. It is to be welcomed that numerous new archaeological investigations are being undertaken in the Bug region, especially on the area of the so-called Czerwień cities.¹² But it would be most imprudent to suppose that archaeology will make it possible to establish finally the ethnic allegiance of the inhabitants of the territory in question during the centuries under discussion. I have more than once warned against over-hasty conclusions in the matter of identifying archaeological findings as Slavonic, Ugro-Finnish, Varangian, etc. In this case, identification is all the more difficult as it implies delimiting cognate Western and Eastern Slavonic elements.¹³ As in

¹⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, pp. 56, 83, 101, etc.

¹¹ T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Lędzice-Lędzanie-Lachowie*, in *Opuscula Casimiro Tymieniecki*, 1959, pp. 203-205; K. Tymieniecki, *Początki Słowian Wschodnich na tle ogólnym słowiańskim i w ramach dziejów powszechnych*, in J. Ochmański, *Konferencja poznajska, poświęcona problematyce genezy państwa ruskiego*, *KH LXV* (2), 1958, pp. 626-627.

¹² A. Gieysztor, *Prace badawcze w Grodach Czerwieńskich w r. 1952*, *KH LX*, 1953, pp. 302-316; H. Łowmiański, *Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich*, *KH LX*, 1953, pp. 58-85; Z. Rajewski, *Grody Czerwieńskie na warsztacie archeologów i historyków polskich*, *NPo I* (1), 1953, pp. 195-197; A. Gieysztor, *Polskie badania na Grodach Czerwieńskich w latach 1952-1953*, *KIPR*, 1954, pp. 144-153; K. Moszyński, *O nazwie jednego z dawnych grodów na polsko-ruskim pograniczu*, *PoJ*, 1954 (4), pp. 1-7; K. Jażdżewski, *Stosunki polsko-ruskie we wczesnym średniowieczu w świetle archeologii*, *PS IV*, 1955, pp. 340-360; M. Gądzikiewicz, *Sprawozdanie tymczasowe z badań prowadzonych w 1954 r. na stanowisku 2 (podgródzie) w Gródku Nadbużnym*, pow. Hrubieszów, *SpA II*, 1956, pp. 69-74; Z. Rajewski, *Sprawozdanie z badań na Grodach Czerwieńskich w 1954 r.*, *ibid.*, II, 1956, pp. 49-53; L. Rauhut, *Sprawozdanie z badań w 1954 r. nad konstrukcją wału grodowego w Gródku Nadbużnym*, *ibid.*, II, 1956, pp. 65-67; *idem*, *Średniowieczne cmentarzysko szkieletowe na stanowisku 1 A w Gródku Nadbużnym*, *ibid.*, II, 1956, pp. 78-81; W. Bender, E. Kierzkowska, K. Kierzkowski, J. Bronicka-Rauhutowa, *Badania w Gródku Nadbużnym w pow. hrubieszowskim w 1955 r.*, *ibid.*, III, 1957, pp. 169-189; L. Rauhut, *Osadnictwo wczesnośredniowieczne w Strzyżowie, pow. Hrubieszów*, *WA XXIV*, 1957, pp. 113-129; Z. Wartolowska, *Gród czerwieński Sutiejsk na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, *Swi XXII*, 1958, pp. 1-140; A. Zbiński, *Zabytki ruchome z Czeremna nad Huczwą*, *APo IV* (1), 1959, pp. 67-185, and others. See also P. Rappoport, Kholm, *SAr XX*, 1954, pp. 313-323; J. Kłoczowski, *Zarys historii rozwoju przestrzennego miasta Chełma*, *RHKUL*, 1958, pp. 193-221; M. Karger, *Vnov' odkrytye pamyatniki zochestva XII-XIII vv. vo Vladimire Volynskom*, *UZLGu*, No. 252, 1958, pp. 3-33, etc.

¹³ E. Timofeev, *Rasselenie yugo-zapadnoi grupy vostochnykh slavyan po materialam mogil'nikov X-XIII vv.*, *SAr*, 1961 (3), p. 56 remarks that the inventory of most Slavonic burial grounds west of the Dnieper is similar and it is difficult therefore to

previous sections of this book, I take the observations and conclusions of archaeologists into consideration here only when these are in agreement with the written sources.

The earliest Rus'ian-Polish frontiers should be examined, as far as possible, from three aspects: the ethnic, the political-State and the ecclesiastical. It often happens, of course, that these three criteria coincide.

It must be stated at once that the literature on the subject is most controversial. The authors differ fundamentally in their opinions, and in some cases even contradict themselves, as with Grekov,¹⁴ for instance. There is much confusion in the works owing to inadequately defined terminology. Tribes settled in the Bug and Dniester region are sometimes referred to as East-Slavonic and at other times as Rus'ian, whilst the concepts of 'Rus'' and of the 'East-Slavs' are sometimes treated as identical and at times as different. In my opinion, all this confusion stems from an erroneous interpretation of the term 'Rus''—a problem to which I have devoted much space in the present book.

In view of the fact that the research on the subject has produced so many differences of opinion, it is essential that a precise method of investigation be adopted, *viz.*, that authors should keep strictly to the texts of the sources, establish facts as accurately as possible, and, when hypotheses are being proposed, plainly state that these are merely surmises.

The problem of delimiting the Rus'ian-Polish borderlands requires

define the territories of particular tribes. Fedorov's ethnographic conclusions drawn from archaeological material of the Prut and the Dniester areas must be considered very carefully. Cf. G. Fedorov, Slavyane Podnestrov'ya, in *Po sledam drevnikh kul'tur. Drevnyaya Rus'*, 1953, pp. 121-154; *idem*, Itogi trekhletnikh rabot v Moldavii v oblasti slavyano-russkoi arkheologii, *KSDPI* LVI, 1954, pp. 8-23; *idem*, Naselenie Prutsko-Dnestrovskogo Mezhdurech'ya v I tysyacheletii n.e., *MIA* LXXXIX, 1960; *idem*, Naselenie yugo-zapada SSSR v I-nachale II tysyacheletiya n.e., *SE*, 1961 (5), pp. 80-106.

¹⁴ I cite two passages from Grekov's publications in support of this observation. In one of them, he asserts that 'Rus' was the name of the populous Slavonic nation which occupied the enormous areas from the left-bank tributaries of the Vistula to the Caucasus, and far to the north along the course of the Dnieper to the river Volkhov and Lake Ilmen' inclusive.' B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* I, 1953, p. 79. Discussing the major problems which faced Vladimir's predecessors, Grekov indicates Kiev's vital need to conquer the land of the Derevlans. According to him, the Derevlian problem 'consisted in the establishment of a western frontier which evoked sharp repercussions in connection with Poland's tendency to penetrate the territory of Rus'.' B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva*, *IANSI* II (3), 1945, p. 138. In other words, the territory of the Derevlans is presented as having served as the western borderland of Rus' which had to be defended against Polish expansion. Yet we learn from Grekov that the western frontier of Rus' was situated on the Vistula or west of that river. It may well be asked, therefore, why this Vistulian frontier was not defended by the Kievan princes who, as Grekov stresses, had a decided military superiority over the Poles. If one visualizes the enormous stretch of land between the left-bank tributaries of the Vistula and the western border of the Derevlian country (the Horyn' or the Styr), it is easy to see the extent of Grekov's error.

a dual approach: it should be examined from the point of view of the east and from that of the west, that is to say it should be viewed from Rus' and from Poland. The analysis of the source-material effected in the present work covers many sources dealing with Rus'. On the other hand, Polish affairs are excluded from it, and it would therefore seem to be justified to devote some attention to them now, while making it clear that account is being taken only of those source-texts which refer directly to Poland's eastern frontiers and not to those dealing with Polish history as a whole during the period under consideration.

Discussing the Polish-Rus'ian borderland as it was from the second half of the 9th to the end of the 10th century, one must inevitably take into account a number of tribes which inhabited areas on both sides of the frontier. The source-material dealing with the Slavonic tribes settled to the east of the frontier is much more abundant than that regarding their western kin.

As was stated in *OR*, the location of tribal territories should not be effected on the basis of the names of strongholds which resemble those of the given tribes.¹⁵ Tribes did not take their names from strongholds (or other localities) but for the most part assumed names derived from the characteristic features of the terrain they inhabited, or took over the name of the principal river in their country. This mode of choosing tribal names appears clearly amongst both the Polish and the East-Slavonic tribes.

Identical or very similar tribal names appear among the Slavs taken as a whole, the Western, the Eastern and the Southern ones, but not among the ethnically differentiated tribal groups as, for instance, the Polish or the East-Slavonic group. In fact, to suppose on Polish territory two or more separate tribes with an identical or nearly identical name based on one and the same etymological root would be very risky.

Alleged changes in tribal names with century-long traditions behind them, should not be too readily accepted. Such changes could have taken place only in rare instances in those times, under pressure of some unusual circumstance, such as subjugation or conquest. In these cases, the victorious tribe would impose its rule and often its name upon the defeated side.

Some scholars who advance more or less credible hypotheses are overready to create various tribes of whose existence nothing is known, and this is often done by dint of distorting the texts of the sources.¹⁶ They likewise are too ready to let tribes die out and dis-

¹⁵ *OR*, pp. 34-36, 369. J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, p. 63 is of the same opinion.

¹⁶ Thus, for instance, J. Widajewicz, *Początki Polski*, 1948, p. 62 supplants the tribal appellation of *Lendizi* in the 'Bavarian Geographer' by *Lednizi* while linking the latter with the town of Lednica, near Gniezno. This author, in another work (J. Widajewicz, *Pierwotna nazwa Polaków*, *PS* III, 1952, pp. 56-57) creates the hypothetical tribe of the Lickians (in Polish: *Licki*, *Lickowie*) on the strength of a mention

appear from the stage of history. Such methods do more to confuse the issue than to throw light upon the subject under discussion.

The essential problem which lies at the centre of the present examination is that of the oldest supra-tribal name of the Poles: *Lyakhove*, *Lyakhy*, as inscribed by 'Nestor' in the beginning of the 12th century, and *Lechitae*, according to the Latin text of the Polish chronicler Vincent who wrote at the turn of the 12th–13th century.

In connection with these appellations attention must also be devoted to the term *Lendizi* which appears in the so-called Bavarian Geographer amongst the names of many tribes settled north of the Danube.¹⁷ It is indubitable that the above-mentioned names—*Lendizi* (in Polish, *Lędzice*) and *Lyakhy*, *Lechitae*—are etymologically related. They derive from the root *lęd*, which appears in many Slavonic words, as *lędo*, *lyada*, *lyadina*, *lada*, etc., meaning scorched earth, grubbed-up land, fallow land, land suitable for cultivation but untilled, etc.¹⁸ As etymologists are in agreement on this subject,¹⁹ it is hardly necessary to give detailed references to the relevant literature. This common etymological root of the names in question supports the belief that they apply to a single tribe. In any case, such a

by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (the name of the Vistula or of a people settled on that river: *Litzike*). T. Lewicki, *Litzike Konstantyna Porfirogenety i Biali Serbowie w północnej Polsce*, *RH* XXII, 1956, pp. 13–14 'corrects' the name given by Constantine from *Litzike* to *Liztike* and introduces the tribal name of Lestkians (in Polish: *Lestki*, *Lestkowie*). Similarly, S. Rospond, *Onomastyka słowiańska*, *On* III, 1957, p. 111 speaks of the tribe of the Liskovians or Leskovians (in Polish: *Liskowicy*, *Leskowicy*).

¹⁷ This source probably originated at Regensburg just before the middle of the 9th century. Cf. H. Lowmiański, *O pochodzeniu Geografa Bawarskiego*, *RH*, XX, 1955, pp. 9–55. According to W. Fritze, *Die Datierung des Geographus Bavarus und die Stammesverfassung der Abotriten*, *ZSP* XXI (2), 1952, pp. 326–342, the 'Bavarian Geographer' was written between 844 and 862. As to the linguistic analysis of the tribal names in the 'Bavarian Geographer' see M. Rudnicki, 'Geograf Bawarski' w oświetleniu językowym, in *Prace językoznawcze i etnogenetyczne na IV Międzynarodowy Kongres Słowistów w Moskwie 1958r.*, 1958, pp. 187–197.

¹⁸ F. Persowski, *Lachowie, Lendizi, Lendzaninoi w nazewnictwie X wieku*, *RoP* IX (1), 1958, p. 15 lists the opinions of various authors on the meaning of the words: *lędo*, *lyada*, etc. See also F. Filin, *Issledovanie o leksike russkikh govorov po materialam sel'skokhozyaistvennoi terminologii*, *YM* VI, 1936, pp. 127–128. With reference to the term *Lyakhy-Lyakhove*, its adjectival form is *lyad'skyi* ('Polish'); the infinitive verb is *polyaditisya* ('to be Polonised'). The Ukrainian language has the formation *lyaduwaty* ('to have Polish inclinations'). Rudnicki's etymological consideration (cf. M. Rudnicki, *Lech i Piast*, *SA* V, 1956, pp. 76–83) regarding the term *Lechitae* is criticized by T. Lehr-Splawiński, in his *Lędzice-Lędzanie-Lachowie*, 1959, pp. 208–209. I have doubts regarding the latter's view that the term *Lechitae* was artificially coined by Vincent on the basis of the East-Slavonic *Lyakhy*. But Lehr-Splawiński admits (pp. 196–197) that the appellation *Lechitae* likewise implies the root *lęd*—and this is important in the present examination. The fact remains that later writers, after Vincent's time, often used this name (*Lechitae*). Dlugossius (15th century), it is true, links the *Lechitae* with the legendary Lech, but he also believes that the name has some connection with the clearing of wooded areas ('Quamvis autem a primo principe et conditore Lech, regio Lechia et gentes eius Lechitae appellatae sunt, quia tamen in plerisque locis camporum planities ad serendum aptae, recentium cultorum diligentia et industria in brevi tempore excisione nemorum auctae et in similem planiciem reductae, speciem naturalium quasi camporum praeberunt.' *Joannis Dlugossii... Historiae Polonicae Libri XII*; ed. I. Żegota Pauli and A. Przédziecki, I, 1873, p. 28).

¹⁹ Cf. A. Preobrazhensky, *Etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka* I, 1910–1914 (1958), pp. 496–497, 499; M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* II, pp. 81, 84; T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Lędzice*, pp. 195–197.

conclusion has more probability behind it than the hypothetical existence of separate tribes, settled in different regions and belonging to one and the same closely related ethnic group, which nevertheless bear identical or nearly identical names. Considering that these tribal names are handed down by sources written in Latin and in East-Slavonic (besides being encountered, as will later be shown, in Greek, Arabic, etc.) and that not one of these sources was inscribed in Polish, it can be concluded that the relatively slight differences in rendering the name of one and the same tribe could be easily explained.

The basis for an understanding of the most distant past of Poland is provided by the following text written by 'Nestor' in the introductory section of the *Povest'*:

For, when the Vlakhs attacked the Danubian Slavs, settled among them, and did them violence, the latter came and made their homes by the Vistula, and were then called Lyakhs. After these Lyakhs the Polanians were called [Lyakhs] and the other [tribes] who took this name [Lyakhs] were: the Lutichians, the Mazovians and the Pomeranians (*Volkhom bo nashedshem na sloveni na dunaiskiya, i sedshem v nikh i nasilyashchem im, sloveni zhe ovi prishedshe sedosha na Visle, i prozvashasya lyakhove, a ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyakhove družii lutichi, ini mazovshane, ini pomoryane*).²⁰

Two facts cited in the above passage have special significance for us: (a) the existence of a Slavonic tribe called the Lyakhs who were settled on the Vistula, and (b) the extension of this Lyakh appellation to other tribes. It follows from this text that the chronicler differentiated two phases in the development of the concept of the Lyakhs: the earlier, tribal application and the later, supra-tribal one.

'Nestor' does not state how the broader, supra-tribal concept of the Lyakhs arose. But, taking the relations then current into consideration and analogical events in many other countries, it seems safe to suppose that the process was effected by conquest on the part of the Lyakhs. The central position of their territory (on the Vistula) must have greatly facilitated expansion in various directions. It is worth stressing, too, that in the above-quoted passage the chronicler uses virtually exactly the same words and expressions as when recording conquests in other territories, particularly when he wishes to show that the victors imposed their name upon the defeated tribes.²¹

Łowmiański affirms that in the *Povest'* 'this name [Lyakhs] was

²⁰ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 11.

²¹ 'Nestor's' words, '... a ot tekh lyakhov prozvashasya polyane, lyakhove družii lyutichi...' and the expression he uses, 'Lyad'skaya zemlya' (*ibid.*, pp. 98, 101, etc.) should be compared with other passages in the *Povest'*, e.g., 'I ot tekh varyag prozvasya Ruskaya zemlya' (*ibid.*, p. 18); 'ot varyag bo prozvashasya Rus'yu, a pervoe besha slovene' (*ibid.*, p. 23); 'ugri... nasledisha zemlyu tu [sloven'sku], i sedosha s sloveny, pokorivshe ya pod sya, i ottole prozvasya zemlya Ugor'ska' (*ibid.*, p. 21); ... 'bolgare... sedosha po Dunaevi i naselnitsi slovenom bysha' (*ibid.*, p. 14); 'Po mnozekh zhe vremyanekh seli sut' sloveni po Dunaevi, gde est' nyne Ugor'ska zemlya i Bolgar'ska' (*ibid.*, p. 11), and so on.

never applied in a clearly tribal sense as it referred to the Poles as a whole'.²² This opinion is invalidated by the passage in the *Povest'* analysed above.²³ This text indicates that 'the Lyakhs' in the course of time became a territorial concept with extensive implications, embracing not only territories on the Middle Vistula (the Mazovians) and on the lower reaches of that river (the Pomeranians), but also the area of the Lower Odra (the Lutichians) and that of the Warta, a tributary of the Odra (the Polanians). The author of the *Povest'* testifies that the land of the Lyakhs extended from the Baltic,²⁴ in the north, to the Czech borderland in the south,²⁵ and in the east to the regions of the San and the Bug.²⁶ If 'Nestor' was acquainted solely with the supra-tribal concept of the Lyakhs, the extent of whose territory was known to him, it is senseless to restrict this territory to the Vistula area—strictly speaking, only to the Upper Vistula.²⁷

With regard to determining the original territory of the Lyakhs or the *Łędzice-Lendizi* (some authors treat these appellations as synonymous whilst others differentiate between them), two hypotheses are current in the literature on the subject: one locates this tribe west of the Vistula, whilst the other claims it lived east of that river. Both surmises have one thing in common although they are otherwise mutually contradictory:²⁸ both take no account of 'Nestor's' report regarding the original territory of the Lyakhs as being on the Vistula (or rather at its upper reaches). And it is for this reason that both hypotheses must be rejected.

It is often stated that the Polanians²⁹ originally bore another name, one that derived from the *łęd* root, viz., *Łędzice* or *Lyakhs*.³⁰ The

²² H. Łowmiański, *Studia nad wczesną Słowiańszczyzną*, KH LXVII (3), 1960, pp. 747–748.

²³ F. Persowski, *Lachowie*, pp. 5–23 rightly considers the Lyakhs were a tribe whose name later acquired supra-tribal application.

²⁴ 'Lyakhove zhe, i prusi, chud' presedyat' k moryu Varyazh'skomu.' *Povest'* I, p. 10.

²⁵ 'Svyatopolk . . . probezha Lyad'skuyu zemlyu . . . , pribezha v pustynyu mezhyu Lyakhy i Chekhy' . . . , *ibid.*, p. 98.

²⁶ 'Ide Volodimer k lyakhom i zaya grady ikh, Peremyshl', Cherven i iny grady' . . . , *ibid.*, p. 58.

²⁷ 'Nestor' states that the territories on the Middle and Lower Vistula were inhabited by tribes which were not Lyakhs themselves but which had accepted this appellation as their name.

²⁸ In order to eliminate evident contradictions, some authors suggest 'compromise' solutions which have no relation to fact, i.e., they postulate the existence of separate Polish tribes inhabiting different territories but bearing the same (or nearly the same) name.

²⁹ The tribe of the Polanians, settled on the Warta, should not of course be confused with the East-Slavonic, Kievan Polyanians.

³⁰ Cf. F. Bujak, *Dwa ustępy z geografii historycznej Polski*, in *Zbiór prac, poświęconych E. Romerowi w 40-lecie twórczości naukowej*, 1934, p. 570; *idem*, *Ustrój Polski w XI w.*, SPAU, 1945 p. 70; K. Tymieniecki, *Łędzice (Lechici) czyli Wielkopolska w IX w.*, PW II, 1946, pp. 161–172; *idem*, *Ziemia polskie w starożytności*, 1951, p. 49; *idem*, *Początki państwa Polan*, PH L, 1959, p. 41; J. Dąbrowski, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, RK XXXIV, 1958, p. 15. This view is shared, though with some reservations, by Z. Wojciechowski (*Wielkopolska i Kujawy kolebką państwa*; *idem*, *Uwagi o nazwach i lokalizacji plemion polskich na tle sąsiedztwa słowiańskiego*, in his *Studia historyczne*, 1955, pp. 303–304, 316–318) and by T. Lehr-Splawiński (*Łędzice*, 1959, pp. 196–202).

change in the name of this tribe—the authors state—was caused by a change in the system of agricultural husbandry: areas which had lain fallow (*lęda*) were put under cultivation in course of time, thus becoming fields (*pole*). It is claimed, in support of this opinion, that the Latin terms *Polonia* and *Poloni* (and analogously in other languages) first appeared in the sources with a supra-tribal meaning at a very late date, not until the beginning of the 11th century.³¹ It is further pointed out that numerous sources, as early as the 10th century, testify to the existence of a State and a nation which united many tribes, but without the name 'Poland', or 'Poles'. In view of the fact that the appellation 'Lyakhs' had a supra-tribal content before the 11th century, these authors conclude that the Polanians must have gone under this name in earlier times.

Unfortunately, these suppositions fail to convince me for the following reasons:

(a) When it is affirmed that the Lyakhs (or *Lendizi-Lędzice*) changed their name (which, in common with all tribal names, must have had a long tradition behind it) to 'Polanians' owing to a change in the system of husbandry, one would expect some reference to analogous facts having been observed in other countries. The authors who support this theory, however, cite no instances of this kind. Moreover, to reconstruct the earliest history of Poland by assuming exceptional and unusual events cannot but evoke objections.³²

(b) The hypothesis that the Polanians used to be called Lyakhs is contradicted by the above-cited passage in 'Nestor' which indicates that exactly the contrary was the case. The appellation 'Lyakhs' was later extended to the Polanians.

(c) It is significant that the sources have nothing to say about the Polanians before the 11th century. Even the so-called Bavarian Geographer makes no mention of them. This gap is filled by the passage in 'Nestor' which ascribes a subordinate role to the Polanians in the Lyakh State. In this connection, yet another observation can be made: it may well be that the Polanians had no old-established supra-tribal traditions behind them since they failed to maintain their leading position among the Polish tribes although this position was so predominant in the times of Mieszko I (d. 992) and Bolesław the Great (d. 1025). Cracow became the capital of Poland as early as the 11th

³¹ J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, pp. 57-58; *idem*, *Państwo Mieszka I (zagadnienia terytorialne)*, SW IV, 1958, p. 10; Z. Wojciechowski, *Studia*, 1955, pp. 285-290; 298-299; K. Tymieniecki, *Początki państwa Polan*, 1959, pp. 23-50; G. Labuda, *Zróżta, sagi i legendy do najdawniejszych dziejów Polski*, 1960, pp. 234-237.

³² The hypothesis, according to which the change of name from *Lyakhs* to *Polanians* was caused by changes in agricultural husbandry, is contradicted by 'Nestor'. The chronicler states that the Mazovians, the Pomeranians, etc., were also called 'Lyakhs' but these tribes did not lose their original names in later times and the fact that they were called Lyakhs had nothing to do with a change in the system of husbandry.

century and retained this honour for many centuries thereafter. It should be stressed that even though the capital was transferred to another tribal region, the name of the State and of the nation (*Polonia, Poloni*) remained unchanged. The decisive factor in this was that the ecclesiastical capital of Poland, its Metropolitan See, remained in Gniezno. In my opinion, it was the Polish Church which played the decisive role as it shaped, propagated and consolidated the name of Poland in a national sense. 'The Latin clergy—I wrote—from religious motives deliberately obliterated the older political tradition and with it the entire Lyakh period of Polish history. . . . The name of Poland in its supra-tribal sense was to inaugurate a new period in the history of the country and to stress the importance of the tribe in whose midst the focus of the new faith was situated.'³³

Two arguments can be advanced in support of the above statement. First, such a role of the clergy at that time is by no means an isolated case, restricted to the history of Poland. In Eastern Europe it was certainly the Rus'ian clergy which played a decisive part in perpetuating the appellation 'Rus'' in its broader territorial application. Secondly, it suffices to draw attention to concrete facts and dates. Until the year 1000, *i.e.*, to the erection of the Metropolitan See in Polanian territory (Gniezno), the names 'Poland' and 'Poles' were unknown. After that year, these appellations very soon appeared in many sources, and from the very outset with a supra-tribal and State implication.

Summarizing these considerations, I have come to the conclusion that there are no grounds for locating the original territory of the Lyakhs west of the Vistula. The mere fact that the name of this tribe survived not among peoples neighbouring with the western but with the eastern part of Poland is of decisive significance here.

Among the tribes whose names derive from the *lęd* root, the *Lędzice* (*Lendizi*) have less importance for the subject under discussion, because the region inhabited by them cannot be identified. True, some authors suggest that the *Lędzice* are mentioned in the text of the 'Bavarian Geographer' within the group of tribes in Western Poland, but this cannot be claimed with absolute assurance. The 'Geographer' did not always enumerate tribes in geographical sequence. For that matter, the whole passage in which the *Lędzice* figure (in company with some other tribes) is rather obscure—attention has already been drawn to these facts.³⁴

The next query is: Can the region inhabited by the Lyakhs be identified as having been east of the Vistula? Persowski gives an affirmative answer and indicates the Bug region as the original

³³ OR, p. 373.

³⁴ J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic*, p. 51; H. Łowmiański, *O pochodzeniu Geografa bawarskiego*, p. 20; Z. Wojciechowski, *Uwagi o nazwach i lokalizacji plemion polskich*, p. 316.

territory occupied by this tribe.³⁵ The report handed down by 'Nestor', however, disqualifies this surmise. The chronicler clearly states that the Dulebians and the Buzhians lived on the Bug.³⁶ The existence of two tribes bearing different names and inhabiting one and the same territory presents a difficult problem in itself. Whilst if it is borne in mind that many other tribes—such as the Volynians,³⁷ the Luchanians,³⁸ the Chervenians,³⁹ etc.—are stated erroneously to have lived there too, the addition of the Lyakhs to their number can only confuse the issue still further.⁴⁰

The Buzhians are mentioned in two sources: by the 'Bavarian Geographer' during the middle of the 9th century (*Busani*) and by 'Nestor' (*buzhane*) in that characteristic passage in the *Povest'* which enumerates several tribes 'within Rus', that is to say, within the territorial jurisdiction of the Rus'ian Church with its Metropolis in Kiev. As the ecclesiastical-religious concept of Rus' arose after the conversion of Vladimir (*i.e.*, after 988), there is no doubt that the Buzhians lived in that territory during the 9th and at least up to the end of the 10th century. With regard to the Dulebians, it can be

³⁵ F. Persowski, *Lachowie*, pp. 16–23.

³⁶ . . . 'buzhane, zane sedosha po Bugu, poslezhe zhe velynyane,' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13; 'Dulebi zhiyyakhu po Bugu, gde nyne velynyane', *ibid.*, p. 14.

³⁷ Some authors, recently for instance G. Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny zachodniej* I, 1960, pp. 47–50, 55–62, postulate the existence of a tribe known as the Volynians. In the cited passages regarding the Buzhians and the Dulebians, 'Nestor' describes the territories occupied by them by the name used in his time (*velynyane*). Apart from tribal names, the chronicler often uses appellations derived from political divisions and based on the names of cities (the much older, tribal names were not derived from those cities), such as the Kievans (*kiyane, kiyany*), the Chernihovians (*chernigoutsi*), the Vladimirians (*volodimertsy*), the Turovians (*turovtsy*), etc. The appellation 'the Volynians' (*velynyane*) derives from the city of Volyn' on the Bug (as pointed out by me in *OR*, p. 63); this appellation, therefore, belongs to the political or geographical terminology and not to the tribal one. A. Poppe, Gród Wołyń. *Z zagadnień osadnictwa wczesnośredniowiecznego na pograniczu polsko-ruskim*, *SW* IV, 1958, p. 264 erroneously denies this; it suffices to draw attention to the fact that in the Rus'ian 13th-century chronicle the terms 'the Haliczians and the Volynians' (*Galiczane i Volyntsi*) often appear together and are treated on an equal footing. The first of these names does not denote a tribe but derives from the name of the town, and this throws light on the character of the second name. Moreover, the importance of the town of Volyn' is stressed by Dlugossius, whom Poppe vainly strives to 'correct'. Authors who advance the hypothesis of a tribe known as the Volynians usually refer to the mentions made by the 'Bavarian Geographer', al-Mas'udi and Widukind; these refer to a population settled not on the Bug but on the Lower Odra. Cf. *OR*, pp. 262–263.

³⁸ Cf. M. Braichevsky, *K proiskhozhdeniyu drevnerusskikh gorodov*, *KSDPI* XLI, 1951, p. 32.

³⁹ Cf. J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic*, pp. 54, 190, 217; *OR*, p. 65. Udal'tsov's hypothesis concerning the existence of the Arsanians in the Bug region is readily accepted by B. Grekov, *Obrazovanie russkogo gosudarstva*, p. 136.

⁴⁰ Persowski supposes that the East-Slavs called all Poles Lyakhs simply because this was the name of the Polish tribe in their immediate neighbourhood. This surmise, however, does not carry conviction. It is invalidated by Constantine Porphyrogenitus (the Byzantine Empire had no common frontier with the Lyakh tribe) and by Vincent. The latter had all Poland in mind when he wrote of the *Lechitae*, yet his approach was not from the east, *i.e.* from the Dnieper, but from the south (Cracow's region), whence he originated.

supposed that they settled on the Bug before the Buzhians occupied the region, that is from earlier times to the 9th century.⁴¹

The Buzhians had the Derevlians as neighbours to the east and the Kievan Polyanians to the south-east. The Buzhian territory ended at the line of the Styr.⁴² The sources enable us to determine the extent of the Derevlian settlement in the west fairly accurately: it reached the Horyn'. The territories between the Styr and the Horyn' had a mixed population, a Buzhian-Dregovichian-Derevlian conglomerate⁴³ with the last-named probably predominating. The relevant mentions of the chroniclers need not be cited here as they raise no doubts and are universally accepted in the literature on the subject. But it can be stressed that the Styr and the Horyn' (with its tributary, the Sluch) remained boundary rivers after the tribal era and retained this character in political and administrative divisions long after.

Similarly, the western border of the territory occupied by the Kievan Polyanians is not in doubt. It reached southward to the river Ros' and westward as far as the Upper Boh.⁴⁴ The boundaries of the Buzhian, Derevlian and Polyanian territories touched in the region of the sources of the Styr, the Horyn' (with the Sluch) and the Boh.⁴⁵

Among the southern neighbours of the Buzhians, the Croats must be mentioned. When 'Nestor' in various passages referred to Slavonic tribes settled in Eastern Europe, he at once indicated which territories they inhabited. But in relation to the Croats, unfortunately,

⁴¹ My hypothesis that the Dulebians and the Buzhians inhabited the same territory but at different times is at variance with 'Nestor's' mention of the Dulebians participating in Oleg's raid on Constantinople in 907. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 23. Apart from other details regarding this raid, one is struck by the unusual number of peoples whom the Kievan prince allegedly assembled under his command (the Varangians, Novgorodian Slavs, Chud', Krivichians, Merya, Derevlians, Radimichians, Polyanians, Severians, Vyatichians, Croats, Dulebians, and Tivertsians). The expedition is said to have ended by Oleg coming to an understanding with Byzantium. However, the alleged text of the relevant agreement was not very happily reconstructed on the basis of later Greco-Russian treaties. It is for this reason that many authors doubt the authenticity of the text of this agreement and even whether the raid on Constantinople actually took place. In view of this, I suggest that this account can be disregarded. Many authors doubt whether there ever were any Dulebians on the river Bug. Cf. R. Jakimowicz, *Szlak wyprawy kijowskiej Bolesława Chrobrego*, *RW* III, 1934, pp. 18-22; E. Šimek, *Důdlebi, Volynané, Lučané, Cesti Chorvaté a Čechové*, *SA* I, 1948, pp. 350-351; S. Kuczyński, *Stosunki polsko-ruskie do schyłku wieku XII*, *SO* VII, 1958, pp. 224-227.

⁴² A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*' i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva, 1951, p. 133; I. Rusanova, *Territoriya drevlyan po arkheologicheskim dannym*, *SAr*, 1960 (1), pp. 63-69. As to the most ancient Derevlian cities see I. Rusanova, *Arkheologicheskie pamyatniki vtoroi poloviny I tysyacheletiya n.e. na territorii drevlyan*, *SAr*, 1958 (4), pp. 33-46.

⁴³ M. Grinblat, *Nekotorye rezul'taty izucheniya problemy proiskhozhdeniya beloruskoi narodnosti*, *KSIE* XXVIII, 1957, p. 5.

⁴⁴ N. Barsov, *Ocherki russkoi istoricheskoi geografii. Geografiya Nachal'noi (Nestorovo) letopisi*, 1885, pp. 139-140; M. Hrushevs'ky, *Kievskaya Rus'* I, 1911, pp. 239-244; O. Andriyashkev, *Naris istorii kolonizatsii Kievskoi zemli do kintsya XV v.*, in M. Hrushevs'ky, *Kiiv ta iogo okolitsya v istorii i pamyatkach*, 1926, p. 34; A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', pp. 29, 41, 51, and many others.

⁴⁵ The settlements of the Ulichians also adjoined to this region for some time; cf. *OR*, pp. 354-358.

he did not provide any such geographical comment. Nevertheless, it is possible to establish two facts on the basis of details handed down in the *Povest'*: (a) the chronicler located the Croats on the Upper Dniester and partly on its middle reaches, amidst the Carpathian foothills. His indications are supported by Vincent⁴⁶; (b) 'Nestor' differentiated this tribe, despite its identical name, from the Czech Croats whom he distinguished as the White ones.⁴⁷ The sources plainly testify that the Croats of the Dniester still existed as a unit in the second half of the 10th and the beginning of the 11th century.⁴⁸

Passing from the Buzhian and the Croatian territories westwards to the Vistula, we find Polish tribes settled on that river, and it is with these that we shall now be concerned.

A general geographical survey to determine the territories of the several tribes occupying the Polish-Rus'ian borderland⁴⁹ will provide the starting-point for more detailed investigations into the ethnic and politico-State character of that area.

Constantine Porphyrogenitus provides us with first-rate data for the elucidation of all these problems. It must be stated that what he says about the *Lendzaninnoi-Lendzeninnoi* tribe has given the investigators of the subject much trouble and presented them with many a difficulty. There is no ground for supposing that the name of this tribe slipped into Constantine's text through some error or owing to his having been misinformed, or that he wrote in an obscure way without providing concrete data. Quite the contrary. All that Porphyrogenitus handed down to us bears the signs of a most coherent account. There is a link between this tribe and concrete facts which are, moreover, related in two separate passages connected with quite different matters.

Mentioning one of the four Pecheneg clans (the province of Iabdiertim) which led a nomad life on the broad expanses of the right bank of the Dnieper, Constantine writes: 'The province of Iabdiertim is neighbour to the tribute-paying territories of the country of Rus', to the Oultines and Dervlenines and Lendzenines and the rest of the Slavs.'⁵⁰ In another passage Constantine devotes much attention to the single-straked ships of the Rus' who sailed

⁴⁶ An analysis of the source-texts was effected in *OR*, pp. 53-54, 57-60, 87-88, and 359-361.

⁴⁷ Some authors extract erroneous conclusions from Constantine Porphyrogenitus' account dealing with the White Croats; most recently, I. Nagaevs'ky, *Kirilo-Metodiivs'ke khristiyanstvo v Rusi-Ukraini*, *AOBM*, 1954, pp. 109-113; Yu. Levits'ky, *Bili Khorvati*, *AOBM*, 1956, pp. 305-318, and others. The grounds for my views on this matter are given in *OR*, p. 58. See also, J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic*, 1953, pp. 55-56; R. Turek, *Mohyly českých Charvatu*, *SA I*, 1956, pp. 103, 157.

⁴⁸ The Croats appear for the last time in 'Nestor's' Chronicle under the year 992. In addition, Vincent mentions them in the section dealing with the reign of Bolesław the Great (992-1025) but gives no specific date; cf. *OR*, p. 60.

⁴⁹ See map: 'East European tribes in the 10th century.'

⁵⁰ G. Moravcsik-R. Jenkins, *Constantine Porphyrogenitus. De Administrando Imperio*, 1949, pp. 168-169.

them down the Dnieper on to Constantinople. He explains in this connection who it was that supplied these vessels to the Rus': 'Their Slav tributaries, the so-called Krivichians and the Lendzanines and the rest of the Slavonic regions, cut the single-strakers on their mountains.'⁵¹

No doubts arise with regard to the identification of two tribes mentioned in the first text: the Oultines-Ulichians⁵² and the Dervlenines-Derevlians. It follows from the geographical sequence that the third tribe, the Lendzenines, lived to the west of the first two (particularly with regard to the Derevlians) and this would locate them not far from Rus' (Kiev) whose hegemony they recognized. Constantine states in the second passage that the Lendzanines inhabited a region in the vicinity of the Krivichians, hence somewhere in the area of the Upper Dnieper. Rightly accepting that Constantine indicates two separate territories in the passages under examination, Rybakov nevertheless extracts the erroneous conclusion that the Lendzanines should not be identified with the Lendzenines.⁵³ Lehr-Spławiński considers the identity of the two names as beyond doubt,⁵⁴ and this opinion is easily the prevailing one in the literature on the subject.

There are diverse views as to the ethnic provenance of the Lendzenines-Lendzanines. Some authors consider they were a 'Rus'ian' tribe, others classify them as a 'Ukrainian' one,⁵⁵ and yet others as 'White Rus'ian'.⁵⁶ Following the indications given by Constantine Porphyrogenitus, the Lendzenines-Lendzanines are usually—and rightly—located west of the territory of the Derevlians; it is mistaken, however, to identify them with the hypothetical tribe of the Luchanians which allegedly inhabited the Lutsk region.⁵⁷ Not a single source-text makes any mention of such a tribe. In fact, as 'Nestor' plainly stated,⁵⁸ the appellation 'Luchanians' referred solely to the inhabitants of Lutsk itself and was not therefore a tribal name.⁵⁹ Mavrodin affirms that the Lendzenines-Lendzanines must

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 56–57.

⁵² *OR*, pp. 56–57, 354–358.

⁵³ B. Rybakov, Ulich, *KSDPI* XXX, 1950, pp. 3–17 identifies the Lendzanines with the Polochians and the Lendzenines with the Ulichians. This hypothesis however is quite unacceptable; cf. *OR*, p. 356.

⁵⁴ T. Lehr-Spławiński, *ŁędziŹce*, 1958, pp. 198–202.

⁵⁵ P. Hrycak, in *UQ*, 1955, p. 181.

⁵⁶ Ya. Stankevich, *Belaruskiya plyameny*, V II, 1952, p. 169; D. Davidovich-Goradzsky, *Belarus' i Ukraina*, V III, 1953, p. 117.

⁵⁷ M. Braichevsky, *K proiskhozhdeniyu drevnerusskikh gorodov*, *KSDPI* XLI, 1951, p. 32; A. Rogov, in M. Tikhomirov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XV veka*, 1960, p. 124, and others. Likhachev contradicts himself in this case, since he affirms the Luchanians were a tribe (D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 215) and yet simultaneously admits that this appellation referred solely to the inhabitants of Lutsk (*ibid.*, p. 520).

⁵⁸ 'Volodimeru zhe prishedshyu Luch'sku, i vdashasya luchane.' D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 136.

⁵⁹ The above observation is supported by the fact that the same (or nearly the same) appellation—*luchane*, *luchyane*, *lutsyane*—is very often used in the Rus'ian chronicles

have been quite forgotten by 'Nestor's' time.⁶⁰ There is nothing, however, to support this surmise whilst it should be borne in mind that the chronicler knew very much and wrote about other tribes of the 10th and earlier centuries.

The literature on the subject betrays an evident disinclination to make any attempts to establish whether there were any connections between the Lendzenines-Lendzanines and the East Slavonic tribes. 'It is not known who the Lendzenines were', writes Nasonov laconically, whilst he places a question mark after the name of this tribe when mentioning it in another passage of his work.⁶¹ Kudryashov inserts the name of the Lendzenines within quotation marks and makes no comment.⁶² Tret'yakov simply states: 'As regards the Lendzanines-Lendzenines, the problem remains an open one so far despite more than one effort to resolve it.' Continuing his observations, the same author calls the Lendzanines 'a mysterious tribe'.⁶³ For Obnorsky and Barkhudarov the name is 'an obscure term'.⁶⁴

However, even the negative result yielded by the investigations made so far has some positive value for it indirectly supports the supposition that the tribe in question did not belong to the Eastern but to the Western Slavonic group. It cannot be denied that the appellation *Lendzaninoi-Lendzeninoi* contains the *led* root from which the names *Lendizi* and *Lyakhy* derive. Il'insky drew attention to this etymological fact⁶⁵ and Lehr-Splawiński recently published an exhaustive and closely argued contribution which supports this opinion.⁶⁶ Both authors consider that Constantine's texts refer to a Polish tribe,⁶⁷ the Lendzans (in Polish: *Lędzanie*). According to Lehr-Splawiński, this name is the most ancient Polish word handed down to us.

There is a marked divergency of opinion in the literature regarding the various tribal names derived from the *led* root, which appear in the 'Bavarian Geographer', in Constantine's work and in 'Nestor'. Lewicki identifies the Lendzans with the Lyakhs,⁶⁸ Łowmiański

not in a tribal sense but solely to signify the inhabitants of the town of Luky (Velikie Luki), to the north. Cf. A. Nasonov, *Novgorodskaya pervaya letopis'*, 1950, pp. 32, 44, 52, 220, 238, 249.

⁶⁰ V. Mavrodin, *Osnovnye etapy etnicheskogo razvitiya russkogo naroda*, Vol. 1, 1950 (4), p. 58; *idem*, *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, 1956, p. 29.

⁶¹ A. Nasonov, *Russkaya zemlya*, 1951, pp. 40, 42.

⁶² K. Kudryashov, *Bor'ba russkogo naroda s nabegami kochevnikov prichernomorskih stepei*, in *Ocherki istorii SSSR* I, 1953, p. 196.

⁶³ P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskie plemena*, 1953, pp. 218, 224.

⁶⁴ S. Obnorsky and S. Barkhudarov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii russkogo yazyka*.

⁶⁵ G. Il'insky, *Kto byli*, pp. 314-319.

⁶⁶ P. Lehr-Splawiński, *Lędzice*, pp. 198-202. See also *idem*, *Najstarsze nazwy plemion polskich w obcych źródłach*, JP XLI (4), 1961, p. 266.

⁶⁷ A. Małecki, (*Lechici w świetle historycznej krytyki*), K. Moszyński (*Kultura ludowa Słowian*) and others were of the same opinion.

⁶⁸ T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* I, 1956, p. 148; F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian*, 1956, p. 71.

identifies the Lendzans with the Lendizi,⁶⁹ whilst Taszycki considers all three names refer to a single tribe.⁷⁰

The relation of the Lendzans to the Lyakhs has special bearing on the determination of the earliest borderland area between Poland and Rus'. In agreement with Łowmiański, Lehr-Spławiński comes out against the identification of the two appellations as referring to a single people; on the other hand, Bardach, Gieysztor, Labuda, Persowski and others hold the contrary opinion.⁷¹ I believe the last-named authors to be right, and two arguments can be advanced in support of their thesis.

First, there is Tatishchev's very significant commentary. His work on the history of Russia should be reissued in a new critical edition but this valuable suggestion by Shakhmatov⁷² has unfortunately not been followed up so far. Cherepnin aptly remarked: 'Analysing Nestor's chronicle (*Povest' vremennykh let*) and its continuations, Tatishchev makes a number of interesting critical observations.'⁷³ Among these, one can undoubtedly include what he writes in connection with the well-known passage in the *Povest'* on the migration of the Slavs from the Danube area under the pressure of the Vlachs and their settling on the Vistula: Unable to endure domination, when the Slavs migrated they settled on the river Vistula and called themselves Lenchans, later Lekhs and then these Lekhs called themselves Lyakhs (*slavyane zhe ne mogshi terpet' nasiliya, pereshedshi poselilis' na reke Visle, i nazvalis' Lenchane, potom Lekhi, a ot tekh Lekhov prozvalis' Lyakhi*).⁷⁴

I am not concerned here with the validity of Tatishchev's etymological observations in all their details, but with the fact that it was still known in the 18th century that the appellation 'Lenchans' (*Lenchane*)⁷⁵ should be linked with that of 'Lyakhs' and considered as its earlier form. Such a conviction could not, as it were, arise from thin air. It seems justified to suppose that Tatishchev may have based his view upon some old tradition which has not survived to our time.

⁶⁹ H. Łowmiański, *Łędzanie*, *SA* IV, 1954, p. 106; *idem*, *Studia nad wczesną Słowiańszczyzną*, *KH* LXVII (3), 1960, p. 748.

⁷⁰ W. Taszycki, *Słowiańskie nazwy miejscowe*, 1946, pp. 30-31.

⁷¹ J. Bardach, *Historia państwa i prawa Polski do połowy XV w.*, 1957, p. 65; A. Gieysztor, *Powstanie państwa polskiego*, in J. Bardach, A. Gieysztor, H. Łowmiański, E. Małczyńska, *Historia Polski do r. 1466*, 1960, p. 30; G. Labuda, *Polska w pieśni o Rolandzie*, *RH* XXII, 1956, pp. 52-53; F. Persowski, *Lachowie*, 1958, pp. 17-21.

⁷² A. Shakhmatov, *K voprosu o khriticheskoi izdaniy Istorii Rossiiskoi* V. N. Tatishcheva, *DD* I, 1920, pp. 80-95.

⁷³ L. Cherepnin, *Russkaya istoriografiya do XIX veka*, 1957, p. 180.

⁷⁴ V. Tatishchev, *Istoriya Rossiiskaya s samykh drevneishikh vremen* II, 1773, p. 4.

⁷⁵ There is no doubt that Tatishchev took the name of the Lenchans (*Lenchane*, *Lencheniny*, *Lenchaniny*, *Lenchiny*) from Constantine's work; this follows from two other passages in Tatishchev where he discusses the text handed down by Porphyrogenitus. *Istoriya Rossiiskaya* I, p. 208; II, p. 351. I have already pointed out in *OR*, p. 367 that the so-called *Ioakimovskaya letopis'*, preserved by Tatishchev, mentions Mieszko I as the ruler of a people bearing a dual name: Lyakhs and Lenchans.

The second argument I should like to advance is of a geographical (territorial) nature and lends support to the above observation. Later sources are not involved here, only the testimonies of Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor'. Constantine, as already pointed out, mentions the Lendzans in two passages: in the first of these, he gives us to understand that they inhabited an area west of the Derevlans (hence the Bug region); in the second one, he states they were neighbours of the Krivichians. Writing about Vladimir's expedition, under 981, 'Nestor' locates the Lyakhs on the Bug. We learn from another passage in the *Povest'* that two tribes—the Radimichians and the Vyatichians, both of Lyakh stock—lived on the Sozh' and the Oka, hence in the vicinity of the Krivichians. In other words, the very regions which Constantine stated were held by the Lendzans, are reported by 'Nestor' as having been inhabited by the Lyakhs. Thus, the identity of both appellations—*Lendzaninnoi-Lendzeninnoi* and *Lyakhs*—is demonstrated. Emphasis must be laid on the point that both authors were handing down information regarding regions far-removed from each other and having no direct connection: this makes their accounts all the more noteworthy and reinforces the credibility of both relations—that of the Emperor of Byzantium and of the Kievan monk.

'Nestor' writes: 'The Radimichians and the Vyatichians sprang from the Lyakhs (*radimichi bo i vyatichi ot lyakhov*). There were two brothers among the Lyakhs [*v lyasekh*]. . . ' The chronicler goes on to relate that one of them was named Radim and the other Vyatko; that both trekked (with their peoples, whose names derive from theirs) to the north-east; that the former settled on the Sozh' and the latter on the Oka.⁷⁶ The chronicler returns to this subject in another passage, though this time he refers only to the Radimichians, stating that they were of Polish stock (*Bysha zhe radimichi ot roda Lyakhov*).⁷⁷

These texts are so clear that any attempt to ascribe to them a meaning other than the obvious one must be based on far-fetched or rather on erroneous premisses.⁷⁸ There is no point in attempting to

⁷⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 14.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.* I, p. 59.

⁷⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, pp. 225, 243, 245–246, 289 maintains that the expression *ot roda* does not signify descent but allegiance to a State entity (*prinadlezhnost' k gosudarstvennoi organizatsii*). In other words, the Radimichians and the Vyatichians were allegedly not of Polish stock but lived within the Polish State (the frontiers of which hence extended as far as the Sozh' and the Oka). Similar incredible conclusions could be arrived at if the same line of reasoning were applied to another passage in the *Povest'*, viz., that the Polyanians were *ot roda sloven'ska* (*Povest'* I, p. 14), which would have to be taken as meaning that they were not Slavs but merely belonged to the Slavonic State. Likhachev believes that, according to the chronicler, only Radim and Vyatko and not the tribes in question migrated from Poland. This assertion is contradicted by 'Nestor's' text: '*Bysha zhe radimichi* [not only Radim!] *ot roda lyakhov*.'

A. Sobolevsky, *Zametki po slavyanskim drevnostyam*, *IORYS XXXI*, 1926, p. 4 considers that in the passages analysed 'Nestor' did not have the Poles in mind but

undermine the credibility of 'Nestor's' report if only because we dispose of two sources, independent of each other and inscribed at different epochs, which hand down concordant facts. The precision of the information they impart is evident. According to the Byzantine Emperor, the Lendzans (the Lyakhs) were neighbours of the Krivichians; according to the Kievan chronicler, they were of Lyakh (Lendzan) stock. And this is quite natural, since the former wrote in the middle of the 10th and the latter at the beginning of the 12th century. This lapse of time was sufficiently long for the ethnic links to have become loosened in the absence of any political connections between the Radimichians-Vyatichians and the other Polish tribes.

Yet another observation must be made. It is known that the Radimichians and the Vyatichians appeared in Rus'ian chronicles after the time of 'Nestor'. They must, therefore, have aroused the interest of their nearer and more distant neighbours if only by the mere fact of their existence there. Yet not a single chronicler amended or corrected 'Nestor's' account, which must have been in agreement with the opinion universally held in those times since it met with the unanimous approval of later writers.

Apart from the question of the origin of the Radimichians and the Vyatichians—a matter which has only secondary significance in the present examination—both accounts, that of Constantine and that

merely the Lyakhs, *i.e.* the inhabitants of uncultivated areas; hence, apart from Polish Lyakhs, there were also East Slavonic Lyakhs. A. Stender-Petersen, *Russian Studies*, *AJ* XXVIII (2), 1956, p. 22 is of the same opinion. This reasoning may be accepted as plausible since we encounter the same (or nearly the same) tribal names amongst the Eastern, Western and Southern Slavs. 'Nestor' describes how the tribal names were formed: the various groups occupying a given area coined names based on the characteristic features of their territories ('*Polyami zhe prozvani byshi, zane v poli sedyakhu*,' D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 23; '*drevlyane zane sedosha v lesekh*,' *ibid.*, p. 11). It might therefore have been expected that 'Nestor' would have explained that some East-Slavonic tribe settled on the *lyada*, *lyadina*, was called the Lyakhs. But the chronicler does not even hint at anything of this kind. Since the Radimichians and the Vyatichians, according to 'Nestor', were of Lyakh descent (*ot roda Lyakhov*), it would seem logical to suppose that there was an East-Slavonic tribe known as the Lyakhs who imposed their name and rule upon other tribes (including the Radimichians and the Vyatichians), thus creating a supra-tribal ethnic bond. In the face of absolutely nothing in the sources to back up such surmises, this hypothesis must be dismissed. According to many authors, there are no linguistic features in the Radimichian and Vyatichian dialects which would support the view that these peoples were of Polish stock. Shakhmatov was of the contrary opinion (cf. *OR*, p. 377; P. Kuznetsov, *Russkaya dialektologiya*, 2nd ed., 1954, pp. 14–17). More recently, D. Zelenin, *O proiskhozhdenii severnovelikorusskogo Velikogo Novgoroda*. *Vopros o lyashskikh elementakh v russkikh narodnykh govorakh*, *DSY* VI, 1954, pp. 49–95, while opposing Shakhmatov's views and applying the concept of 'Lyakhs' not only to the Poles but to the Western Slavs in general, nevertheless finds that the language of the Radimichians had many elements in common with the Lyakhs. The archaeologist P. Tret'yakov, *Lokal'nye gruppy verkhnedneprovskikh gorodishch i zarubinskaya kul'tura*, *SAr*, 1960 (1), p. 46 presumes that the tradition of the Polish origin of the Vyatichians stemmed from the ethnic character of the population settled on the Upper Oka, who were of Baltic stock. A different view regarding this population is expressed by T. Nikol'skaya, *Kul'tura plemen basseina Verkhnei Oki v I tysyacheletii n.e.*, *MIA* LXXII, 1959, pp. 83–84. All these diverse opinions taken together demonstrate how little certainty can be ascribed to archaeological and linguistic studies in this matter. It is not easy to undermine the information handed down by such weighty sources as Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor'.

of 'Nestor', do much to elucidate the concept implied by the appellation 'Lendzans-Lyakhs'. Its content was a supra-tribal one for both authors. Constantine used the name to embrace not one but two or three tribes settled upon diverse territories. 'Nestor' did the same.

The chronicler laid great stress on the internal (supra-tribal) consolidation of the Poles and contrasted it with the status of the Eastern Slavs, who had not yet attained such a broad measure of unification at that time.⁷⁹ Attention must be drawn to the following passage in 'Nestor': 'The Polyanians... belonging to the Slavonic race... and the Derevlians are likewise Slavs...; but the Radimichians and Vyaticians are of Lyakh descent' (*Polyanom zhe... sushchim ot roda sloven'ska... a derevlyane ot sloven zhe...; radimichi bo i vyatichi ot lyakhov*⁸⁰). It might seem at first sight—the contrast is so clear—that the Lyakhs were not Slavs. But other passages in the *Povest'* rule out any such supposition.

It has hitherto been supposed that 'Nestor', applying a supra-tribal status to the Lyakhs, transposed conditions current in his time to the 10th century. But Constantine Porphyrogenitus throws quite a new light on the whole matter, for he states that the process of differentiation between the Poles and the other Slavs was an accomplished fact already before the middle of the 10th century.⁸¹ Concurrently with the process of the internal consolidation of the Polish tribes, that of the territorial development of their supra-tribal State likewise advanced.

Mieszko, the first historical ruler of Poland, began his reign before

⁷⁹ 'Nestor' often mentions that the individual East Slavonic tribes lived in separation and as differentiated entities, i.e., they did not combine to form supra-tribal unions ('Polyanom zhe zhiyushim osobe po goram sim...'. D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 11; 'Polem zhe zhiyushim osobe i volodeyushchem rody svoimi...'. *ibid.*, p. 12; 'I po sikh brat'i [Kii, Shchek and Khoriv] derzhati pochasha rod ikh knyazhen'e v polyakh, a v derevlyakh svoe, a dregovichii svoe, a sloveni svoe v Novegorode, a drugoe na Polote, izhe Polochane', *ibid.*, p. 13).

⁸⁰ The expression 'ot lyakhov' is merely a shorter form 'ot roda lyakhov' (cf. 'a derevlyane ot sloven zhe'). There are no grounds for the often encountered hypothesis that 'Nestor' intended to say that only the Radimichians were of Polish stock and that the Vyaticians were not. Those in favour of this surmise base themselves on the entry under 984 in the *Povest'* which reads: 'Bysha zhe radimichi ot roda lyakhov' and makes no reference to the Vyaticians. No mention was made of the latter for obvious reasons: the entry was concerned with Vladimir's campaign against the Radimichians and only with them. There was hence no reason for the chronicler to speak of the Vyaticians in this entry.

⁸¹ It is supposed in the literature on the subject that this fact took place at the turn of the 10th–11th century. Cf. S. Pekarchik, K voprosu o formirovani i razviti pol'skoi narodnosti, *Vol.*, 1955 (8), pp. 86–87; A. Grabski, Z zagadniei genezy polskiej wspólnoty narodowościowej, *ZNUL* XII, 1959, p. 45. W. Hensel, Polska Mieszka I i jej rodowód, *ZOW* XXVI (4), 1960, p. 314 remarks that the *Lendizi* are mentioned by the 'Bavarian Geographer' without reference to their specific, supra-tribal position. This is claimed as an indication that the process of consolidation which united the Polish tribes did not make effective progress at that time. This argument does not seem to me convincing. Although the Moravians were geographically nearer Regensburg than the *Lendizi* (hence the 'Geographer' must have been better acquainted with them than with the Polish tribes), they are cited only amidst a number of other tribes without any indication of their specific position. The same can be said of the Khazars although they had subjected many peoples, about the Rus' who had begun the conquest of Eastern Europe, and so on.

963; the exact date cannot be fixed.⁸² But there is no doubt that his realm did not emerge over night: it must have been in existence long before his time. Unfortunately, we know very little about the period prior to Mieszko, *i.e.*, the 9th and the first half of the 10th century, though it was marked by important events.⁸³ 'Gallus', a contemporary of 'Nestor', apart from supplying one concrete detail by enumerating three of Mieszko's ancestors (Ziemowit, Leszek and Ziemomysł), confines himself to a very general description of events which he nevertheless considered important. He states that Mieszko's predecessors greatly extended their realm⁸⁴—a noteworthy piece of information in connection with the subject under consideration. Disregarding the question of Poland's earliest frontiers on other sectors,⁸⁵ we will concentrate our attention on the eastern borderland, accepting the identity of Porphyrogenitus' Lendzans with 'Nestor's' Lyakhs as the point of departure.

Assuming that the Lendzans-Lyakhs were originally only one of the Polish tribes and that they imposed their hegemony and name upon the others in course of time, there still remains the problem of their original territory. Łowmiański believes that the Lendzans (but not the Lyakhs) inhabited the Sandomierz region and extended eastwards more or less to the line of the Wieprz river.⁸⁶ Persowski, as already mentioned herein, located the Lendzans-Lyakhs on the river Bug but he excluded the areas on the Upper and Middle San as well as those on the Upper Dniester⁸⁷ from the territory of this tribe. Kuczyński, on the other hand, considered the Lendzans inhabited the territory of the later Wołyń land, hence east of the Bug, and the Upper Dniester region.⁸⁸ Lehr-Spławiński allots different territories to the Lendzans and to the Lyakhs. According to him, the Lendzans occupied the San, the Upper Dniester and Upper Bug regions (including the cities of Czerwień and the Bełz area), and believes that they were exterminated or deprived of their name at the turn of the 10th to the 11th century. He affirms that the appellation 'Lyakhs' arose in the northern part of the Rus'ian-Polish borderland in the

⁸² *OR*, p. 79.

⁸³ The migration of the Radimichians and Vyatichians from their original homeland to the Sozh and Oka regions belongs *inter alia* to this category. In my opinion, this migration took place in the 9th century. As regards the ethnic character of these two tribes, their original habitations and the time of this migration, see *OR*, pp. 373–380.

⁸⁴ 'Semovith . . . sui principatus fines ulterius quam aliquis antea dilatavit. . . . Lestik filius eius . . . paterne probitati et audacie gestis sese militaribus adequavit.' C. Maleczyński, Galli Anonymi cronica et gesta ducum sive principum Polonorum, *MPHNS* II, 1952, pp. 12–13.

⁸⁵ Cf. Z. Sułowski, Najstarsza granica zachodnia Polski, *PZ* VIII, 1952, pp. 343–483; K. Maleczyński, *Najstarsza zachodnia granica Polski na podstawie źródeł X w.*, 1960; K. Buczek, Polska południowa w IX i X w., *MSH* II, 1959, pp. 23–48.

⁸⁶ H. Łowmiański, *Łędzanie*, 1954, p. 11.

⁸⁷ F. Persowski, *Lachowie, Lendzi, Lendzaninowie w nazewnictwie X w.*, 1958, p. 21.

⁸⁸ S. Kuczyński, Nieznany traktat polsko-ruski 1039 r., *SA* V, 1956, pp. 270–272.

10th century, though he adds that it also extended the southern part during the last quarter of that century.⁸⁹

I reject all these hypotheses while admitting that each of them is to some extent acceptable and that their inconsistencies are not so glaring as might at first sight appear. There are no grounds for locating the original territory of the Lendzans-Lyakhs on the Bug, for the simple reason that the Buzhians inhabited that region. The Upper Dniester is likewise excluded from consideration because that area was held by the Croats apart from the fact that the nomad Pechenegs held sway in that region.

Tribal relations on the Dniester were fairly fluid at that period. It follows from the account handed down by Porphyrogenitus that the nomad grounds of the Pechenegs stretched as far as the sources of the Horyn', the Styr and the Bug in the middle of the 10th century—and they undoubtedly also extended along the Dniester. Writing in the first quarter of the 11th century, Thietmar agrees with the information given by Constantine.⁹⁰ The German chronicler states the Pechenegs supported the Poles during the two expeditions of Bolesław the Great against Rus' (1013 and 1018). His account of the first expedition even suggests that some of these nomads were under Polish hegemony.⁹¹ Although there are a number of works dealing with the extent of the territories occupied by the Pechenegs in the west during the times under examination,⁹² overmuch confidence should not be placed in them nor far-reaching conclusions extracted.⁹³

If it be accepted that, in accordance with the testimonies handed down by the sources, the original homeland of the Lendzans-Lyakhs was neither on the river Bug nor in the Upper Dniester region, it is

⁸⁹ T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Lędzice-Lędzanie-Lachowie*, 1959, pp. 195–209.

⁹⁰ Vincent speaks also of the Pechenegs. Cf. *OR*, p. 360.

⁹¹ *OR*, pp. 88–89.

⁹² E. Kucharski and M. Lewicki, *Rzecz pieczyńska a stosunki polsko-ruskie w X i XI w.*, in *Księga referatów II Międzynarodowego Zjazdu Sławistów*, 1934, pp. 44–48; J. Hoffman, *Uwagi do wczesnohistorycznych dziejów Wołynia*, *TH V*, 1952, pp. 23–24; S. Kuczyński, *Nieznaný traktat*, pp. 273–274; S. Pletneva, *Pechenegi, torki i polovtsy v yuzhnorusskikh stepyakh*, *MIA LXII*, 1958, p. 154, and others.

⁹³ These studies are based on the names of the various localities which are in some connection with the Pechenegs. The value of this criterion is, however, very doubtful. First of all, there are very few such names (it was otherwise in Hungary; cf. D. Rasovsky, *Pechenegi, torki i berendei na Rusi i v Ugrii*, *SK VI*, 1933, pp. 1–64). They are scattered over extensive territories, and it does not follow that these regions were settled by the Pechenegs (if it is at all possible to speak of nomads having settlements). There could have been various reasons for the emergence of the names in question: e.g., the desire to commemorate some historical event (say, the site of a battle with the Pechenegs); Pecheneg prisoners-of-war may have been settled and ordered to till the soil; fugitives from the Pecheneg horde who had fled from their clan owing to internal strife may have started a new life there, and so on. Whilst the great virgin forest between the Strwiąż, the Upper Dniester and the Łukwa was known in later times as the *Silva Pieczyngarum*, it still does not follow that this area was occupied by Pechenegs—and in any case, it is difficult to imagine nomads in virgin, densely wooded land. In short, all the names in question offer traces of various undefined contacts between the Slavonic population and the Pechenegs, but beyond that nothing else can be concluded.

inevitably necessary to seek it more to the west, that is to say, on the Vistula. An analysis of the sources fully bears out the passage previously quoted from 'Nestor' which indicates that river and locates the earliest Lyakhs on its banks or, more strictly speaking, on the Upper Vistula.

It is universally accepted that the Vistulians lived in the area embraced by the sources of the Vistula, in the Cracow region. It follows from geographical considerations that the Lendzans-Lyakhs must have inhabited the territory on the Vistula between the Vistulians and the Mazovians. I have advanced the hypothesis that Sandomierz was most probably the capital of this tribe.⁹⁴ The information provided by later sources indicates that this city played an important role in the past.⁹⁵ Writers on the subject groundlessly make light of the relevant report by 'Nestor's' and betray a tendency to enlarge unduly the size of the territory occupied by the Vistulians⁹⁶ and the historical importance of that tribe. The hypothesis of the existence of a powerful Vistulian State⁹⁷ is untenable in my opinion: it is impossible that two great supra-tribal organizations should have arisen in one and the same region (that of the Upper Vistula) at the

⁹⁴ *OR*, pp. 369-370.

⁹⁵ S. Lazar, *Rozwój przestrzenny Sandomierza X-XIII w.*, *RHKUL* VI, 1958, pp. 11-12 rightly remarks that Sandomierz has not been sufficiently explored by archaeologists though it was one of the major towns in Poland as regards built-up areas; cf. A. Żaki, *Początki miast małopolskich na tle rozwoju miast słowiańskich*, *SPANK*, (1958) 1959, p. 99. The Polish State of the 11th and 12th centuries comprised a number of large provinces which coincided with the former tribal territories. Governors appointed by the ruler of the State exercised authority in the capitals of these provinces (*sedes regni principales*); see K. Buczek, *Ziemie polskie przed tysiącem lat. Zarys geograficzno-historyczny*, 1960, p. 97. The so-called Gallus, when enumerating the *sedes regni principales*, places Sandomierz on the same level with Cracow (the Vistulians), with Wrocław (the Silesians), and with Płock (the Mazovians). *MPHNS* II, 1952, pp. 75, 83, 89, etc. The Arabic geographer of the 12th century, al-Idrisi when speaking of the most important cities of Poland, names Sandomierz. T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle 'Księgi Rogera' geografii arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego* I, 1945, p. 326; II, 1954, pp. 168-170. A recent re-reading of the text of Dlugossius indicates that there was an episcopal See (of the Slavonic rite) in Sandomierz during the reigns of Bolesław the Great and Mieszko II; cf. K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland*, 1961, pp. 46-47. The bishoprics were usually administered from the principal tribal centres, and the existence of an episcopal See in Sandomierz would confirm that this city bore the character of a tribal capital. Both Vincent (*MPH* II) and the Chronicle of Halicz-Volynia (*PSRL* II) clearly distinguish the inhabitants of the Cracow region (*Cracovitae*, *Krakovlyany*) from those of the Sandomierz area (*Sandomiritae*, *Sudimirtsy*); this indicates that, as late as the 13th century, the tribal traditions and differentiations so typical of earlier times had not yet been eradicated. It is noteworthy that in the roll of titles borne by the kings of Poland in later times to demonstrate their rights to the component territories of their realm, Sandomierz was given pride of place immediately after Cracow although its role had dwindled greatly during the course of centuries; this affords eloquent testimony to its importance in the past.

⁹⁶ Z. Wojciechowski, *Uwagi o nazwach i lokalizacji plemion polskich*, in his *Studia historyczne*, 1955, p. 322; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Przyczynki krytyczne do dziejów dawnych Wiślan*, in *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej, ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70 rocznicę urodzin*, 1960, p. 39, and others.

⁹⁷ J. Widajewicz, *Państwo Wiślan*, *BSSUJ* II, 1947, pp. 1-110; *idem*, *Początki Polski*, 1948, pp. 65-72; W. Hensel, *O niektórych najdawniejszych organizacjach państwowych na ziemiach Polski*, *SPN* I, 1958, pp. 137-144; *idem*, *Polska przed 1000 lat*, 1960, pp. 50-61; T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Przyczynki krytyczne*, p. 39, etc. Cf. W. Antoniewicz, *Początki Państwa Polskiego w Małopolsce Zachodniej w świetle prac wykopaliskowych*, *SPN* I, 1958, pp. 18-30.

same time. The error made by many authors stems from the fact that they automatically connect every piece of testimony regarding the Vistula region exclusively with the Vistulians and do not take into consideration the Lendzans-Lyakhs who also lived on the Vistula.⁹⁸ In fact, the only source which mentions the Vistulians (*Vuislane*) is the 'Bavarian Geographer'.⁹⁹ Thus, while the sources have next to nothing to say about the Vistulians, the name of the Lendzans-Lyakhs was known far and wide.¹⁰⁰ This alone is sufficient indication

⁹⁸ These sources are very few in number and exceedingly laconic. The principal one is the well-known passage in the 'Life of St Methodius' (dating from the end of the 9th century) dealing with the mighty pagan prince 'residing on the Vistula', according to Lehr Spławiński's translation ('siedząc nad Wisłą'. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Misja słowiańska św. Metodogo a Polska*, in his *Rozprawy i szkice z dziejów kultury Słowian*, 1954, p. 183; 'siedzący na Wiśle', *idem, Żywoty Konstantyna i Metodogo obszerne*, 1959, p. 114). The text of the 'Life' does not definitely prove that this pagan prince was the ruler of the Vistulians: he might just as well have been ruler of the Lendzans-Lyakhs who also lived on the banks of the Vistula (cf. *OR*, p. 370). It is often asserted that the domain of this prince must have bordered with Moravia. This can be accepted though it was not necessarily so. But in this event, various possibilities arise: the Vistulians may have agreed to accept Christianity and the 'Life of St Methodius' therefore makes no mention of them while writing of the prince who remained true to the old pagan traditions. The Lendzans-Lyakhs may have conquered the territory of the Vistulians at the time when the 'Life' was composed and may have been neighbours of Moravia in the sense of a State-entity. All this shows that the 'Life of St Methodius' affords no grounds for asserting that the Vistulians had their own powerful State. The other sources offer still fewer data. King Alfred's Description of Germany (drawn up at the end of the 9th century) speaks of the 'Vistula land' (*Wisle lond*). G. Labuda, *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny*, 1961, pp. 7-118. Despite the opinion of J. Dąbrowski, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, *RK XXXIV*, 1958, p. 7, this very general mention need not necessarily refer to the Vistulians. T. Lewicki, *Najdawniejsza wzmianka źródłowa o Wiślanach*, *PZ VII* (11-12), 1951, pp. 488-498 supposes that the Vistulians made their first recorded appearance towards the end of the 6th century, in the Anglo-Saxon poem, *Widsith*. Actually, this work was written much later, towards the end of the 9th or at the beginning of the 10th century. See G. Labuda, *Źródła skandynawskie i anglosaskie*, pp. 119-174, where the abundant literature on the subject is listed. The poem contains many fantastic details. One of the expressions in it—*ymb Wistla[n] wudu*—is translated by English authors as 'by the Vistula wood'. There is no reason to have this vague information refer exclusively to the Vistulians.

⁹⁹ K. Buczek, *Polska południowa w IX i X w.*, *MSH II* (1), 1959, pp. 25-28; *idem*, *Ziemie polskie przed tysiącem lat*, 1960, p. 93 rightly adopts a critical attitude towards the various interpretations of the information the sources hand down regarding the Vistulians. Cf. K. Tymieniecki, *Wiślanie* (*Przyczynek do dyskusji*), *MSH IV*, 1961, pp. 3-29.

¹⁰⁰ Al-Mas'udi writes of the Landzaaneh people, identified by some authors with the Lendzans-Lyakhs (cf. K. Moszyński, *Kultura ludowa Słowian II*, 1948, pp. 1543-1544; M. Vasmer, *Russisches etymologisches Wörterbuch II*, p. 84; J. Natanson-Leski, *Nazwy plemienne w Polsce*, *On V*, 1959, p. 212). J. Widajewicz, *Pierwotna nazwa Polaków*, *PS III*, 1952, p. 44 has doubts regarding the above supposition in view of the fact that al-Mas'udi considers the Landzaaneh to have been Rus'. A contemporary of this Arabian author, Constantine Porphyrogenitus, states on the other hand that the Lendzans paid tribute to the Rus'; al-Mas'udi's inaccuracy may therefore be regarded as pardonable. The Hebrew book *Yosippon* (or *Yosiphon*), also written in the 10th century, speaks of the *Lz'njn*, the name applied to the Lendzans-Lyakhs; cf. T. Lewicki, in *SZ I*, 1957, p. 289. Not only the Eastern Slavs, but also many other nations knew the Poles under their old (Lyakh) name: the Lithuanians (*Lenkas*) and the other Balts (cf. K. Tymieniecki, *Początki państwa Polan*, 1959, p. 42), the Hungarians (*Lengyel*), the southern Slavs-Serbs and Croats (*Ledyanin*), the Byzantine Greeks (Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Kinnamos, etc.), the Crimean Tartars and the Levantine merchants (cf. T. Lewicki, *Lachi notarialnych rejestrów genueńskich z Kaffy z końca XIII w.*, *On III*, 1957, pp. 479-480), etc. Długossius (I, 1873, p. 28) states that this old name of the Poles had long been in use in Rus', in Hungary, among the Bulgars and the Croats, and that it was still current in his time (15th century).

of which of these two tribes is more likely to have played the greater role at the time.

It is not out of the question, though one cannot state it categorically, that Constantine Porphyrogenitus was in agreement with 'Nestor' and that, in company with the Kievan chronicler, he also located the original homeland of the Lendzans-Lyakhs in the Vistula region.¹⁰¹

Lehr-Splawiński comes out against locating the Lendzans in the environment of Sandomierz, and advances two arguments in justification: (a) it is not reasonable to suppose that the Lendzans navigated their boats from the region of the Vistula to that of the Dnieper (it was Porphyrogenitus who wrote about these boats), and (b) it is far-fetched to assume that the Pechenegs occupied territories reaching as far as Sandomierz since, according to Constantine, they were neighbours of the Lendzans. However, both these observations are mistaken. Lehr-Splawiński overlooks the fact that the Byzantine emperor used the name of the Lendzans in a supra-tribal sense. In the passage concerning the boats, he had the Sozh' and Oka regions in

¹⁰¹ Constantine Porphyrogenitus mentions the Vistula and links the appellation *Litzike* with it (the fully acceptable correction of the text—*Litzike* instead of *Ditzike*—effected in the edition of Constantine by Moravcsik and Jenkins under the influence of L. Niederle, P. Skok, H. Grégoire, etc., has been given universal recognition in the literature on the subject). According to H. Grégoire, *L'origine et le nom des Croates et des Serbes*, B XVII, 1944–1945, pp. 98–99, *Litzike* is not another name for the Vistula but applies to the population settled on that river. This opinion has been accepted, and there are various studies which attempt to elucidate the name of this people. Widukind, the Saxon chronicler of the second half of the 10th century, called the subjects of Mieszko *Licicaviki*. Many authors think there is an obvious similarity between the *Litzike-Litziki* of Constantine and the *Licicaviki* of Widukind, and that both these certainly corrupt forms should be taken together as referring to a single tribe. Naturally, once this is accepted, the tribe in question must be located on the Vistula. The problem of this tribe has been approached in three separate ways: (1) It is supposed that the Vistula region was inhabited by an unknown people (the hypothesis of Widajewicz regarding the tribe of the Lickians—*Licki*, *Lickowie*, and that of Lewicki regarding the tribe of the Lestkians—*Lestki*, *Lestkowie*). These and similar surmises are, however, quite improbable. (2) Attempts have been made to show that the terms *Litziki-Licicaviki* expressed a supra-tribal concept which embraced the western and central parts of Poland. This attitude is represented by K. Maleczyński, *Polska a Czechy w latach 966–986*, in E. Maleczyńska and K. Maleczyński, *Studia z dziejów polskich i czechosłowackich* I, 1960, p. 53, and to some extent by H. Łowmiański, *Łędzianie*, p. 113. (3) In my opinion, K. Tymieniecki, *Początki państwa Polan*, 1959, p. 28 rightly believes that Widukind's *Licicaviki* did not signify one of the tribes ruled by Mieszko but the whole body of his subjects—the entire population of his domain. 'Nestor' applied the appellation *Lyakhy* to this population. This third approach is, I think, the most likely to succeed. All the appellations under discussion (*Litziki*, *Licicaviki*, *Lendzeninói-Lendzaninói* and *Lyakhy*) are in reality synonymous. Many authors favour this thesis: Grégoire, Moravcsik and Jenkins, Labuda and others. Of course, the first two terms have no common etymological basis with the other two. But there is virtual unanimity among authors that *Litziki* and *Licicaviki* are distorted forms. Yet, historical and geographical reasons require that the four terms should be considered as having the same content. Once this view is accepted, two new arguments are gained to support the credibility of 'Nestor's narrative. The Kievan chronicler located the original territory of the Lyakhs on the Vistula, and the references by Porphyrogenitus would fully support him in this respect. 'Nestor' states that the northern and western tribes (the Pomeranians, the Lutichians and the Polanians) were embraced by the generic name of Lyakhs; it would seem therefore that this name must have been known in the West, and Widukind's mention of it lends support to this supposition.

mind, and in the second one it was the region of the Bug and not that of the Vistula.

The query arises: In which sense should the supra-tribal concept of Lendzans-Lyakhs be understood—in an ethnic sense or in a politico-State one? The Radimichians, the Vyatichians, the Buzhians and the Croats are particularly important in the present consideration; we must, therefore, closely examine every argument and counter-argument advanced if a worthwhile answer is to be attained.

It is certain that the notion of the Lendzans-Lyakhs implied an ethnic concept. Porphyrogenitus used it to signify the neighbours of the Krivichians; since he simultaneously emphasized the dependence of these peoples on Rus', the possibility of their being within the Polish State is excluded. 'Nestor' stated that the Radimichians and the Vyatichians were '*ot [roda] lyakhov*'. The expression *rod* implies blood-ties, *i.e.*, descent. Il'insky is in agreement with the texts of the sources when he states 'that in the 10th century the Radimichians were not only called . . . Lyakhs by their neighbours but that they called themselves by the same name. This shows that at this time their feeling of national identity was Polish'.¹⁰² This feeling must have been deeply-rooted since it appears so clearly after the lapse of a century¹⁰³ in the pages of Porphyrogenitus and still existed more than 250 years later as a living tradition of the reality current in what was then the very dim past ('Nestor').

In his account of the victorious expedition of Vladimir (981) which brought about the conquest of the Buzhian region, 'Nestor' calls it the territory of the Lyakhs.¹⁰⁴ As he used the same term to denote the ethnic allegiance of the Radimichians and the Vyatichians, it is justified to assume that he wished to convey the same ethnic connotation when using the concept of *Lyakhy*. This does not exclude the possibility that he simultaneously had in mind the fact that the Buzhians belonged to the Polish State at the time. Another passage in the *Povest'* likewise supports the opinion that the name of the Lyakhs had an ethnic sense; writing under 1031, the chronicler refers to the expedition led by Vladimir's sons, Yaroslav and Mstislav, against the Buzhians, against the Lyakhs (*na Lyakhy*), during which the Lyakh land was devastated (*poevasta lyad'skuyu zemlyu*). The population, driven out and settled on the river Ros', was called the Lyakhs (*i mnogy lyakhy privedosta, i razdelivsha ya. Yaroslav posadi svoya po Rsi, i sut' do sego dne*).¹⁰⁵ The politico-State meaning of the term is obviously inapplicable here since these deported Lyakhs were fully under the sway of Kiev and not of Poland.

Porphyrogenitus is no less unequivocal when he writes about the

¹⁰² G. Il'insky, *Kto byli, S*, 1925–1926, p. 319. According to 'Nestor', the same applies to the Vyatichians.

¹⁰³ *OR*, pp. 377–379.

¹⁰⁴ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 58.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

tribute paid by the Lendzans to the Rus'. Political relations at the time (of which more will be said later) rule out the possibility of the Rus' overcoming the whole territory of Poland: they could at best seize some Polish borderland region (as happened in 981, 1031, etc.). It is noteworthy that Constantine did not use the appellation 'Buzhians' (or, for that matter, any other tribal name), though he did use tribal names in the same passage when referring to the Ulichians and the Derevlians. The term 'Lendzans' as used by him can be understood solely in an ethnic sense—not in a politico-State one: the people in question had been torn away from the Polish State and thrust under the hegemony of Rus', as witness the fact that they paid tribute to the latter.

The linguistic argument advanced by Lehr-Spławiński is in accord with the above observations. In his analysis of the names of the major cities in the Polish-Rus'ian borderland, he comes to the conclusion that those of Przemyśl and Czerwień contain no internal features which would make it possible to decide whether they are of Polish or of East-Slavonic origin. Both alternatives are therefore possible. On the other hand, a third name, that of Belz (a town in the Upper Bug region) is undoubtedly a Polish formation since 'Nestor' writes it 'Belz' and not 'Bołz'.¹⁰⁶

Lehr-Spławiński draws attention to yet another detail, one that has to do not with the Buzhians but rather with the Croats: the Hungarians took the older form *Lengyen* (i.e., *Lend'en*)—which in later times yielded the appellation: *Lengyel* ('a Pole')—from *Lędzanie* (Lendzans). This warrants the assumption that they learnt the name from their neighbours on the other side of the Carpathians—neighbours who called themselves by this name.¹⁰⁷

The question of the ethnic character of the Croats—who were indubitably Slavs at the epoch under examination¹⁰⁸—is to some extent connected with the territory they originally occupied. The literature on the subject reveals a considerable divergency of opinion. Whilst, for instance, Korolyuk locates the Croats in the San region and considers that Przemyśl was their principal town,¹⁰⁹ Natanson-Leski supposes that they lived on the Middle Dniester.¹¹⁰ If Korolyuk's opinion is correct, the Croats must be classified as a Polish tribe. Writing about the expedition of 981, 'Nestor' stated that Vladimir

¹⁰⁶ '1030. Yaroslav Belzy vzyal', *ibid.*, p. 101. Cf. T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Lędzice*, pp. 205–206.

¹⁰⁷ T. Lehr-Spławiński, *op. cit.*, pp. 202, 203, 208. A similar opinion is held by K. Tymieniecki, *Początki państwa Polan*, 1959, p. 42.

¹⁰⁸ I do not discuss the history of the Croats in the very dim past and the abundant literature on this subject principally based on etymological premisses. The fact remains that the various tribes which bore this name appear in historical times as Slavs. The Balkan Croats are Slavs and 'Nestor' classified the White Croats as Slavs of the Moravo-Czech group.

¹⁰⁹ V. Korolyuk, K voprosu ob otnosheniyakh Rusi i Pol'shi v X veke, *KSIS IX*, 1952, p. 46.

¹¹⁰ J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, p. 55.

marched against the Lyakhs and occupied their towns, Przemyśl, Czerwień, and others.¹¹¹ As the Kievan chronicler, in company with Constantine Porphyrogenitus, gave an ethnic content to the Lendzan-Lyakh concept, it is justifiable to assume that the inhabitants of Przemyśl were just as Polish as those of Czerwień.

Both archaeological excavations¹¹² and the texts of the sources testify to the ties between Przemyśl and Poland. Rabbi Jehuda ha-Kohen, who lived and wrote in Mainz during the first half of the 11th century, hands down an account of a raid on the town of Przemyśl, during which the local Jewish population was carried off. This author emphasizes that the city in question was in Poland (*Pluni, Poloni*). An analysis of the text leads to the conclusion that the events described were before 1028.¹¹³ Al-Idrisi, the Arabic geographer of the middle of the 12th century, enumerates the principal towns of Poland, such as Cracow, Gniezno, Wrocław, etc., and includes Przemyśl, which—he states—was in the land of Sandomierz.¹¹⁴ It follows from the above that the farther west the territory of the Croats is located by the various authors (*i.e.*, towards the San), the more evidently do their accounts support the thesis that the Croats were of Polish stock.

In the introductory part of the *Povest'*, 'Nestor' arranges the lists of the East Slavonic tribes but the Croats figure in none of these.¹¹⁵ This is, of course, a negative observation but in the absence of any other data in the sources it is not without significance. Mention must also be made of the fact that the extensive territories of the Pechenegs separated the Croats in those times from their nearest East Slavonic neighbours—the Polyanians, the Ulichians and the Derevlans.

The literature on the subject expresses diverse opinions on the ethnic allegiance of the earliest inhabitants of the Upper Dniester region. Some authors—such as Kuczyński,¹¹⁶ Lehr-Spławiński,¹¹⁷

¹¹¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 58.

¹¹² In Przemyśl A. Żaki has found, in 1960, a rotunda and the foundations of a palatium with which the rotunda was connected. Everything, from the 'Carolingian foot' which served as a measure, up to the coin of Otto III found in the rotunda, shows that the whole complex was built by Bolesław the Great. The similarity of a rotunda in connection with a palatium in the ruins of Ostrów Lednicki and Giecz is striking. Cf. A. Żaki, Najstarsze relikty architektoniczne na zamku w Przemyślu (doniesienie tymczasowe), *SPANK*, (1960) 1961, pp. 6-10; K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland*, 1961, p. 170. As to the topography in Przemyśl see A. Żaki, Topografia wczesnośredniowiecznego Przemyśla. Preliminaria badań, in *Acta Archaeologica Carpathica* I (1), 1958 (unavailable to me). See also K. Arłamowski, Rozwój przestrzenny Przemyśla, *RDŚG* XV, (1953) 1955, pp. 161-191. Żaki's archaeological research has revealed the existence of a number of defensive castles on the San.

¹¹³ F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian*, 1956, pp. 32, 37, 41-44. See also S. Huberband, Źródła do historii Żydów w krajach słowiańskich, ze specjalnym uwzględnieniem Polski i Rosji, *BZIH*, 1951 (2), pp. 19-25; T. Lewicki, Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów środkowej i wschodniej Europy w okresie wczesnego średniowiecza (IX-XIII w.), *POR*, No. 3 (15), 1955, pp. 287, 292.

¹¹⁴ T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle 'Księgi Rogera' geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego* I, 1945, p. 139; II, 1954, pp. 35, 120-122, 169.

¹¹⁵ *OR*, pp. 17, 37-40, 49, 53, 59, 72. See also Chapter II of the present study.

¹¹⁶ S. Kuczyński, *Nieznany traktat polsko-ruski r. 1039*, 1956, p. 261, 272.

Likhachev,¹¹⁸ Natanson-Leski,¹¹⁹ Orlov,¹²⁰ Sherbowitz-Wetor,¹²¹ Zelenin,¹²² etc.—consider that they were not East-Slavonic¹²³ or plainly state they were ethnically Polish; others (dealt with on a later page) claim that this population was of 'Rus'ian' origin. In view of this basic difference of opinion, it would seem that a precise analysis of the contradictory arguments is required to advance our knowledge in this field. Unfortunately, the majority of those who support the latter opinion express themselves in most categorical fashion while at the same time they refrain from giving the grounds upon which they base their views.¹²⁴ I regret that, faced by such methods of inquiry, it is impossible for me to engage in any discussion with the authors in question as far as this subject goes. Unproven, bare assertions can be met solely by flat denials.

There are some authors, however, who do present various arguments in support of their views and this makes it all the more interesting to undertake the proposed analysis. It must be stated here that my observations embrace the whole Polish-Rus'ian borderland, hence also the territories of the Croats and the Buzhians, and take into consideration the ethnic and the politico-State aspects of the problem.

I pass over Grekov's views on the ethnic relations of the region under examination during the earliest times as this author's presentation of the matter was analysed in detail by me in my previous book.¹²⁵ This leaves for discussion only the contributions of Łowmiański and Kiersnowski who have adopted an attitude resembling Grekov's but advance also other arguments. According to Łowmiański, the Rus'ian character of the Buzhians is amply demonstrated by the well-known passage in 'Nestor' which includes this people among the tribes to be found 'in Rus'.¹²⁶ He claims this text justifies the assertion 'that

¹¹⁷ T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Łędzice-Łędzanie-Lachowie*, 1959, pp. 198–203. I am in agreement with this scholar's statement that the Polish Lendzans were settled on the Bug, the San and the Upper Dniester, but I disagree with his views on the meaning of the term 'Lendzans'. He considers this name refers to only one tribe which inhabited the regions mentioned above, whilst I believe that this appellation (Lendzans) is synonymous with that of the Lyakhs and was applied in a supra-tribal sense to embrace *inter alia* the Buzhians and the Croats.

¹¹⁸ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* II, 1950, p. 213; *idem*, in I. Eremin and D. Likhachev, *Khudozhestvennaya proza Kievskoi Rusi XI–XIII vv.*, 1957, p. 289.

¹¹⁹ J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, pp. 224–229.

¹²⁰ A. Orlov, *Drevnyaya russkaya literatura XI–XVI vv.*, 2nd ed., 1939, pp. 12–13.

¹²¹ O. Sherbowitz-Wetor, in S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 231.

¹²² D. Zelenin, *Russische (Ostslavische) Volkskunde*, 1927, p. 4.

¹²³ Orlov and Zelenin omit the Croats in their enumeration of East-Slavonic tribes, thus admitting indirectly that the Croats were not Eastern-Slavs.

¹²⁴ A. Nasonov, 'Russkaya zemlya', 1951, p. 130; P. Tret'yakov, *Vostochnoslavjanskie plemena*, 1953, p. 218; K. Guslisty, *Formirovanie i razvitie feodal'nykh otnoshenii u vostochnykh slavyan*, in *Istoriya Ukrainskoi SSSR I*, 1956, p. 41; V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR*, 1956, p. 127, and others.

¹²⁵ *OR*, pp. 66–73.

¹²⁶ 'Se bo tokmo slovenesk yazyk v Rusi: polyane, derevlyane, nougorod'tsi, polochane, dregovich, sever, buzhanec . . .', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 13.

all the Rus'ian tribes [hence also the Buzhians] speak the Slavonic [Rus'ian] language'.¹²⁷ Yet, the mere fact that a good half of the tribes recognized by Russian historians as East-Slavonic do not appear in this passage speaks against Łowmiański's thesis. Chapter II of the present study gives a semantic analysis of the term *yazyk* (a word used in the text dealt with here and one which has basic significance for a proper understanding of the passage); the whole passage is discussed in detail in Chapter II with my demonstration that Łowmiański's claims are unfounded.¹²⁸ The reader is therefore referred to this section of the book.

Kiersnowski draws attention to about ten coins found during archaeological excavations in various parts of Poland, coins which bear the name 'Boleslav' in Cyrillic characters. The consensus of opinion is that the reference is to Bolesław the Great (992–1025), and in fact the size and the weight of these coins correspond with those of other coins bearing a Latin inscription and issued during the reign of this ruler. Some authors considered and some still consider that Bolesław's denarii were struck to celebrate some noteworthy events. In the given case, it is affirmed that these coins with Cyrillic inscription were minted at Kiev to commemorate the capture of this city by the Poles in 1018.¹²⁹ Kiersnowski, however, rightly rejects this supposition. Postulating that the inhabitants of the Bug region were of 'Rus'ian' stock in those times and were under Polish rule in 1018–1025, Kiersnowski believes that Bolesław had these coins minted with a 'Rus'ian inscription' in order to placate the resistance of this population and gain it over to his realm.¹³⁰

Gumowski affirms that these coins were struck in some connection with the existence of the rite of Cyril and Methodius in Poland.¹³¹ Lehr-Spławiński opposes this view and advances as his chief counter-argument the fact that the coins in question bear Cyrillic characters and not Glagolitic ones.

Neither Methodius—remarks Lehr-Spławiński—nor his immediate disciples in Moravia ever used the Cyrillic alphabet, which in all probability arose in later times (the 10th century) in the Balkans, after the disciples of St Methodius had left the Moravian State. They used only

¹²⁷ H. Łowmiański, O znaczeniu nazwy 'Ruś' w wieku X–XIV, *KH* LXIV, 1957, pp. 88–89.

¹²⁸ On the basis of this fact, Kowalenko's arbitrary assertion concerning the ethnic character of the Buzhians must also be categorically rejected. Cf. W. Kowalenko, *Bużanie*, in W. Kowalenko, G. Labuda, T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* I (1), 1961, p. 212.

¹²⁹ K. Strończyński, Dawne monety polskie dynastii Piastów i Jagiellonów II, 1884, p. 28. The following have recently written in favour of this opinion: A. Żaki, Nowoodkryte ruiny budowli przedromańskiej na Wawelu, *SDW* I, 1955, p. 107; Z. Zakrzewski, Pierwsza moneta polska, *SA* V, 1956, pp. 226–231.

¹³⁰ R. Kiersnowski, O tzw. 'ruskich' monetach Bolesława Chrobrego, in *Studia Historica. W 35-lecie pracy naukowej H. Łowmiańskiego*, 1958, pp. 91–103. See also *idem*, *Pieniądz kruszcowy w Polsce wczesnośredniowiecznej*, 1960.

¹³¹ M. Gumowski, *Szkie numizmatyczno-historyczne z XI w.*, 1924; *idem*, *Monety X–XII wieku, Corpus nummorum Poloniae* I, 1939.

the older Slavonic alphabet, the so-called Glagolitic... The Cyrillic inscription upon the denarii [of Boleslaw] undoubtedly testifies therefore to a connection with Rus' which used the Cyrillic alphabet taken over from Bulgaria.¹³²

Shevelov suggests that the Slavonic rite in Poland was not propagated from Moravia and Bohemia but from Eastern Europe. Opposing my views, this author asks: 'If the Slavonic rite came from Moravia and not from the East, why did it apparently use the Cyrillic alphabet and not the Glagolitic?'¹³³

It should first of all be borne in mind that the coins in question derive from the first quarter of the 11th century (or from the last years of the 10th century), whilst the beginnings of the Slavonic rite in Poland were in the last quarter of the 9th century, hence more than a hundred years earlier. The coins under discussion do not therefore provide sufficient grounds to affirm that the Poles did not use Glagolitic script towards the end of the 9th and well into the 10th century. They may well have used it; unfortunately, no Slavonic relics inscribed in the 10th century have been preserved upon Polish soil, and no material therefore exists for deciding which of the two alphabets was applied. In any case, Shevelov's suggestions are contradicted by the 'Life of St Methodius', which plainly states that Christianity spread from Moravia northwards, reached Poland and extended to the domains of the mighty ruler on the Vistula.

It is outside the scope of this study to decide whether it should be so categorically stated, as Lehr-Spławiński does, that the Cyrillic alphabet was quite unknown in Moravia and Bohemia. Later material written in Cyrillic characters seems to indicate that old traditions could have survived in these territories.¹³⁴ On the other hand, I agree with Lehr-Spławiński that the Cyrillic script arose in Bulgaria during the 10th if not already towards the end of the 9th century. This alphabet spread to various countries and it may well have reached Poland too.

I have pointed out on another page that one of the chief motives which drove the Rus' towards the Dniester and the San was knowledge of the existence of salt-deposits in those regions.¹³⁵ Throughout Europe in those times, the possession of such deposits constituted immense wealth. Kuczyński makes the same point when writing of Bulgarian territorial expansion: 'The sub-Carpathian regions had long been famed for their rich salt reserves. Enormous salt-deposits are to be found on both sides of the Carpathians, but the salt mines

¹³² T. Lehr-Spławiński, *Misja słowiańska św. Metodego a Polska*, in his *Rozprawy i szkice z dziejów kultury Słowian*, 1954, pp. 186-187; similarly, *idem*, *Nowa faza dyskusji o zagadnieniu liturgii słowiańskiej w dawnej Polsce*, *NP* VII, 1958, p. 13.

¹³³ G. Shevelov, in *HB*, 1955, p. 44.

¹³⁴ Cf. Horálek, *Rajhradské Martyrologium Adonis a otázka české cyrilice*, *LF* LXVI, 1939, pp. 29-43; F. Mareš, *Levínský nápis (epigrafický doklad cyrilice v Čechách)*, *S* XXII (2-3), 1953, pp. 473-483.

¹³⁵ *OR*, p. 68.

of the Dniester region are probably older than those of Marmaros and Transylvania. The large number of salt-water springs (about 800) stretching from Tyrawa Solna and the environs of Przemyśl in a belt parallel to the line of the Eastern Carpathians, confirms that this fame was not unmerited. Thus, all or at least the majority of the territories rich in salt-deposits on the Dniester, in Transylvania and on the southern slopes of the Carpathians were either in the direct possession of Bulgaria or under that country's influence at the turn of the 9th–10th century. More recent research confirms Bulgaria's direct or indirect rule over the areas of the Upper Cisa and the Carpathians (perhaps even somewhat farther), as far as the Prut, part of the Dniester and the Boh. There can be no doubt that Bulgaria was likewise interested in the salt-deposits of the Upper Dniester and of the San.¹³⁶

The above observations demonstrate that Bulgaria was—during a certain period, at least—a direct or indirect neighbour of the Lendzan-Lyakh State. Since contacts between the two countries existed, it is vain to restrict them solely to economic matters. It is for this reason that I consider it more probable that the Cyrillic alphabet reached Poland direct from Bulgaria rather than by the long, roundabout route via Kiev. There would thus be no grounds for connecting the coins of Bolesław the Great with Rus' in spite of the Cyrillic inscription they bear.

It should be noted that Kiersnowski proffers no arguments to support his hypothesis of a Rus'ian population inhabiting the Bug region.¹³⁷ The problem represented by the coins—not one of which, incidentally, was found in the Bug area¹³⁸—is related to the existence of the Slavonic rite in Poland. Kiersnowski questions this existence but in the present stage of research this opinion is only an anachronism.

Those who support the view that the inhabitants on the Bug and the Upper Dniester were of non-Polish stock usually call the Buzhians and Croats 'East-Slavonic' or 'Rus'ian' tribes. Though the expression 'East-Slavonic' is in common use today, it was unknown in the time under investigation, and is a purely geographical, not an ethnic concept. There was no 'East-Slavonic' nation, just as there never was a 'West-Slavonic' one. It suffices to recall the antagonism between the Poles and the Czechs during the 10th and 11th centuries to confirm this observation.¹³⁹

Since the appellation 'East-Slavonic' ('East-Slavonic tribes') does

¹³⁶ S. Kuczyński, *Z najstarszych dziejów Przemyśla*, *SWTN*, 1950, pp. 112–113.

¹³⁷ Kiersnowski restricts himself solely to quotations from Łowmiański's and Nasonov's publications although these contribute no positive data on the relevant subject.

¹³⁸ Cf. H. Łowmiański, in *KH* LXVIII, 1961, p. 499.

¹³⁹ Cf. . . . 'cum Bohemicis, Polonorum infestissimis inimicis' . . . , *The Chronicle of 'Gallus'*, *MPHNS* II, 1952, p. 41.

not carry the ethnic implication ascribed to it by many authors, it may be assumed that the term 'Rus'ian' ('Rus'ian tribes') will prove more serviceable in an examination of the problem. The present book is devoted to the 'Rus'ian nation' in the earliest times. In this appendix, I confine myself to quoting only those facts which throw light on the subject of the Polish-Rus'ian borderlands.

As has been demonstrated, during the period under investigation (10th–14th century) the term 'Rus'' had a dual meaning: a narrower one, restricted to the region of the Middle Dnieper, and a wider one which embraced the very broad expanses of Eastern Europe. The point of issue for my studies is provided by a linguistic fact, *i.e.*, the meaning of the expressions *nachal'nitsa Rusi*, *nachal'nik Rusi*—the epithets applied by the sources to Ol'ga and Vladimir when these accepted Christianity. *Nachal'nik* signifies a person who 'gave something a beginning' (*nachatok*, *nachalo*). By his conversion, Vladimir inaugurated the new concept of Rus'. I emphasize 'new', since the term 'Rus'' was in use previously both as expressing an ethnic conception (the Norse Varangians) and a politico-State one (Kiev).¹⁴⁰

It is possible to fix fairly precisely the time when the name Rus' began to acquire an ecclesiastical-religious content. As Vladimir became a Christian in about 988, the first use of the appellation 'Rus'' in the broader territorial sense can have become current no earlier than in the following years. The problem of the earliest Rus'ian-Polish border necessarily embraces the period prior to the formation of this concept of Rus' in its wider sense.

Considering that we are concerned with such distant times, it is surprising that such an abundance of source-material is available, both quantitatively and in the wealth of information handed down. Most important, the whole of this material is mutually in agreement and the items supplement rather than contradict one another. It must be emphasized that these sources—East Slavonic, Byzantine, Jewish, German, Czech, Polish, etc.—with the exceptions of 'Nestor' and the charter granted by Emperor Henry IV to the Prague bishopric dated 1086—are contemporary with the times dealt with, which obviously greatly enhances their value. 'Nestor' is unexpectedly well informed about those distant times. The credibility of much of the information he gives can be checked by comparison with earlier writers, in particular Constantine Porphyrogenitus.¹⁴¹ The document of Emperor Henry IV comprises a number of data from before the 11th century. In short, both these sources likewise fully merit due attention.

Accepting the testimonies of 'Nestor' and his continuators, it can be stated that 'Rus'' embraced the territories of two tribes: the

¹⁴⁰ I exclude other Rus'ian centres of this period, particularly those situated in the north, since they have no relevance to the question of the Rus'ian-Polish borderland.

¹⁴¹ OR, pp. 136–137.

Polyanians and the Severians (Kiev, Chernikhov and Pereyaslavl'). Basing himself on these sources, Nasonov rightly states that 'the towns on the Southern Bug (Bushesk, in any case) as also the towns on the Horyn' (Shumsk, Tikhoml', Gnoinitza) were considered in the 12th century as the most westerly and south-westerly "Rus'ian"¹⁴² towns'.¹⁴³ Thus, the western frontiers of Rus', *i.e.*, of the former territory of the Polyanians ('Nestor' plainly states that this Rus'ian name was a relatively recent one)¹⁴⁴ extended along the Upper Boh and the Upper Horyn' in the 12th century and earlier. North of Rus', the territory of the Derevlans bordered in the west with the Horyn' or the Styr. Nasonov rightly emphasizes that 'even in the 12th century, the Derevlans were considered to be living beyond the borders of "Rus'", of "the Rus'ian land"'.¹⁴⁵

Mid-10th century information shows very clearly the separateness of the Derevlans from the Rus'. 'Nestor' makes several mentions of the fierce battles conducted by Oleg, Igor', Ol'ga and Svyatoslav against the Derevlans in order to bring them under their rule and to extract tribute. The determined resistance put up by this tribe is brought out in high relief upon the pages of the *Povest'*. After Igor's death, Mal, Prince of the Derevlans, proclaimed: 'We have killed the Rus'ian prince' (*Se knyazya ubikhom ruskago*).¹⁴⁶ This proves that the Derevlans did not consider themselves to be Rus'. Constantine gives none of all these dramatic accounts and details; he simply confirms the same reality in laconic terms when he writes that the Ulichians ('Nestor' also wrote of the wars between the Rus' and this people), the Derevlans and the Lendzans paid tribute to the Rus'.¹⁴⁷ Just like 'Nestor', the Emperor of Byzantium clearly distinguishes the Ulichians, Derevlans and Lendzans from the Rus' and contrasts between them and the Rus'.

As described by 'Nestor' and confirmed by Porphyrogenitus, the relations between the Derevlans and the Kievan Rus' in the 10th century throw an interesting light on the fate of the Croats and the Buzhians at that time. Since the Rus' did not easily succeed in imposing their name upon the Derevlans (as they had done with the

¹⁴² Nasonov sometimes writes the terms: 'Rus'' and 'Rus'ian land' within inverted commas and sometimes without; quotation marks are used when the information is based on the texts of sources, and omitted when non-scholarly factors come into play. Only those passages in his book (*'Russkaya zemlya' i obrazovanie territorii drevnerusskogo gosudarstva*, 1951) which he regards as falling within the first category have been taken into consideration here.

¹⁴³ A. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, p. 41; similarly—p. 29.

¹⁴⁴ . . . 'polyane yazhe nyne zovomaya Rus', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 21.

¹⁴⁵ A. Nasonov, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

¹⁴⁶ *Povest'* I, p. 40.

¹⁴⁷ S. Kuczyński, *Stosunki polsko-ruskie do schyłku wieku XII, SO VII (2)*, pp. 234-235 advances the quite probable hypothesis that the ruler of the Lendzans subjected by Rus' was named Volodislav. This name appears amongst those of the princes who paid tribute to Igor' and were listed in the Greco-Rus'ian treaty of 944, *Povest'* I, p. 34. The name Volodislav (in Polish Włodzisław) is not encountered in Eastern Europe but is used in Poland. The date of treaty falls within the period during which Constantine Porphyrogenitus wrote his work.

Polyanians), there is even less likelihood that they were more successful in this respect with the Croats and the Buzhians, particularly as these tribes inhabited territories much farther away from Kiev than the Derevlans. A considerable number of East-Slavonic sources clearly indicate that during the 11th to 13th centuries neither the regions on the Dniester (Halicz, appearing for the first time in 12th-century sources, must primarily be taken into consideration) nor on the Bug were embraced by the appellation 'Rus'.¹⁴⁸ They were of course already 'Rus'ian' at that time, but only in the ecclesiastical-religious sense (as being under the jurisdiction of the Rus'ian Metropolis in Kiev). This point does not, however, enter into consideration since we are dealing here with the times prior to the conversion of Vladimir.

Summing up I come to the following conclusions: (a) The territory of the Polyanians up to the 9th century and that of the Rus' in the 10th century reached westward as far as the Upper Boh (and the Upper Horyn') whilst the land of the Derevlans did not extend beyond the line of the Styr; in other words, the Boh and the Styr represented the western limit of East-Slavonic settlement in the 9th and 10th centuries. (b) To call the Buzhians and the Croats of the 9th and 10th centuries 'Rus'ian' tribes, as some authors do, is quite misleading and in evident disagreement with the testimonies of the sources; this is quite apart from the fact that the Rus' were at that time the Norse Varangians, while these tribes were Slavs.

Now, we are able to interpret two sources which concern the eastern limits of the Polish territory in the second half of the 10th century. The first is the narrative of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, a Spanish Jew, who was almost a contemporary of Porphyrogenitus (he wrote

¹⁴⁸ Here are some entries of the chronicles concerning the subject: '1018. After collecting the Rus', the Varangians and the Slavs, Yaroslav marched forth against Boleslav and Svyatopolk, and upon arriving at Volyn', they camped on both sides of the river Bug'; '1097. David . . . went back to Vladimir [in Volynia, and] . . . fortified himself within the city, and expected help from the Poles . . . , for they had promised to be his allies if the Rus'ian princes attacked him'; '1145. The whole Rus'ian land marches forth against Galich'; '1152. Izyaslav . . . went forth [against Halicz] taking with him . . . the best men of Kiev and the whole Rus'ian retinue'; '1152 [The King of Hungary asks Vladimir of Halicz to give back Izyaslav of Kiev the lands of Rus', and says:] You swore to give back all possessions of the Rus'ian land, and not to desert Izyaslav'; '1189. Svyatoslav was giving Galich to Rurik, and wished [to keep] for himself the whole Rus'ian land'; '1193. Svyatoslav [of Kiev] sent his envoys to Rurik [to Ovruch in Volynia] and said to him: Now come to Rus' . . . Rurik then came to Rus' with all his troops'; '1202. Roman, having gathered the troops of Galich and Vladimir, invaded the Rus'ian land'; '1206. The men of Galich, seeing that the King [of Hungary] was going away, took fright at the Rus'ian troops as they might have turned back against them'; '1231. Danilo [of Halicz] captured the town of Torchesk, belonging to the Rus'ian land'. When the merchants of Halicz and Przemyśl were not permitted to leave these lands, there was no salt in the whole Rus'ian land, and so on. A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', 1951, p. 29 and P. Tret'yakov, '*Vostochnoslavjanskije plemena*', 1953, p. 214, faced by the clear evidence in the sources, admit that the ancient territories of the Croats and Buzhians in the 12th and 13th centuries were not only embraced by 'Rus' but were even expressly differentiated from 'Rus'.

about 966)¹⁴⁹; the other is the deed by which Mieszko I donated his domain to the Apostolic See,¹⁵⁰ a document drawn up at some time between 985 and 992,¹⁵¹ and known as the *Dagome iudex* from its opening words.¹⁵² Both sources confirm the same fact, viz., that Mieszko's State bordered with the land of the Prussians (a tribe cognate with the Lithuanians and settled between the Lower Vistula and the Lower Niemen), whence it follows that the Mazovians were embraced by this State. This is in agreement with 'Nestor' who relates that the Mazovians had for long been recognized as Lyakhs.¹⁵³

Ibrahim Ibn Yakub reports also that Mieszko's realm had a common frontier with Rus'. Constantine Porphyrogenitus indicates that in the middle of the 10th century the appellation 'Rus'' did not embrace the territories of the Ulichians, Derevlans, Lendzans (Buzhians), etc. Since the settlements of the Polyanians ('Rus') reached to the Upper Boh and the Upper Horyn', Mieszko's realm, in about 966, must have included the Buzhian region, hence must have extended to the Styr. It may be objected that this was not so because of Constantine's mention that the Lendzans (Buzhians) paid tribute to Rus'; such an argument is, however, untenable for many reasons.

When Ibrahim Ibn Yakub enumerated the principal Slavonic States of his time, he did not include Rus' though he wrote much about it on various occasions. There is nothing strange in this since, in common with all the contemporary sources, Ibrahim considered the Rus' to be Norsemen. He knew well that the Slavs had been subjugated by the Rus' and he clearly differentiated the Slavs from the

¹⁴⁹ T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Jakub de itinere slavico, quae traditur apud Al-Bekri, MPHNS I*, 1946. The English translation—S. Rapoport, *On the Early Slavs: The Narrative of Ibrahim Ibn-Yakub, SEER VIII*, 1929, pp. 331–341.

¹⁵⁰ K. Maleczyński, *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae I*, 1956, No. 2, pp. 3–9.

¹⁵¹ V. Korolyuk, *K voprosu ob otnosheniyakh Rusi i Pol'shi v X veke, KSIS IX*, 1952, p. 43 gives wrong dates for this document (992–996).

¹⁵² The *Dagome iudex* has not been preserved in the original. There is general agreement among scholars that the original was drawn up in Latin, though hypotheses have recently been advanced that it was written in Greek (cf. A. Steffen, *Ślady greckie w regeście 'Dagome iudex'*, *Ant III*, 1956, pp. 95–116; this surmise is opposed by W. Kowalenko, *Znowu o Dagome iudex, RH XXIV*, 1958, pp. 233–251) or in Slavonic (J. Zatko, *Dagome iudex. Was the Original in Cyrillic? CM XX (1–2)*, 1959, pp. 213–220). There is a large number of works on the *Dagome iudex* (these are listed in Z. Gąsiorowski, *The Conquest Theory of the Genesis of the Polish State, Sp*, 1955, pp. 555–560; K. Maleczyński, *op. cit.*). Many details of the text still provide the subject for lively exchanges of views though without chance of a definitive solution being attained. I have discussed here only the few points which have some connection with the Polish-Rus'ian borderlands.

¹⁵³ There are some authors, few in number, who express doubts regarding the early allegiance of the Mazovians to Poland and believe that this tribe inclined towards political independence and feelings of separateness from the rest of the country as late as the first half of the 11th century. This assertion is quite untenable. The only fact cited by these authors is the conflict between Casimir the Restorer and Masław; however this was neither political nor ethnic in character but religious: as 'Gallus' indicates, it was a struggle between the followers of the Latin rite and those who clung to the Slavonic rite. Cf. K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland*, 1961, pp. 130–132 (also in Polish, 'Reakcja pogańska' i powrót Odnowiciela, *TH XI*, 1960–1961, p. 32).

Rus'. That is why it was out of the question for him to refer to the peoples neighbouring with Mieszko's realm, whether Buzhians or Croats, by the name of Rus'. The mere fact that tribute was paid to the Rus' did not necessarily signify in those times that conquered tribes had to assume the Rus'ian name. Both in Porphyrogenitus and in 'Nestor' we read of many peoples who paid such tribute, who yet were invariably differentiated from the Rus'.

The foregoing observation is supported by another fact: Ibrahim states that Mieszko's domain neighboured with Rus' in the east. Ibrahim indirectly indicates that in his time the Mazovians were embraced by Mieszko's realm and directly states that Cracow and its vicinity was held by the Czechs. Hence, it can be concluded that the term 'Rus'' could not have referred to the Croat territory on the Upper Dniester, which lay to the south of the Mazovians and of the Lendzans-Lyakhs (in the Sandomierz region). The Buzhians were also southern neighbours of the Mazovians but eastern neighbours only of the Lendzans-Lyakhs. This leads to another observation. Accepting that Ibrahim Ibn Yakub applied the name of Rus' to the territory of the Buzhians, it would follow that Mieszko's State did not extend beyond the original tribal territory of the Lendzans-Lyakhs, that is to say, somewhere on the Wieprz river. Recalling, in addition, that the southern regions with Cracow were in Czech hands, it would follow that the area of the State in question was quite inconsiderable. Yet, Ibrahim's testimony reaffirms the contrary: he lays stress on the fact that Mieszko's realm was the largest of the Slavonic countries,¹⁵⁴ thus indirectly indicating that the land of the Buzhians belonged to it.

An analysis of Ibrahim's work leads to the conclusion that the hegemony of Rus' over the Lendzans during the middle of the 10th century, mentioned by Porphyrogenitus, was ended before 966. The two passages from 'Nestor' support this opinion. One does so indirectly. The chronicler reports, under the year 970, that Syvatoslav (Ibrahim wrote during his lifetime) installed one of his sons (Yaropolk) in Kiev and a second one (Oleg) in the land of the Derevlians.¹⁵⁵ If Svyatoslav had really ruled over the Lendzans-Lyakhs (*i.e.*, the Buzhians), he would undoubtedly have placed them under the sway of his successors. It can therefore be accepted that Svyatoslav's rule extended only to the Horyn' or the Styr. In any case, when Vladimir, Svyatoslav's youngest son, conquered the territories on the Bug eleven years later, he had to fight against the Lyakhs. This is the other proof, in direct form. 'Nestor' speaks of Vladimir's

¹⁵⁴ There are no grounds for casting doubts on Ibrahim's narrative, as does K. Buczek, *Zagadnienie wiarygodności dwu relacji o początkowych dziejach państwa polskiego*, in *Prace z dziejów Polski feudalnej, ofiarowane Romanowi Grodeckiemu w 70-ą rocznicę urodzin*, 1960, p. 60, and it is significant that no arguments are advanced in support of this view.

¹⁵⁵ 'Svyatoslav posadi Yaropolka v Kieve a Ol'ga v derevekh', *Povest'* I, p. 49.

expedition of 981: *Ide Volodimer k lyakhom i zaya grady ikh, Pere-myshl', Cherven i iny grady, izhe sut' i do sego dne pod Rus'yu*.¹⁵⁶ Cross and Sherbowitz-Wetzor translate this passage as follows: 'Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl', Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus' even to this day.'¹⁵⁷ It is rare indeed for such a short entry to contain so much information. Yet I know no other text which has given rise to such violent opposition among those studying the subject. Every word in this short passage has been 'corrected'. And on the basis of these distortions, evidence has been extracted by individual authors to support the diverse interpretations they ascribe to this perfectly lucid text.

I have chosen Rhode's work as the basis of discussion since it is specially devoted to the history of Poland's eastern frontier (and that within very wide limits).¹⁵⁸ His knowledge of the abundant literature on the subject is praiseworthy. Unfortunately, I must raise a number of serious objections with regard to the treatment of the early period (10th century) by Rhode.

It is the duty of every author to make the fullest possible use of the source-material relevant to a given problem. The question of Poland's eastern frontier is largely bound up with the western frontier of Rus', hence the elucidation of the problem from its eastern aspect is essential. Rhode does not establish the precise content of the term 'Rus'' and in particular fails to determine its territorial application in the period under discussion. Such facts as that the territory of Rus', in the 10th century and later, extended only to the Upper Boh and the Upper Horyn', as also that the territories of the various tribes subjected for longer or shorter periods by the Rus' were not embraced by the name 'Rus'' and were even expressly differentiated from this 'Rus''—find no mention in his work. He likewise does not seem to have considered the tribal and supra-tribal meaning of the term 'Lyakhs', nor does he attempt to determine its territorial range in the ethnic sense.

Rhode affirms that there are four sources for delimiting Poland's eastern frontier in the 10th century: Ibrahim Ibn Yakub, the Prague document of 1086, 'Nestor's entry under the year 981, and the *Dagome iudex* charter.¹⁵⁹ It is at once evident that he has omitted quite a number of other sources, chief amongst which are Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor'. As I have shown, the Byzantine Emperor handed down data of the utmost importance for a study

¹⁵⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 58.

¹⁵⁷ S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, 1953, p. 95.

¹⁵⁸ G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens. Politische Entwicklung, kulturelle Bedeutung und geistige Auswirkung* I, 1955. See also *idem*, *Die Ostgrenze Polens im Mittelalter*, *ZO II*, 1953 (1), pp. 15-65; *idem*, in *A*, 1957, p. 36.

¹⁵⁹ G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens* I, pp. 25-27.

of the Polish-Rus'ian borderlands in the middle of the 10th century. The *Povest' vremennykh let* is utilized by Rhode solely in respect of the entry for the year 981, although the Kievan chronicler hands down other passages relevant to the subject. Rhode omits Vincent's information on the Croats. He does not link up the *Annales Hildesheimenses* entry for 992 with 'Nestor's' for the same year (the Croatian expedition of Vladimir). All these sources have considerable value for the delimitation of Poland's eastern frontier at that time. In the domain of linguistics, he accepts the Polish provenance of the name 'Bełz' but extracts no conclusions from it. Finally, Rhode also disregards the archaeological data which—as Hoffman emphasized¹⁶⁰—are concordant with the texts of the sources.

Rhode rightly calls for a precise critical analysis of the source-texts; but his own work amounts to a rejection of this claim. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub is wholly dismissed by Rhode with the baseless charge that he had not handed down adequate information regarding the eastern frontier of Mieszko's domains. Yet Ibrahim gives precise information when he writes that this realm bordered with Rus'. Unfortunately, Rhode is unaware of the territorial meaning of the term 'Rus'' in those times—simply because he disregards what Porphyrogenitus and other authors wrote. Rhode also objects to Ibrahim's statement that Mieszko's State was the largest of the Slavonic countries but does not give his reasons for the objection; another important detail given by Ibrahim—that Mieszko's realm bordered with Rus' to the east—is completely ignored by Rhode.¹⁶¹

Rhode's approach to 'Nestor's' entry under 981 is no less strange: he considers that this text is 'very improbable'. As he advances a number of arguments in support of this opinion, it would be well to examine them.¹⁶² The first two can be taken jointly: (a) Rhode states that no source indicates that Mieszko held the Bug region, and (b) that the Lyakhs mentioned by 'Nestor' under the year 981 were undoubtedly Poles, but that there are no grounds for assuming they were subjects of Mieszko. Both these arguments can be refuted by reference to Ibrahim Ibn Yakub. He affirmed that Poland was a neighbour of Rus', *i.e.*, adjoined the Upper Boh and the Upper Horyn' regions since they constituted the western frontier of Rus'. If so, the territory of the Buzhians, for geographical reasons, had to belong to the Polish State. As Ibrahim called it the realm of Mieszko,

¹⁶⁰ '... There are some indications that the cities of Czerwień and the territories to the south along the Dniester, at least as far as Halicz, formed part of Mieszko's domain. The author [Rhode] fails to take into consideration that the strongholds in that period—not only on the Dunajec, the Jasiołka and the San, but also farther east as far as Wołyń—were on the left banks of the rivers (Halicz was on the right bank) and owed the strength of their situation to support from the west, hence from Mieszko's domain, while they defended this territory against enemies from the east.' J. Hoffman, in *TH VIII*, 1956–1957, p. 152.

¹⁶¹ G. Rhode, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–28.

¹⁶² G. Rhode, *op. cit.*, pp. 51–53.

it follows that the population settled on the Bug was under his rule.

Rhode's third argument is that Czerwień and Przemyśl were too far distant from Poznań, Mieszko's capital, for him to dominate the territories of the Bug and the San. Rhode, therefore, concludes that these cities (including their respective regions) belonged to Rus'. Apart from the fact that the distance from Przemyśl to Kiev is not smaller than to Poznań, the idea of limiting the extent of individual countries to less than 500 kilometres (that being the distance between Przemyśl and Poznań, according to Rhode) would lead to quite fantastic results. Apart from other instances, it would then be valid to cast doubt on the reality of the achievements of the Varangian Rus' in Eastern Europe.

Further, Rhode states that were we to accept that Przemyśl and Czerwień belonged to Mieszko before 981, this would signify that Rus' could not have been a neighbour of the Czechs at the time; yet, he affirms, there are sources which indicate that Rus' and Bohemia were in direct contiguity. Let us examine this evidence. Rhode gives three items: (a) in 961, Otto I sent a missionary bishop to Kiev—Adalbert, a monk from St Maxim's Abbey in Trier, who made the journey to Kiev via Bohemia. This sparse information suffices for Rhode to assert that Przemyśl and Czerwień were in the hands of Rus' at the time. The text of the source makes no mention of these two cities nor does it outline the whole route of Adalbert's journey. Thus, Rhode's argument has no ground. (b) Ibrahim Ibn Yakub mentions that Rus'ian and Slavonic merchants came to Prague from Cracow with their wares.¹⁶³ 'This—Rhode concludes—must clearly indicate there were lively relations between Prague, Cracow and Kiev via Przemyśl and Sandomierz without the obstacle of a [separate] State extending between them.' It has never been doubted that commercial relations could have existed and that they may have been lively ones, but it does not follow that the merchants in question were unable to traverse Mieszkos' domains in transit. As a matter of fact, such commercial journeys through foreign countries and States were in those times quite normal in the whole of Europe. (c) Rhode has recourse to 'Nestor's' mention under the year 996 regarding the 'peace and love' (*be mir mezhyu imi i lyuby*) that existed between Vladimir and the rulers of Poland, Hungary and Bohemia. This passage was analysed by me in Chapter II above and there is hence no reason to return to this subject here. The text in question, formulated in very general terms for that matter, provides no data relevant to borderland or frontier affairs; on the other hand, it provides evi-

¹⁶³ The latest of Ibrahim's editors provides the following comment to this passage: 'The Rus' need not necessarily have occupied Cracow: they may have merely journeyed to Prague via Cracow.' T. Kowalski, *Relatio Ibrahim ibn Yakub*, *MPHNS* I, 1946, p. 74. Another passage in Ibrahim, reporting that the Rus' were neighbours of Mieszko's domain to the east, lends support to this last interpretation: if the Rus' were in possession of Cracow, they would have been Mieszko's neighbours to the south.

dence of the close relations and contacts between the four countries in question owing to the existence of the Slavonic rite upon their territories. As I pointed out previously, it was 'love in Christ.'

The most important of Rhode's arguments can now be examined; strictly speaking, it is also the prime argument used by other authors whose attitude resembles his in this matter.¹⁶⁴ It has only indirect significance for the delimitation of the Polish-Rus'ian border at the period. There is no doubt that Cracow belonged for a time to Bohemia in the 10th century, and it is asserted that Mieszko (or his predecessors) could not have extended his rule to the San and Bug territories with Cracow beyond his control; according to authors who hold this opinion, the sole and only route to Przemyśl and Czerwień led through Cracow. It is at once obvious that the whole argumentation is based on topographic premisses; as such, it surpasses the province of purely Polish affairs and relates rather to such general features of the epoch as overland journeys, their routes and duration, the use of the rivers as waterways, man's ability to overcome natural obstacles (wildernesses, swamps, etc.), and so on.

Rhode, Korolyuk and others do not, however, approach the matter from its general aspect and thus forgo the comparative criterion. Yet the source-materials provide much information on the subject, with indications—sometimes in detail—as to how natural obstacles were overcome in those times. It will suffice, in this connection, to draw attention to the very extensive wildernesses and swamps as those of the regions of the river Noteć and the river Pripet', the Grodno region, the territories of the Yatvingians, the Lithuanians, Vyatichians, etc.¹⁶⁵ In the light of these data, the assertions of Rhode, Korolyuk and others that the only way to reach the San and Bug regions led through the Cracow district cannot but be dismissed as being not only improbable but even rather absurd.

Traces of the earliest ecclesiastical organization indicate that the territories on the San were at first under the jurisdiction of Wiślica and later, together with this centre, belonged to the diocese of Sandomierz under Bishop Roman (1002–1030).¹⁶⁶ Kupfer and Lewicki emphasize the great importance in those times of the trade and communication route leading from Przemyśl towards Cracow along the left bank of the San through Sandomierz.¹⁶⁷ The 12th-century account of Idrisi to the effect that Przemyśl belonged to the province of Sandomierz is therefore based on older traditions.¹⁶⁸ Hence, the

¹⁶⁴ V. Korolyuk, K voprosu ob otnosheniyakh Rusi i Pol'shi v X veke, *KSIS* IX, 1952, p. 44; *idem*, *Drevnepol'skoe gosudarstvo*, 1957, p. 130; A. Grabski, 'Povest' vremennykh let' jako źródło do dziejów Polski—w świetle najnowszej literatury, *KIPR*, 1955 (1–2), p. 262; N. Il'in, *Letopisnaya stat'ya 6523 goda i ee istochnik*, 1957, p. 76, and others.

¹⁶⁵ This source-material is listed in *OR*, pp. 83–84; see also *ibid.*, p. 30.

¹⁶⁶ K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland*, p. 49.

¹⁶⁷ F. Kupfer and T. Lewicki, *Źródła hebrajskie do dziejów Słowian*, 1956, pp. 42–43.

¹⁶⁸ 75.

¹⁶⁸ T. Lewicki, *Polska i kraje sąsiednie w świetle 'Księgi Rogera' geografa arabskiego z XII w. al-Idrisi'ego II*, 1954, pp. 122, 169.

communication problem which concerns Rhode, Korolyuk, etc. so much is reduced to the question whether Mieszko controlled Sandomierz rather than Cracow.

A sandy and swampy wilderness extended south and south-east of Sandomierz,¹⁶⁹ but too much should not be made of this natural obstacle since the river San offered a convenient route between Przemyśl and Sandomierz. Taking into account the speeds attained by those who used the river waterways, the journey from Przemyśl to Sandomierz was covered in less than two days.¹⁷⁰ Attention is drawn incidentally to the fact that the right-bank tributaries of the San reached close to the vicinity of the sources of the Dniester—an important factor when considering the ties of the Croats with Poland. The role of the Bug (given that the land of the Mazovians was possessed by Mieszko) in relation to Czerwień and the other towns of that region¹⁷¹ was analogous to that of the river San with regard to Przemyśl.

Rhode affirms that the source-material contains no data which would indicate that Sandomierz (with its region) was part of Mieszko's domains. This opinion is erroneous: it is contradicted indirectly by the testimony of Ibrahim Ibn Yakub which Rhode disregards without good reason. Another of Rhode's suppositions is also untenable: his inclusion of Sandomierz within the Cracow area and placing it under Czech rule.¹⁷² He evidently does not know several sources, chiefly from the 12th and 13th centuries, which show the important role played by Sandomierz in earlier times and thus stress this town's separate status from Cracow. In fact, the sources provided the grounds for the hypothesis that Sandomierz was the capital of the Lendzans-Lyakhs.

Summarizing my argumentation so far, I have reached the conclusion that the fate of Cracow in the 10th century—its occupation by the Czechs and its subsequent liberation from their rule¹⁷³—had

¹⁶⁹ M. Dobrowolska, *Studia nad osadnictwem w dorzeczu Wisłoki*, in *Pamiętnik II Zjazdu słowiańskich geografów i etnografów w Polsce w r. 1927* II, 1930 (unavailable to me); *eadem*, *Osadnictwo Puszczy Sandomierskiej między Wisłą a Sanem*, 1931; J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, pp. 185–186, 206; K. Buczek, *Ziemie polskie przed tysiącem lat*, 1960, pp. 28–29.

¹⁷⁰ *OR*, p. 84.

¹⁷¹ Cf. 'Nestor's entry under the year 1041: 'Yaroslav attacked the Mazovians by boat' ('Ide Yaroslav na mazovshany v lod'yakh'). This text, apart from many other data from later times, provides evidence that the river Bug was used for military transport in time of war (and in the course of trade). Cf. A. Grabski, *Studia nad stosunkami polsko-ruskimi w początkach XI w.*, *SO* VI, 1957, pp. 175, 206.

¹⁷² G. Rhode, *op. cit.*, pp. 52–53. It is noteworthy that this author produces no arguments based on the sources in support of his thesis.

¹⁷³ Cosmas, the Czech chronicler who wrote in the first quarter of the 12th century, mentions that in the year 999 'the Polish prince Mieszko . . . took Cracow by a subterfuge, and put all [the Czechs] he found there to the sword.' Rhode and Korolyuk accept this date though they make no critical examination of the text. After all, Mieszko was no longer alive in 999, for he died in 992. Two eventualities therefore arise: either the wrong date is given (i.e., Poland recaptured Cracow before 992) or the name of the Polish ruler is wrong (i.e., Cosmas mentions Mieszko I instead of his son, Bolesław the Great). However, as S. Kętrzyński, *Polska X–XI wieku*, 1961,

no connection with the possession of Czerwień and Przemyśl by Poland, and cannot validly be advanced as an argument aimed at undermining the credibility due to 'Nestor's' entry under the year 981.

Korolyuk's remarks and conclusions go even further than those of Rhode. Basing his argument on the premiss that Cracow belonged to the Czechs until the year 999 and that Mieszko could not therefore have held the San and Bug regions, this author asserts that the original wording of 'Nestor's' entry under the year 981 was supplanted by a corrupt version in later times. Korolyuk hence eliminates the supposed errors by substituting his own version instead of the accepted text handed down; thus, he rejects the passage 'Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl', Cherven and other towns . . .' and substitutes his own 'corrected' version reading: 'Vladimir marched upon the Croats and the Dulebians.'¹⁷⁴ By this simple device, all is 'clear' and in 'agreement' with Korolyuk's views.

The text thus adjusted to fit Korolyuk's theory is then advanced as evidence that the expedition of 981 was not launched against Poland and in fact had nothing to do with that country. This opinion is shared by other authors who assume—again, in disagreement with 'Nestor'—that the tribes settled on the San and the Bug had led an independent existence until they fell under the sway of the Rus' in that year (981).¹⁷⁵ Although Kuczyński reconstructs the ethnic pattern in the Bug and Dniester regions along lines differing from Korolyuk's, he likewise states there was no war between Poland and

pp. 192–194 points out, it was in 999 that the synod in Rome resolved to create the Polish ecclesiastical province of Gniezno, and the bishopric of Cracow would hence automatically enter within the jurisdiction of the Metropolitan See in Gniezno. It is difficult to believe that, under the primitive conditions of communication in those times, it would have been possible to incorporate such newly acquired territory within an ecclesiastical province which had just been constituted. The erection of the province of Gniezno, its territorial divisions, the boundaries of the component bishoprics, the question of their endowments and so on must have been the subject of prolonged deliberations and negotiations on the part of Bolesław with Pope Sylvester II and with the Emperor Otto III. If Cracow was in Czech hands till 999, it must at the time have been within the diocese of Prague subordinated to the Metropolitan See at Mainz. Hence it follows that, since the Bishopric of Cracow was established simultaneously with the erection of the Metropolitan See at Gniezno in 999–1000, Cracow would not only have had to be withdrawn from the jurisdiction of the diocese of Prague but also from that of the Metropolitan See in Mainz. The difficulties bound up with such a transfer under canon law are generally known. Moreover, there is absolutely no trace during the years 999–1000 that the Bishop of Prague or the Metropolitan of Mainz fought for their rights, that they laid any claims to Cracow, or that in the final resort they agreed to surrender their authority over that city. Thus, in the light of the present investigation, it seems extremely doubtful whether Czech rule over Cracow during the last years of the 10th century actually existed.

¹⁷⁴ V. Korolyuk, *K voprosu ob otnosheniyakh Rusi i Pol'shi v X veke*, 1952, pp. 46–47.

¹⁷⁵ I. Levkovich, *Naris istorii Volins'koi zemli*, 1953 (I quote after J. Hoffman, in *TH VIII*, 1956–1957, p. 179); A. Grabski, '*Povest' vremennykh let*' jako źródło do dziejów Polski, 1955, pp. 262–267; N. Il'in, *Letopisnaya stat'ya 6523 goda*, 1957, p. 76, and others.

Rus' in 981.¹⁷⁶ This scholar strives to extract more from the source than it contains. He devotes special attention to two words in 'Nestor's' entry: '*k lyakhom*' (*Ide Volodimer k lyakhom*). This expression undoubtedly merits closer attention, as one would have expected the chronicler to use the words *na lyakhy*.¹⁷⁷ The preposition *na* signifies 'on', 'upon', whilst the preposition *k* (*ko*, *ku*) means 'to', 'towards'. Thus, Kuczyński may well be right in stating that 'Nestor's' text merely indicates the direction of Vladimir's march (or journey), but this throws no light on the nature of the expedition which may have been undertaken for some peaceful purpose, e.g., for negotiations.¹⁷⁸ It is certain that the indication of direction by the use of the preposition *k* does not necessarily indicate a warlike activity.¹⁷⁹ However, and this should be also borne in mind, the preposition in question was often used to express the direction of a military attack or march.¹⁸⁰ Kuczyński indirectly admits this.¹⁸¹

The relevant text of the *Povest'* consists of two parts: the first deals with the course and results of Vladimir's expedition ('Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl', Cherven and other towns'); the second links the facts related with 'Nestor's' time ('all of which are subject to Rus' even to this day'). This mode of relating events to his own time is often applied by the chronicler. Kuczyński, however, splits the first fragment into two parts, and expresses the opinion that the mention of the towns seized by Vladimir was interpolated by a later author (or authors) under the influence of the Polish-Rus'ian wars during the 11th century. Much has been written of these later authors and their alleged changes, interpolations and amendments of the original text; but the existence of these interpolators is extremely hypothetical. To erect hypotheses upon the foundation of other hypotheses is always very risky and inadvisable.

The territories on the Bug lost by Poland in 981 were recovered

¹⁷⁶ S. Kuczyński, O wyprawie Włodzimierza I ku Lachom w związku z początkami państwa polskiego, *SWTN* IV, (1949) 1952, pp. 114–122; *idem*, O powstaniu wzmianki z r. 981 w 'Powieści lat doczesnych', *ibid.* VIII, 1955, pp. 1–13.

¹⁷⁷ We find the expression '*k lyakhom*' in the oldest manuscripts of the *Povest'* and '*na lyakhy*' in the later ones. Cf. J. Hoffman, Uwagi do wczesnohistorycznych dziejów Wołynia, *TH* V (3–4), 1952, p. 26. These later versions are not without significance for they indicate how 'Nestor's' text was interpreted and commented upon during the centuries which followed.

¹⁷⁸ Cf. 'Svyatopolk . . . poide k Berest'yu k Lyakhom . . . s(o)vet stvori s lyakhy', D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 178.

¹⁷⁹ When writing of departures and journeys to Poland on some peaceful mission, 'Nestor' usually uses the preposition *v* ('in'). Cf. '*bezha v lyakhy*', *ibid.*, pp. 96, 136, 178; '*ide v lyakhy*', *ibid.*, pp. 122, 178; '*vedena byst . . . v lyakhy*', *ibid.* p. 183, etc.

¹⁸⁰ Cf. . . . '*i poide k ugrom . . . i pobegosha ugri*', *ibid.*, p. 179. See also: '*Poide Oleg, poim voya mnogi . . . i pride k Smolen'sku . . . i priya grad i posadi muzh' svoi . . .*', *ibid.*, p. 20; '*I poide Svyatoslav ko gradu, voyuya i grady razbivaya . . .*', *ibid.*, p. 50; '*Idé Svyatoslav na Rostislava k Tmutorokanyu*', *ibid.*, p. 110, etc.

¹⁸¹ 'Nestor' writes under the year 1022: 'Yaroslav came to Brześć ('Pride Yaroslav k Berestiyu'). S. Kuczyński, *O powstaniu wzmianki*, p. 6 interprets this entry as signifying Yaroslav led an armed expedition against Brześć though there are fewer grounds for such a comment here than in the case of the entry under the year 981.

in 1018 and then again lost in 1031. Reporting the later Rus'ian success, 'Nestor' makes a clear allusion to Vladimir's expedition of 981 when he writes: '1031. Yaroslav and Mstislav [Vladimir's sons] collected a large force and marched upon the Lyakhs. They recaptured the cities of Cherven, and ravaged the Lyakh countryside' (*Yaroslav i M'stislav sobrasta voi mnog, idosta na Lyakhy, i zayasta grady cherven'skyya opyat', i povoevasta Lyad'skuyu zemlyu*).¹⁸² It follows from the course of events in 981 and 1031, as related by 'Nestor', that in both cases Rus' fought the same foe with the same result. Both entries should therefore be treated jointly since they constitute a logical whole in which the two records supplement each other.

If the chronicler, when writing of Yaroslav's and Mstislav's expedition, had merely said that they marched out against the Lyakhs and took the cities of Czerwień from them, it would be legitimate to suppose that this referred to the recovery of the territory lost in 1018. 'Nestor' writes of this loss under the relevant date. But the chronicler uses the adverb *opyat'*—'again' (to capture again, to recapture) and this is most significant since it indicates that he bore in mind events prior to 1018, that is to say, those of 981. Since Yaroslav and Mstislav launched their campaign against the Lyakhs and again occupied the cities of Czerwień, it follows that they seized these cities from the Lyakhs; furthermore, it follows that these cities had been captured from Lyakhs previously (in 981), since otherwise the word *opyat'* would not have been used in the text. The entry under 1031 rules out any amendment of 'Nestor's' text for the year 981. Thus, Korolyuk's 'correction' of the entry under 981 in order to eliminate the Lyakhs from the chronicler's account is automatically invalidated. It cannot be claimed that the tribes settled on the San and the Bug had no ties with Poland. There are no grounds for doubting that the Rus'ian expedition of 981 bore a warlike character, and none for the suggestion that the mention of Vladimir conquering the Czerwień cities from the Lyakhs was a later-day interpolation. To describe the towns occupied by Vladimir as West Ukrainian ones, as Vernadsky does,¹⁸³ is to ignore the plain meaning of 'Nestor's' text. Finally, there is absolutely no justification for advancing the quite paradoxical view that Ibrahim Ibn Yakub's report invalidates 'Nestor's' entry under the year 981 (Grabski).¹⁸⁴

Korolyuk shares the opinion that Mieszko did not fight against

¹⁸² *Povest'* I, p. 101.

¹⁸³ G. Vernadsky, *The Origins of Russia*, 1959, p. 292 writes in connection with the above-mentioned entry of 'Nestor': 'In 981 Vladimir marched upon the Poles and took Peremyshl, Cherven, and a number of other west Ukrainian towns, known since as the "Cherven cities".'

¹⁸⁴ A. Grabski, *'Povest' vremennykh let' jako źródło do dziejów Polski*, 1955, p. 262 conceives the term 'Rus' ' in the territorial sense not on the basis of the testimonies handed down by Porphyrogenitus, 'Nestor' and other sources, but exclusively on the basis of Korolyuk's article, uncritically accepted by him.

Vladimir in 981 nor at a later date. He believes that there were no Polish-Rus'ian wars at all during the 10th century.

Although 'Nestor's' Chronicle is precise as far as it goes, there were many facts with which he was obviously (and perhaps inevitably) unacquainted. For instance, he makes no mention of the Rus'ian conquest of Lendzan-Lyakh territory about the middle of the 10th century (or somewhat earlier) referred to by Constantine Porphyrogenitus. He appears not to have known that Vladimir's expedition against the Croats in 992, mentioned in the *Povest'*, was really an armed attack upon Poland, as follows from an entry in the *Annales Hildesheimenses*. The chronicler handed down no mention of the Polish expedition against Rus' in 1013, an event dealt with by Thietmar. But 'Nestor's' omissions of some facts cannot be accepted as an argument in favour of Korolyuk's thesis.

There are, of course, later-day sources which report that Mieszko fought against Vladimir not only in 981. Dlugossius (15th century) writes in general terms that the Polish-Rus'ian hostilities continued (after 981) with varying fortunes.¹⁸⁶ Linnichenko¹⁸⁶ gives a number of other sources touching upon the same subject, and we learn from them that Mieszko undertook several expeditions against Rus' during which he penetrated as far as the Horyn'; on the other hand, one of Vladimir's thrusts reached the Vistula. These later reports should not, I think, be rejected out of hand since they may well have been based upon earlier, now lost source material. Thus, the detail that Mieszko advanced as far as the Horyn' during the fighting is plausible since the river marked the boundary between the Buzhians on the one hand and the Derevliaus or Polyanians—'Rus''—on the other. In other words, this would indicate that Mieszko's aim was to recover the whole territory of the Buzhians. The mention that Vladimir reached the Vistula during the fighting is in accord with the entry in the Hypatian Chronicle of the 13th century.¹⁸⁷

However, there is no need to refer to such later sources in order to demonstrate that Korolyuk's assertions are erroneous. Porphyrogenitus relates that the Lendzans-Lyakhs paid tribute to the Rus', from which it follows that the latter—probably in the time of Igor—had conquered the Bug region which Constantine considered to be Polish soil (as witness the supra-tribal appellation of 'Lendzans-Lyakhs'). The Poles conducted a counter-offensive resulting in the Rus' being driven out of the territory they had seized. The Rus' recaptured it in 981. Mieszko recovered Przemyśl and the Upper Dniester region after 981, of which more will be said later. Besides, it follows even from the incomplete material provided by 'Nestor' that there were more Rus'ian expeditions against Poland than the

¹⁸⁶ Joannis Dlugossii . . . *Historiae Polonicae* XII I, 1873, p. 137.

¹⁸⁶ I. Linnichenko, *Vzaimnye otnosheniya Rusi i Pol'shi do poloviny XIV stoletiya*, 1884, p. 78.

¹⁸⁷ The Hypatian Chronicle, PSRL II, under the year 1229.

chronicler actually listed.¹⁸⁸ All these facts demonstrate that Koro-lyuk's final argument, advanced to discredit 'Nestor's' entry under the year 981 by claiming there were no Polish-Rus'ian wars in the 10th century, fails to satisfy even the elementary requirements of critical examination.

Likhachev's approach to the matter is different. He does not cast doubt on the authenticity of the Chronicle's original text nor does he strive to distort its meaning (as Koro-lyuk does), but he comments on the relevant passage as follows: 'Although the *Povest' vremennykh let* calls the towns enumerated [Przemyśl, Czerwień, etc.] Polish . . . , this description refers only to their State allegiance before Vladimir's expedition and is no proof of the ethnic character of the inhabitants of these towns.'¹⁸⁹ I agree that the conquest of a territory provides no indications as to the nationality of its inhabitants. When, for instance, Bolesław the Great occupied the cities of Czerwień in 1018, this does not in itself prove that the inhabitants were Polish. Similarly, it does not follow from Vladimir's conquest in 981 that he took over 'Rus'ian' territories.

In the further course of his considerations, Likhachev asserts that the Bug and San regions, referred to by 'Nestor', were ethnically Rus'ian but had temporarily fallen into Polish hands before 981. It might have been expected that an author who published the text of the *Povest'*, translated it, and provided many a valuable commentary on it, would seek arguments in the *Povest'* itself to support his viewpoint. But in this we are disappointed: Likhachev makes no attempt to justify his opinion, ignores the text of the Chronicle, and restricts himself solely to quotations from the misleading publications of Grekov and Mavrodin.¹⁹⁰

It is a fact that 'Nestor' takes pains to note when foreign elements were introduced into the cities of conquered tribes and is fully aware who the original inhabitants of a subjected territory were. Let us compare the passage under 981 with another passage from the *Povest'* dealing with the taking over of a new territory by the Rus'-Varangians:

'862. He [Rurik] assigned cities to his followers, Polotsk to one, Rostov to another, and to another Beloozero. In these cities there are thus the Varangian colonists, but the first settlers were, in Novgorod, Slavs; in Polotsk, Krivichians; at Beloozero, Ves'; in Rostov, Merians; and in Murom, Muromians.'¹⁹¹

'981. Vladimir marched upon the Lyakhs and took their cities: Peremyshl', Cherven, and other towns, all of which are subject to Rus' even to this day.'

¹⁸⁸ 'Nestor' writes under the year 983 of Vladimir's expedition against the Yatvingians. D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 58. Judging by the direction of his march, he must previously have captured Brześć and Drohiczyn. But it would have been impossible for Vladimir to have subjected territory stretching from Przemyśl to Drohiczyn during a single campaign, that of 981. Cf. *OR*, p. 91.

¹⁸⁹ D. Likhachev, *Povest' II*, p. 326.

¹⁹⁰ The publications of both these authors are analysed in detail in *OR*.

¹⁹¹ D. Likhachev, *Povest' I*, p. 18; S. Cross and O. Sherbowitz-Wetzor, *The Russian Primary Chronicle*, p. 60.

Undoubtedly, as 'Nestor' had close ties with Kiev, he was more interested in the relevant ethnic relations of the territories on the Bug and Dniester, than in the history of distant regions to the north and north-east. He gives expression to this interest in the last sentence, when he links his account of the past with his own time. Nevertheless, he makes absolutely no allusion to the ethnic composition of the original population of these territories. He does not state that these inhabitants whom the Poles had subjected before 981 were of Rus'ian stock. Yet, according to the line of reasoning followed by Likhachev (and Grekov), such a comment would have been not only advisable, but inevitable.¹⁹² If 'Nestor' considered that the inhabitants of the relevant territories had merely been subjected by the Poles before 981, he would have added the adverb *opyat'* ('again') in the text of 981 describing Vladimir's conquests, as he did in his entry for 1031. If this word had been introduced, the continuity of Rus'ian ties with these western regions would have been emphasized.

Special attention is drawn to the last phrase of 'Nestor's' text under the year 981, viz. 'all of which are subject to Rus' even to this day' (*izhe sut' i do sego dne pod Rus'yu*). The chronicler hence most plainly gives us to understand that the incorporation of these territories within Rus' was due solely to Vladimir's conquest. This ruler fought against the Lyakhs and 'occupied their cities' (*i zaya grady ikh*): these cities with the whole region were inhabited by the Lyakhs, for the chronicler does not state that these territories were 'subject to the Lyakhs' whilst their later status is given as being 'subject to Rus' '.

The expression 'subject to Rus' ', that is to say, under Rus'ian rule, demonstrates that 'Nestor' does not identify the San and Bug regions with Rus' but differentiates them from Rus'. Arabic, Greek sources, and above all the *Povest'* contain much material which explains the nature of this Rus'ian hegemony. They all state unanimously that the primary and most important obligation imposed upon subjected peoples was that they pay tribute to the Rus'. These peoples paid this tribute only under duress¹⁹³ and missed no opportunity of attempting to recover their independence—hence the numerous mentions of continual uprisings among the various tribes, punitive expeditions by the Rus', new efforts at resistance, and so on. These features stand out in high relief in the history of the Derevlans, Vyatichians, Ulichians, etc., and it is difficult to conceive that relations on the San and the Bug were different.

The same phenomena can be observed in the various parts of

¹⁹² *OR*, p. 67.

¹⁹³ A. Nasonov, '*Russkaya zemlya*', 1951, p. 217 correctly presents the matter when he writes of the 'apparatus of coercion' (*apparat prinuzhdeniya*) organized by the Rus'ian princes.

Eastern Europe wherever the Rus' carried their conquests: the principal towns of the tribes became the administrative centres of the conquerors but wherever the resistance of the native peoples was particularly fierce and the rule of the Rus' therefore hampered, new towns were founded and simultaneously served to symbolize the military preponderance of the victors over the defeated population. These towns were named after the various Rurikides, and these names symbolized and expressed the new order.

After his success in 981, Vladimir betook himself energetically to the organization and consolidation of his rule over the Bug region. Typically enough, his first care was to found a new city which very soon became the capital of that region. Vladimir was to install his sons there (and his Kievan successors did the same); it was there that he erected a newly created bishopric and established the administrative centre of the territory. Despite the views of modern authors who consider that the expedition of 981 had nothing to do with Poland and that Mieszko was disinterested in the conquests of the Rus', it would seem from Vladimir's choice of the site for the new capital that he took a different view. He appears to have taken the possibility of a Polish counter-attack into serious consideration since the new city was not located west of the Bug or even on its banks but east of that river.¹⁹⁴

Typically enough, the new capital received the name of Vladimir. This served as an outward manifestation of the new period in the history of the territory, a period that broke with the old tribal traditions of the Buzhians and relegated such older cities as Czerwień and Wołyń to a secondary status. If these traditions had been of a Rus'ian character, Vladimir's action would be incomprehensible. Some echo of the reactions of the native population to subjection under Rus'ian rule can be found in the German Chronicle of Thietmar, dating from the early 11th century. Describing the Polish-Rus'ian war of 1018, this source states that Bolesław the Great after his victory on the Bug *optata prosperitate inimicos* [the armies of Yaroslav the Wise] *palantes insequitur et ab incolis omnibus suscipitur multisque muneribus honoratur*.¹⁹⁵

Thietmar's testimony is in full accord with the reports of Constantine Porphyrogenitus and of 'Nestor'. The analysis of the appellations *Lendzaninoi-Lendzeninoi* and *Lyakhy*¹⁹⁶ carried out earlier has

¹⁹⁴ The wooden castle built by Vladimir, on the emplacement of an old settlement, stood where the river Smocz flows into the Ług. A Polish attack could have been directed up the Bug to its higher reaches and this would immediately have menaced the capital (assuming that it was situated on the river) or made it possible to cut the city off from the rest of the Kievan State (if the capital was west of the Bug). Dlugossius (15th century) relates that Vladimir also founded the city of Łuck (Lutsk) which played an important role in later centuries. Łuck appears in the sources only after 1085, a date which would seem to be in accordance with Dlugossius.

¹⁹⁵ OR, p. 69.

¹⁹⁶ The terms 'the Lyakhs'—*Lyakhy* (entry under 981) and 'the Lyakh land'—*Lyad'skaya zemlya* (entry under 1031) were used synonymously. M. Vasmer, *Bezeich-*

demonstrated their ethnic character. This is particularly evident in the case of the Radimichians and the Vyaticians; these tribes were for long regarded as Poles by contemporary observers though no longer subjects of the Polish State. It is for this reason that Likhachev's thesis, constructed without allowing for 'Nestor's' testimony and in fact at variance with it, must be regarded as untenable.

'Nestor's' entry under the year 981 contains one more detail which merits special attention. This is the mention regarding Vladimir's capture of Przemyśl. Kuczyński¹⁹⁷ and Hoffman¹⁹⁸—independently of one another—have advanced the same hypothesis, that the original version of the *Povest'* referred to Peremyl (*Peremil'*) on the Styry which was erroneously transcribed as Przemyśl (*Peremyszl'*) by a later copyist.¹⁹⁹ This suggestion may well be sound since several valid arguments have been advanced to back it up, and if this hypothesis is accepted the events of 981 would appear in quite another light²⁰⁰—above all, the San territories would then not have been embraced by Rus'ian expansion. None of the source-texts, however, provides evidence to the effect that Vladimir's campaign did not embrace the Przemyśl area; on the other hand, this possibility is not excluded by reasons of general probability. It is therefore necessary to accept the testimony of the *Povest'* as it stands, and this text gives the name as Przemyśl, not Peremyl. It is for this reason that the present examination will be concentrated on the city named by 'Nestor'.

Some investigators believe that after the capture of Przemyśl, *i.e.*, after 981, the Kievan State bordered on territory possessed by the Czechs since these had gained control of the Cracow region.²⁰¹ Others claim the frontier of Rus' in those times was far to the west, beyond the river San. Both assertions are based on Mieszko's charter in favour of the Apostolic See, the so-called *Dagome iudex* already referred to above. It is therefore advisable to subject this document to a critical analysis in so far as it concerns the Polish-Rus'ian borderland.

Under this charter, Mieszko placed his realm under the protection of the Holy See and, so doing, defined the extent of his territories

nungen fremden Länder im Russischen, *SV* VI, 1954, pp. 297–300 rightly draws attention to the fact that in East-Slavonic usage the names of countries (*Greki, Bolgare, Chesi, Lyakhy*, etc.) were denoted by the names of the peoples who inhabited them.

¹⁹⁷ S. Kuczyński, O wyprawie Włodzimierza I ku Łachom w związku z początkami państwa polskiego, *SWTN* IV, 1949, pp. 114–122; *idem*, Z najstarszych dziejów Przemyśla, *ibid.* V, 1950, p. 107; *idem*, O powstaniu wzmianki z r. 981 w 'Powieści lat doczesnych', *ibid.* VIII, 1953, pp. 10–11; *idem*, Nieznany traktat polsko-ruski roku 1039, *SA* V, 1956, p. 261.

¹⁹⁸ J. Hoffman, Uwagi do wczesnohistorycznych dziejów Wołynia, *TH* V (3–4), 1952, pp. 31–34.

¹⁹⁹ 'Nestor' was also acquainted with Peremyl. *Povest'* I, p. 176.

²⁰⁰ These changes are discussed in *OR*, pp. 79–80, 82.

²⁰¹ F. Dvornik, *Les Bénédictins et la christianisation de la Russie*, 1934, p. 336; Z. Wojciechowski, Wielkopolska i Kujawy kolebką państwa, in his *Studia historyczne*, 1955, p. 309, and others.

which stretched from the Baltic, bordering with the Prussians, with Rus', Cracow and thence along the Odra as far as the sea.²⁰²

There are reasons for treating the above text with extreme caution since it has undoubtedly been corrupted in several places;²⁰³ this does not mean, however, that it does not contain many details which are quite credible. Three of the names given are important for our considerations: *Bruzze*, *Russe* and *Craccoa*, and these raise no doubts. The first refers to the ancient Prussians settled on the Baltic littoral between the Lower Vistula and the Lower Niemen. The second name refers to Rus' and the third to Cracow. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub likewise quotes these three geographical names and, in agreement with the *Dagome iudex*²⁰⁴ (the concordance between these two sources, inscribed independently of each other, lends credibility to what they relate), affirms that Poland bordered with Prussia and with Rus'.²⁰⁵

Rhode believes that since the Prussians and the Rus' bordered with Poland, they must by the nature of things also have been neighbours of each other.²⁰⁶ Rhode's mistake—one that consistently mars his work—is that he failed previously to determine what constituted Rus' in the territorial sense during the period under consideration. He evidently does not know that Rus' extended only as far as the Upper Boh (and Upper Horyn') in the west, and that the territories

²⁰² 'Sicuti incipit a primo latere longum mare, fine Bruzze usque in locum, qui dicitur Russe, et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere recte in locum, qui dicitur Alemure, et ab ipsa Alemura usque in terram Milze et a fine Milze recte intra Oddere et exinde ducente iuxta flumen Oddera usque in civitatem Schinesghe'. K. Maleczyński, *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae* I, 1956, No. 2, pp. 3-9. 'Alemure' has undoubtedly been handed down in a corrupt form, and has been the topic of various hypotheses. 'Milze' signifies the tribe of the Milchans, whose territory was west of the Odra. 'Schinesne', in this passage, should for geographical reasons (since the mouth of the Odra is being referred to) be identified with Szczecin (Stettin).

²⁰³ The text at our disposal today is not a copy of the original. We do not know the text of the original, nor whether the deed was drawn up in Poland or in Rome by authorized envoys of Mieszko. Neither do we know, whether it was entered in the registers of Pope John XV's (985-996) chancellery in full or in summarized form, or whether it was an extract from some Papal document dealing with Mieszko's act of donation. These registers were copied towards the end of the 11th century or a summary was made and added to the collection, and it was from this source that later copies issued. The *Dagome iudex* as we know it today derives from one of these copies. Cf. S. Kętrzyński, *Polska X-XI wieku*, 1961, pp. 234-236. There can be no doubt that the original deed of donation underwent multiple rewritings or summarizing and amendments. Moreover, amidst all this copying or summarizing, it was not even known which country was concerned, and the act was filed away with documents dealing with the history of Sardinia. For critical remarks on the value of the text in question, see K. Buczek, *Zagadnienie wiarygodności regestu 'Dagome iudex'*, *SPANK*, 1958, pp. 21-23.

²⁰⁴ This similarity of reports was perceived and discussed by J. Widajewicz, *Terytorium Polski w drugiej połowie X w.*, *ŻTNT* XX, 1955, pp. 9-11.

²⁰⁵ Of course the terms 'Prussians' and 'Rus'' should be understood in the exclusive sense, that is to say, they signified countries beyond the frontiers of Mieszko's domain. Cf. W. Hejnosz, *Z rozważań nad dokumentem 'Dagome iudex'*, *SA* V, 1956, p. 288. But it is a matter for controversy whether Cracow (including its region) should be considered as having been included within the frontiers of Mieszko's domain or not. The literature on the subject is listed by G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens* I, pp. 40-42. This point, however, has no basic importance in the present considerations since the eastern frontier of Poland did not depend on possession of Cracow.

²⁰⁶ G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens* I, pp. 27-28.

of the Derevlians, Dregovichians, etc., were not embraced by the name of Rus', though these tribes paid tribute to the Rus'. Between the Prussians and the Rus' there stretched enormous areas which were uninhabited or virtually so.²⁰⁷ These areas constituted a *terra nullius* amidst wilderness and virgin forests without clearly definable frontiers. Such areas interested nobody, and nobody troubled to define or name them.²⁰⁸

The query arises: Is it possible to determine the Polish-Rus'ian frontiers on the basis of the *Dagome iudex*? Hrushevs'ky answers in the affirmative: he states that Mieszko's possessions neighboured with Rus' and further 'along the Rus'ian frontier which extended to Cracow and from Cracow itself to the river Odra' (*usque in locum, qui dicitur Russe, et fine Russe extendente usque in Craccoa, et ab ipsa Craccoa usque ad flumen Oddere . . .*). It is upon these grounds that Hrushevs'ky affirms that the territorial concept of Rus' in those times embraced a long belt of land reaching Cracow and further to the west²⁰⁹—a view shared by many authors, including Barvinsky, Florovsky, Grekov and others.

Although Hrushevs'ky's translation is formally correct, were we to accept its implications the Rus'ian frontier would not stop short at Cracow but would have to be extended westwards to the Odra and then along the course of that river to the Baltic. Obviously this is erroneous. Hrushevs'ky fails to take into consideration the form in which this source had been handed down. The text of the *Dagome iudex* has obviously been distorted by later summaries and alterations. This source gives the frontiers of Mieszko's State, not those of Rus'.²¹⁰

Let us examine the thesis advanced by Hrushevs'ky, Grekov and others that Cracow was embraced by the name of Rus' and held

²⁰⁷ The Mazovians and the Dregovichians were 'neighbours' upon this territory. 'Nestor' defines the territory of the Dregovichians by giving the names of the rivers Prypeć (Pripiet') and Dvina; he makes no mention of the Bug. In my opinion (*OR*, p. 74), this proves that the original settlements of this tribe did not reach as far as the Bug. M. Grinblat, *Nekotorye rezul'taty izucheniya problemy proiskhozhdeniya belorusskoi narodnosti, KSIE XXVIII*, 1957, pp. 3-8 considers that the westward shift of the Dregovichians took place in later times. With regard to the earliest eastern settlements of the Mazovians, see: R. Jakimowicz, *Wschodnia granica osadnictwa mazowieckiego w X i XI w. z Jaćwieżą i Rusią i zasięg kolonizacji mazowieckiej na wschodzie*, in *Pamiętnik VI Zjazdu historyków polskich w Wilnie*, 1935, pp. 247-248; J. Ostaszewski, *Dzieje pierwotne szczepu mazurskiego*, 1935; J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, pp. 269-273, 293. In this examination of the earliest borderland between the Western and the Eastern Slavs, Mazovian-Dregovichian relations are not discussed in view of the sparseness of source-data for the given period.

²⁰⁸ It will suffice, in this connection, to take another territory as an example. There was a vacuum between 'Rus' and 'Cracow'. A range of inaccessible mountains and a vast broad wilderness extended on both sides of the Carpathians leaving a 'white spot' on the map of these regions. Cf. S. Zachorowski, *Węgierskie i polskie osadnictwo na Spizu do połowy XIV w.*, *RPAU XXVII*, 1909, pp. 199-200; Z. Sułowski, *Rozwój terytorialny państwa Mieszka I*, *SKUL VI*, 1954, p. 25; see also *idem*, *Geografia dokumentu 'Dagome iudex'*, *SA IV*, 1954, pp. 232-238.

²⁰⁹ M. Hrushevs'ky, *Istoriya Ukraini-Rusi I*, 1904, p. 492.

²¹⁰ Cf. *OR*, pp. 84-87.

by Vladimir at the time when the *Dagome iudex* was inscribed.²¹¹ Since Vladimir captured Przemyśl in 981, he might have occupied Cracow before the years 985–992, *i.e.*, before Mieszko drew up this deed of donation in favour of the Holy See.

We dispose of a number of sources which arose independently of one another, which mutually supplement one another, and which jointly give a very clear picture of what happened in the year 992—to some extent, too, in earlier times. The following facts can be listed in this connection:

(a) Mieszko died in May 992.²¹²

(b) Thietmar relates that Mieszko, towards the end of his life, divided his domain 'among many'.²¹³ The efforts of Mieszko's second wife, Oda (a German), to have her sons take over their father's heritage are too well-known to require detailed presentation here.²¹⁴ Oda's plans were to the detriment of Bolesław the Great, Mieszko's son by the first marriage, and the internal crisis which broke out as a result, probably during Mieszko's lifetime, came to a head during the first few years after his death until Bolesław terminated it by exiling his stepmother and half-brothers.

(c) 'Nestor' suggests that the Rus'ian expeditions against Poland were undertaken during times of crisis and internal conflicts in Poland. In this connection, it will suffice to cite the events described by the chronicler under the years 1030 and 1031.²¹⁵

(d) 'Nestor' writes under 992 about Vladimir's expedition against the Croats: 'Vladimir marched upon the Croats. When he returned from the Croatian war, the Pechenegs arrived on the opposite side [of the Dnieper] from the direction of the Sula. Vladimir set forth against them.' (*Ide Volodimir na Khorvaty. Prishedshyu bo emu s voiny khorvat'skyya, i se pechenezi pridoshya po onoi storone ot Suly; Volodimer zhe poide protivu im*).²¹⁶

(e) The *Annales Hildesheimenses* relate under the year 992, in connection with the military plans of the Emperor Otto III, that Boleslav II of Bohemia appeared in person in support of the Germans, while Bolesław of Poland sent the Emperor some auxiliaries, but was unable to come himself because just at that time he was

²¹¹ There are many authors who believe that Cracow was then in Czech hands and who reject, therefore, such surmises.

²¹² O. Balzer, *Genealogia Piastów*, 1895, pp. 19–21. See also W. Dworzaczek, *Genealogia*, 1959.

²¹³ Mieszko died, 'relinquens regnum suimet plurimis dividendum' . . . , Thietmar, pp. 196–198.

²¹⁴ It is most characteristic that Oda and her sons are mentioned in the *Dagome iudex*, whilst nothing is said of Bolesław.

²¹⁵ '1030 . . . there was a revolt in the Lyakh country. The people arose and killed the bishops, the priests, and the boyars, and there was rebellion among them'. '1031. Yaroslav and Mstislav . . . marched upon the Lyakhs.'

²¹⁶ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 84.

menaced by a great war with Rus' (*imminebat ... illi [Boleslao] grande contra Rusianos bellum*).²¹⁷

(f) Finally, later sources cannot be ignored in connection with the above events. Thus, the Nikon Chronicle (16th century) mentions under 992 that Bolesław sent envoys to Vladimir.²¹⁸ Tatishchev, who drew on certain no longer extant sources, relates that the Polish envoys brought peace proposals.

On the strength of these data, the events of 992 are reconstructed by me as follows: when Vladimir heard of Mieszko's death, he hoped that the conflict among the heirs of the Polish ruler would lead to such serious internal upheavals that his expedition against the Croats had a fair chance of success. True, the chronicler does not state that the invasion was directed against Poland; nevertheless, the timing of Vladimir's action indicates that it stood in some connection with the events in Poland. Moreover, the *Annales Hildesheimenses* provide a decisive indication, since they clearly state that Bolesław was on the eve of a great war with Rus' at the time.

It is not known how Vladimir's undertaking ended. The chronicler usually emphasizes the warlike successes of the Kievan princes, but in this particular case 'Nestor' is silent. Hence it is difficult to decide whether Vladimir reached the territory of the Croats but news of the Pecheneg invasion came during the fighting and caused him to withdraw; or whether this news came while he was still on the march and before he could establish contact with the Croatian forces. In any case, neither of these eventualities has any special bearing on the subject in hand. But one thing is important: Vladimir's military action against the Croats signified war with Poland, and Mavrodin quite rightly states: 'The expedition against the Croats was not, of course, the sole aim. Rus' was fighting Poland.'²¹⁹

It clearly follows from the testimonies of the sources and on the grounds of general probability that in this case, (a) the aggressor in the conflict of 992 in respect of the territories on the Upper and Middle Dniester was Vladimir, and (b) it was not Bolesław who regained these territories at the time but that Mieszko had already done so prior to this date. Bolesław merely inherited these territories from his father.²²⁰ Finally, yet another observation imposes itself: the *Dagome iudex* preceded the events of 992 by only a few years. It is now possible to extract conclusions from all these data.

If Rus' captured Przemyśl (not Peremył) in 981, it can be accepted that during the years 981–991 fighting between the forces of Mieszko

²¹⁷ MGH V, Script III, p. 69.

²¹⁸ PSRL IX, 1862, p. 64.

²¹⁹ V. Mavrodin, *Ocherki istorii SSSR. Drevnerusskoe gosudarstvo*, 1956, p. 127.

²²⁰ In view of the difficult internal situation after his father's death, it is extremely improbable that Bolesław undertook an expedition against the Croats—a victorious one since it allegedly caused a Rus'ian counter-attack. The very short space of time between the death of Mieszko and Vladimir's action contradicts such surmises.

and of Vladimir continued with the final result that the latter was driven out of the San and Dniester regions. Thus, based on an impaired text of the *Dagome iudex*, the hypothesis advanced by Hrushevs'ky and others that the Rus'ian State extended at the time as far as Cracow (and even to the Odra) must be dismissed as quite untenable. The Rus'ian expedition against the Croats in 992 rules out this hypothesis.

Rhode establishes Poland's eastern frontier on the Pilica and the Middle Vistula at the time of Mieszko's death.²²¹ As I have pointed out previously, this author fails to take account of the relevant sources on nearly every point under discussion. In the given case he ignores one of the basic facts regarding the Polish-Rus'ian borderland—Vladimir's expedition against the Croats. The result is that he does not link the two accounts given by 'Nestor' and in the *Annales Hildesheimenses*—although these supplement each other and produce an integral whole. Rhode's statement that Przemyśl belonged to Rus' at the beginning of Bolesław's reign²²² is also contradicted by the sources.

There now remains the last detail connected with the closing years of Mieszko's reign and with the examination of the borderland: the mention of Rus' as a neighbour of Poland in the *Dagome iudex*. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub makes the same statement. A most important event took place between c. 966 and 985–992 (these being the respective dates of the sources in question): Vladimir captured a broad strip of territory on the Bug, San and Dniester in 981.

How are we to understand the term 'Rus' ' as used in the *Dagome iudex*? Does it refer to the older, politico-State concept (the land of the Polyanians) or to the later ecclesiastical one with its much broader territorial implication. In my opinion, only the first eventuality can be taken into consideration. The conversion of Vladimir to Christianity—a fact which provided the basis from which arose the new concept of Rus'—occurred in about 988. The exact date of the *Dagome iudex* cannot be fixed precisely but it can be accepted as being roughly coeval with the baptism of Vladimir. The new ecclesiastical concept of 'Rus' ' did not arise, as it were, from one day to the next before it gained general acceptance, a longer period of time must have elapsed than that represented by the difference in date between the *Dagome iudex* and the conversion of the Kievan prince. Therefore, I consider that the western frontier of Rus'

²²¹ G. Rhode, *Die Ostgrenze Polens I*, p. 56. Z. Sułowski, *Rozwój terytorialny państwa Mieszka I*, SKUL VI, 1954, p. 27 considers that the bishoprics erected in 1000 and enumerated by Thietmar (Gniezno, Cracow, Wrocław, Poznań and Kołobrzeg) should serve as the basis for determining the extent of the Polish State towards the end of the 10th century. Sułowski does not, however, take into account that the German chronicler restricted his information solely to the Metropolitan See of Gniezno (Latin rite) whilst both 'Gallus' and Vincent report that Poland had two Metropolitan Sees at the time.

²²² G. Rhode, *op. cit.*, p. 57.

mentioned in Mieszko's charter extended to the Upper Boh (and Upper Horyń).

Since Constantine Porphyrogenitus and 'Nestor' regarded the Buzhians as Lendzans-Lyakhs, there was all the more reason for Mieszko to regard them as such. If this were not so, it would be necessary to conclude that the Polish ruler was striving to secure Papal recognition and ratification of Vladimir's conquest of 981. Following the line of the present observations, neighbouring with Rus'—as indicated by the *Dagome iudex*—referred not to the actual territory of Poland²²³ but rather to the extent of this country's territorial claims for which the sanction of the Holy See was sought. This opinion is supported by the fact that the fighting between Mieszko and Vladimir was carried on and ended with semi-success for both sides: Poland recovered the San and Dniester regions whilst Rus' retained the Bug territory. There are no grounds for rejecting, in an excess of hypercritical approach, the information given by later sources in which echoes of all this fighting are to be found. The hostilities must have been exceedingly violent since both sides tried to penetrate as deeply as possible into the domains of the other: Vladimir's objective was the Vistula whilst Mieszko's was the Horyń'.

The sources of the relevant epoch usually draw the borders between countries and peoples along the river-lines. The most ancient Polish-Rus'ian border can likewise be determined by following the course of the rivers. In the case of Poland, this borderland was the region of the Upper Dniester and the Styr. In the case of Rus', the Upper Boh represented that country's western frontier.

The subject has so far been examined chiefly from ethnic and politico-State aspects. The ecclesiastical aspect can now be taken into consideration. In this respect great importance must be given to a document issued in 1086 by the Emperor Henry IV on the request of Jaromir-Gebhard, Bishop of Prague, whereby the boundaries of the bishopric of Prague as delimited by Pope Benedict and the Emperor Otto (973) were confirmed.²²⁴ This document has been preserved in three copies, one of which forms part of the text of Cosmas' Chronicle.²²⁵ It has been the subject of a lively controversy concerning its authenticity in general and on the point whether the premisses on which it is based were genuine or forged. Despite an

²²³ The supposition that Mieszko conquered the Dniester region to the extent that he reached almost the Upper Boh is not out of the question. In this case, of course, Poland would have bordered with Rus'. If the military successes of Mieszko were of such dimensions, Poland could have embraced not only the territory of the Croats but also that of the Pechenegs. It seems to follow from Thietmar's narrative that some Pechenegs were under Polish rule at the time of Bolesław the Great. Cf. *OR*, p. 88.

²²⁴ K. Maleczyński, *Codex diplomaticus nec non epistolaris Silesiae* I, 1956, No. 8, pp. 20–28; D. Gladiss, *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Die Urkunden der deutschen Könige und Kaiser*. Vol. VI: Die Urkunden Heinrichs IV. Part 2, 1952, No. 390, pp. 515–517.

²²⁵ Cf. O. Kralik, *Privilegium Moraviensis ecclesiae*, *BS XXI* (2), 1960, pp. 219–237.

abundant literature, an analysis of which would exceed the bounds of the present study, and the emergence of many new, important points,²²⁶ no definitive solution has so far been reached.²²⁷

As already stated, this imperial charter delimited the boundaries of the bishopric of Prague. The eastern boundary followed the course of the rivers 'Bug' and 'Ztir', and embraced the city of Cracow (*Inde ad orientem hos fluvios habet terminos: Bug scilicet et Ztir cum Graccouua civitate . . .*).

The uncertainty regarding the authenticity of this document does not signify that some portions of the text are necessarily unreliable; especially its delimitation of the boundaries of the bishopric of Prague is quite acceptable in my opinion. It has rightly been pointed out that the determination of these boundaries was effected on the basis of source-materials from various countries and times, hence that the document in question is a conglomerate of various sources. Rhode believes that the passage mentioning the above rivers is quite unconnected with the past of Poland and her frontiers, and that it should therefore be treated as pure fiction. The analysis of the sources effected in the present study, however, leads to quite the opposite conclusion. It would be most unlikely that such a characteristic detail as the indication of two rivers, so closely bound up with the most ancient history of Poland and Rus', should have been conjured up out of thin air.

In the literature on the subject, three views are current regarding the period to which the passage mentioning Cracow, the 'Bug' and the 'Ztir' should be taken to refer. Some authors consider that it outlines the status quo of 1086²²⁸ and that the conditions then prevailing were transposed in the document to the 10th century so as to provide a link with the erection of the bishopric of Prague, thus ante-dating and fortifying Bohemia's political and ecclesiastical claims to the relevant eastern territories. In my opinion, this hypothesis lacks the support of general probability. The Bohemian claim to hegemony over Poland after the downfall of Bolesław the Bold (to which the authors in question usually refer) would not justify the mention of the two rivers cited in the text of the document. Moreover, to attempt to link the 'Bug' and 'Ztir' regions with Cracow in terms of ecclesiastical organization would not make sense under the conditions current in 1086. The manner of delimiting the boundaries of the bishopric of Prague in the source under examination, i.e., by enumerating tribes with respect to the northern and western

²²⁶ Cf. H. Beumann and W. Schlesinger, *Urkundenstudien zur deutschen Ostpolitik unter Otto III*, AD I, 1955, pp. 236-243.

²²⁷ B. Krzemińska and D. Třeštík, *O dokumencie praskim 1086 r.*, SZ V, 1960, pp. 79-88.

²²⁸ G. Rhode, *op. cit.*, pp. 32-33, 78-81; J. Dąbrowski, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, RK XXXIV (1), 1958, pp. 52-54, and others.

sections, is clearly obsolete under existing conditions at the end of the 11th century. Hauptmann considers²²⁹—and his opinion is shared by Labuda²³⁰—that the description of the bishopric's boundaries dates back to the charter issued by Pope Benedict VI and Emperor Otto I (973) and was simply repeated in the document of 1086. If this opinion is accepted, it would be necessary to concede that details relating to the boundaries of this bishopric derive from times prior to the 11th century.

Many authors believe that the relevant passage in the charter of 1086 is based on data for c. 973 and that it faithfully records the political and ecclesiastical conditions then current in Poland.²³¹ These authors take the fact that Cracow was a Bohemian possession at the time as their point of issue. Their thesis is, however, contradicted by the source-material. Thus, Ibrahim Ibn Yakub (c. 966) testifies that Mieszko's domain was the largest of the Slavonic countries, but this would have been impossible if the enormous territory between Cracow and the Stry had really been in Czech hands. Ibrahim reports that Rus' was a neighbour of Mieszko; again, this would have been out of the question if the territory of the Buzhians was actually held by the Czechs.²³² 'Nestor' states under the year 981 that Rus' captured Przemyśl, Czerwień and other cities from the Poles—not from the Czechs—and this account is confirmed by the chronicler's entry under the year 1031. In order to explain this embarrassing contradiction, it is postulated the San and Bug regions were inhabited by the Poles but that these had been subjugated by the Czechs.²³³ If such had been the situation, 'Nestor' obviously would have written that Vladimir captured the given territories from the Czechs and not from the Poles. Ibrahim Ibn Yakub describes the territories neighbouring with Rus' as part of Mieszko's realm; he does not state that these territories belonged to the Czechs though he knew, at the same time, that Cracow was in Czech hands.

In my opinion, the third possibility is the only acceptable one. Emperor Henry IV, delineating the boundaries of the bishopric of Prague in the document of 1086, mentioned Cracow and the two rivers in question but, in so doing, he went back in time to the

²²⁹ L. Hauptmann, *Das Regensburger Privileg von 1086 für das Bistum Prag*, *MIOG* LXII, 1954, pp. 146–154.

²³⁰ G. Labuda, in *SZ* II, 1958, pp. 187–189.

²³¹ K. Buczek, *O dokumencie biskupstwa praskiego z r. 1086*, *RH* XV, 1939, pp. 32–33; V. Chaloupecký, *Prameny X století*, in *Svatovclavský Sborník* II (2), 1939, p. 207; H. Łowmiański, *Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich*, *KH* LX, 1953, pp. 80–81; G. Labuda, *Fragmenty dziejów Słowiańszczyzny Zachodniej* I, 1960, p. 129, and others.

²³² Rhode states it is possible but he is not familiar with the territorial concept of Rus' at that time.

²³³ G. Labuda, *Studia nad początkami państwa polskiego*, 1946, pp. 229–230; H. Łowmiański, *Problematyka historyczna Grodów Czerwieńskich*, 1953, p. 81; A. Gieysztor, *Geneza państwa polskiego*, 1954, p. 132.

status quo existing during the last quarter of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century. In other words, we have here the eastern boundaries of the Moravian metropolis of St Methodius. This explanation is not a new one, and it has many supporters.²³⁴ I disagree with them only in regard to two points.

First, there is the identification of the river 'Bug' in the document of 1086—there can be no doubt that the 'Ztir' mentioned there refers to the river Styr, a tributary of the Prypeć (Pripiet').²³⁵ The opinion generally held is that the reference is to the river Bug, a tributary of the Vistula. This supposition is, however, untenable for geographical²³⁶ and historical reasons. There are two Bug rivers: the western one mentioned above, and the southern one, the Boh, which flows into the Black Sea.²³⁷ 'Nestor' says that the Buzhians lived on the Bug, along the Bug (*po Bugu*), that is to say, on both banks of the river; he did not state that their settlements extended to the Bug.²³⁸ For that matter, the Bug did not serve as a tribal boundary in those times. The frontier to the east was the Styr, the river indicated in the document of 1086, and the reports of later Rus'ian chroniclers confirm this fact. On the other hand, the upper reaches of the southern Bug (the Boh) marked the limits of the old settlements of the Polyanians (and from the 10th century served as the frontier of Rus'). Considering that the southern Bug (the Boh) and the Styr provide a distinct frontier-line, there seems no doubt that the Emperor's charter of 1086 referred to these two rivers in the passage examined above.²³⁹

The second matter with which I am in disagreement is the name of the supra-tribal organization which extended as far as the Styr. I consider that its territory was the Lyakh State. All the other authors claim it was the State of the Vistulians. However, if this view were accepted, the Buzhians and other tribes have had to be called

²³⁴ J. Widajewicz, *Kraków i Poważe w dokumencie biskupstwa praskiego z 1086 r.*, *PKH* XI (4), 1938, p. 70; J. Natanson-Leski, *Zarys granic i podziałów Polski najstarszej*, 1953, pp. 168–169; T. Lehr-Splawiński, *Pierwszy chrzest Polski*, S XXIX (3), 1960, p. 344, and others. Among the earlier scholars who dealt with this subject, W. Abraham must be given pride of place.

²³⁵ P. Isaiv, *Zvidki Rus'-Ukraina priinyala khristiyanstvo?* 1952, p. 21 suggests that the document of Henry IV referred to the Stryj, a tributary of the Dniester. His suggestion failed to gain acceptance, and rightly so, since it has no historical backing nor does it bear the features of general probability.

²³⁶ The Bug, a tributary of the Vistula, and the Styr have a more or less parallel course and do not constitute a frontier-line.

²³⁷ 'Nestor' calls the latter the 'Bog' (D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 161). The form 'Bou' appears, amongst others, in variants of the document of 1086.

²³⁸ D. Likhachev, *op. cit.*, p. 13. The chronicler writes in similar fashion about the Dulebians (*ibid.*, p. 14).

²³⁹ On the strength of the observation that the Bug (tributary of the Vistula) and the Styr do not constitute a frontier, Rhode (*op. cit.*, p. 79) rejects the credibility of the passage under examination. He fails to perceive that the upper reaches of the Boh formed a tribal boundary (of the Polyanians, later of Rus'). S. Kuczyński, *Z najstarszych dziejów Przemyśla*, 1950, p. 110; *idem*, *Stosunki polsko-ruskie do schyłku wieku XII*, 1958, p. 235 is right in his treatment of the subject when he writes that the river mentioned in the document of 1086 is the southern Bug (the Boh).

Vistulians (in the supra-tribal sense) and not Lendzans (Constantine Porphyrogenitus)-Lyakhs ('Nestor').

My belief that the reference to Cracow, the Boh and the Styr in the document of 1086 presents the status quo existing at the end of the 9th century, is based primarily on the oft-quoted passage from the *Povest'* which affirms the identity of the Slavonic rite with the Rus'ian Church, that is, the Metropolis of St Methodius and his successors with the Metropolis of Kiev: '*A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est'*.' The document of 1086 provides an excellent commentary to this text, for it indicates that the Slavonic rite of Christianity had embraced the whole territory of the Buzhians as far as its eastern border (on the Styr) and had reached the river Boh, hence in direct contiguity with the land of the Polyanians.

On the other hand, the new faith was not so successful on the Dniester nor beyond the Styr; in other words, the Croats and the Derevlans were still pagan at that time. We know extremely little about the Croats during the period under examination. Vincent puts them on an equal footing with the Mardi (Pechenegs),²⁴⁰ for instance. 'Gallus' does the same in his narrative dealing with the Pomeranians, kin of the Poles; he brackets the Pomeranians together with the Prussians and makes no effort to conceal his hatred for both. 'Nestor' betrays a similar tendency when he compares the Polyanians with their immediate or farther removed neighbours. Such an attitude need occasion no surprise: both 'Nestor' and 'Gallus' were clerics and for them the criterion of religion—the adherence to Christianity or to the paganism of a given people—not its ethnic allegiance, was the decisive factor. The very fact that the bishopric of Halicz (on the Dniester) was erected much later (c. 1156²⁴¹) than the one for the Bug region (992²⁴²) supports the view that the Croats remained pagans longer than the Buzhians.

'Nestor' ascribes every possible virtue and good quality to the Polyanians, whilst the Derevlans, according to him, 'existed in bestial fashion, and lived like cattle' (*A drevlyane zhivyakhu zverin'skim obrazom, zhivushche skot'ski*).²⁴³ This rather drastic differentiation of two Slavonic tribes neighbouring with each other can be accounted for solely by the religious approach of the chronicler. The fact that the Derevlans were pagans at the time is indirectly confirmed by the passage in the document of 1086 analysed above since it established the current boundary of Christendom at the Styr and did not extend it eastwards beyond that river.

It may well be asked why Henry IV's charter fixed the boundary of the bishopric of Prague at the Boh and not on the Dnieper since

²⁴⁰ *OR*, p. 360.

²⁴¹ I. Nazarko, Galits'ka mitropoliya, *AOBM* III (1-2), 1958, p. 173.

²⁴² *OR*, p. 18; J. Hoffman, Początki hierarchii Kościoła Wschodniego na Wołyniu, *RPTNO* VI, 1955-1956, pp. 72-75.

²⁴³ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, pp. 14-15.

Christianity had penetrated to the land of the Polyanians? This is a question which is more easily posed than answered, especially as it refers to such a remote past. Nevertheless, we do dispose of some data which make it possible to elucidate this problem, at least to a certain degree.

The boundaries of the bishopric of Prague as delineated in the document of 1086 referred to the metropolis of Methodius and from the nature of things must have been based on the political conditions current towards the middle of the 9th century before the southern territories of Poland were captured by Great Moravia.²⁴⁴ 'Nestor' indirectly indicates that these conditions stemmed from the formation of the Lyakh State.

The following passage, in the introductory part of the *Povest'*, refers to the spread of the rite of Cyril and Methodius in the Slavonic lands and has special significance for the subject under consideration: 'There was one Slavonic faith [one Slavonic ecclesiastical organization] embracing the Slavs settled on the Danube . . . , the Moravians, the Czechs, the Lyakhs, and the Polyanians . . . '(*Be edin yazyk slovenesk: sloveni, izhe sedyakhu po Dunaevi . . . , i morava, i chesi, i lyakhove, i polyane . . .*).²⁴⁵ The use of the word *yazyk* in the religious-ecclesiastical sense as also the further part of the text which deals with the translation of the holy books for these peoples (a fundamental condition for the spread of the faith) lend support to such an interpretation of this passage.²⁴⁶ The query arises, however: How should we understand the term 'Lyakhs' used in this text?

Here again, as previously, the already cited passage from the document of 1086 throws light on the subject. The 'Cracow' referred to there signified the territory of the Vistulians, whilst the 'Styr' was the eastern frontier of the Buzhians. The original territory of the Lendzans-Lyakhs (probably the Sandomierz region)²⁴⁷ lay between 'Cracow' and the 'Styr' region. In other words, three tribes—the Vistulians, the Lendzans-Lyakhs, and the Buzhians—inhabited the long stretch of territories which constituted a compact area held by believers in the Slavonic *yazyk*.

Yet another observation crops up when analysing the above texts. If the Buzhians had been one of the East-Slavonic tribes they would have been differentiated from the Lyakhs just as the Polyanians are

²⁴⁴ This connection between the political relations and the ecclesiastical organization is erroneously rejected by V. Korolyuk, *Gramota 1086 g. v khronike Koz'my Prazhskogo*, *KSIS* XXIX, 1960, p. 21.

²⁴⁵ D. Likhachev, *Povest'* I, p. 21.

²⁴⁶ The analysis of this passage at full length was done in Chapter II of the present study.

²⁴⁷ The document of 1086 gives only the extreme limits (Styr, Boh), and does not describe the whole extent of the territory which for geographical reasons must have included the habitations of the Lendzans-Lyakhs. It is out of the question that 'Nestor', applying the supra-tribal meaning of the term 'Lyakhove', should have excluded the area inhabited by the Lyakhs proper, which he located on the Vistula. *Povest'* I, p. 11.

treated separately in the above entry of the *Povest'*; in this case, 'Nestor' would have enumerated the Christian peoples as follows: Danubian Slavs, Moravians, Czechs, Lyakhs (*i.e.*, the Vistulians and the Lyakhs proper), Buzhians and Polyanians. But 'Nestor' not only states under the year 981 and 1031 that the Bug region was Polish soil (*Lyakhy, Lyad'skaya zemlya*); he also attributes the same state of affairs to the second half of the 9th century. In this he is in accord with Constantine Porphyrogenitus.

We learn from the 'Life of Methodius' (in connection with the passage concerning the mighty ruler on the Vistula) that missionary activities often outstripped military and political action. The Slavonic missionaries could have set out from the Upper Boh region and reached the Dnieper, particularly during the period when the Polish southern territories were in the hands of Great Moravia. It is unfortunately not possible to determine how much of this area was thus subjected. In any case, there are no grounds for supposing that the whole Lendzan-Lyakh State was occupied by its southern neighbour. It would have sufficed for the new faith to establish organizational bases on parts of Polish soil, with Cracow being given pride of place. Thence it could have radiated and consolidated its position in other Polish territories whether Great Moravia held sway over them or not. Lanckorońska advances the hypothesis (one with much probability in its favour) that Cracow was for a time the metropolitan capital of the Slavonic rite after the fall of Great Moravia.²⁴⁸ The See could quite well have been transferred to that part of the metropolis not over-run by the Hungarians, hence to Cracow. In this way the Christian missionaries could have reached the Dnieper region even after 906, *i.e.*, subsequent to the catastrophe which overcame Great Moravia.

The Lendzans-Lyakhs did not extend their State beyond the territory of the Buzhians, and there is even less reason to surmise that Great Moravia did so. The absence of effective help from a powerful State-entity weakened the organization of the Slavonic Church in the territories east of the Boh. This does not exclude the possibility, however, that Slavonic Christianity spread in the land of the Polyanians though it is difficult to state what organizational form it may have had—most probably a separate missionary bishopric was erected for the Polyanian territory. In any case, there were organizational ties between Kiev and the metropolis of the Slavonic rite. This is indicated by 'Nestor's' statement: *A sloven'skyi yazyk i ruskyi odno est'*.

The fact remains that the frontiers on the Styr and the Boh, mentioned in the document of 1086, had much older ethnic, political

²⁴⁸ K. Lanckorońska, *Studies on the Roman-Slavonic Rite in Poland*, 1961, pp. 25–31.

and ecclesiastical traditions behind them than might at first sight be supposed.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ It is beyond the scope of this appendix to deal with the gradual shrinkage of the territorial concept of 'Lyakhy' and the ever broadening application of the concept of 'Rus' ', so characteristic a feature during the centuries which followed. The relevant sources have been examined by me in *OR*, pp. 93-105. Dlugossius perceives the genesis of this process at the ecclesiastical-religious level. *OR*, p. 404.

SUPPLEMENTARY NOTES*

- 2-3 *Bibliografiya izdaniy Akademii Nauk SSSR* I, M.—L., 1957, etc. (published every year); N. Merpert and D. Shelov, *Arkheologiya i istoricheskaya nauka* (Nekotorye itogi razvitiya sovetskoi arkheologii), *Vol*, 1961 (12), pp. 63-85; A. Formozov, *Ocherki po istorii russkoi arkheologii*, M., 1961; I. Spassky and V. Yanin, *Sovetskaya numizmatika. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel'* 1917-1958 gg., *NE* II, 1960, pp. 155-209; *Russkii fol'klor. Bibliograficheskii ukazatel' (1945-1959)*, 1961. See also P. Berton, P. Langer and R. Swearingen, *Japanese Training and Research in the Russian Field*, 1956 (unavailable to me).
- 5-18 A. Myasnikov, *Vdokhnovlyayushchee slovo partii, IANOLY*, 1961 (4), pp. 265-273; E. Zhukov, *XXII sezd KPSS i zadachi sovetskikh istorikov*, *Vol*, 1961 (12), pp. 3-13.
- 29-50 V. Ushakov, *Ustyuzhskaya kormchaya, S XXX* (1), 1961, pp. 20-40.
- 30 (line 4) N. Shansky, V. Ivanov and T. Shanskaya, *Kratkii etimologicheskii slovar' russkogo yazyka*, M., 1961, p. 390.
- 30-62 As to the oldest East Slavonic lexicography see P. Simoni, *Pamyatniki starinnoi russkoi leksikografii po rukopisyam XV-XVII stoletii, IORTS XIII* (1), 1908, pp. 175-212; R. Tseitlin, *Kratkii ocherk istorii leksikografii (slovari russkogo yazyka)*, M., 1958; L. Kovtun, *Drevnie slavyano-russkie slovari* (K istorii russkoi leksikografii drevnego perioda), *UZLGU*, No. 267, 1960, pp. 36-54.
- 31-65 The text of 'Gallus' ('Latinorum et Slavorum quotquot estis incole') is wrongly translated into Russian by L. Popova, *Gall Anonim i deyaniya knyazei ili pravitelei pol'skikh*, in *Pamyatniki srednevekovoi istorii narodov Tsentral'noi i Vostochnoi Evropy*, M., 1961, p. 48 ('Kto by ni byl iz vas zdes': slavyanin ili rimlyanin').
- 33-89 V. Mikhailovsky, *Slovar' pravoslavnogo tserkovno-bogoslužebnogo yazyka i svyashchennykh obryadov*, P., 1866 (unavailable to me).
- 37 (line 27) As to the meaning of the expression 'Church house' (*dom tserkovnyi*) see M. Tikhomirov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR*, 1960, p. 234.
- 41 (line 31) N. Rozov, *Rukopisnaya traditsiya 'Slova o zakone i blagodati', TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 42-53. How difficult it is to establish the authorship of some works of Old-Rus'ian literature is indicated by D. Likhachev, *Voprosy atributsii proizvedenii drevnerusskoi literatury, TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 17-41.
- 43-166 Svedeniya o drevnikh perevodakh tvorenii sv. otsov na slavyano-russkii yazyk (X-XV vv.), in *Pravoslavnyi sobesednik*, December 1859, pp. 382-383.
- 44-170 N. Usachev, K otsenke zapadnykh vneshnetorgovykh svyazei Smolenska v XII-XIV vv., in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 203-218.
- 45-179 Cf. M. Tikhomirov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR s drevneishikh vremen do kontsa XV veka*, 1960, pp. 284, 289.
- 45-182 Yu. Limonov, *Iz istorii vostochnoi trgovli Vladimiro-Suzdal'skogo knyazhestva*, in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, p. 60.
- 47-188 G. Alef, Muscovy and the Council of Florence, *ASEER XX* (3), 1961, pp. 389-401.
- 48-196 R. Dmitrieva, K istorii sozdaniya 'Skazaniya o knyaz'yakh vladimirskikh', *TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 342-347.
- 52-219 B. Rybakov, *Lyubech—feodal'nyi dvor Monomakha i Ol'govichei*, in N. Onaiko, *Sessiya otdeleniya istoricheskikh nauk i plenum Instituta arkheologii AN SSSR, SAR*, 1961 (4), p. 287; *idem*, *Lyubech-feodal'nyi zamok XI-XII vv.*, in N. Merpert, *Itogi polevykh issledovaniy arkheologov i etnografov, VAn*, 1961 (8), pp. 122-123.
- 57-251 Similarly—A. Vershinskaya, B. Ramm and L. Serdobol'skaya, *Nekotorye voprosy istorii SSSR v osveshchenii tserkovnoi pečati, EMIRA IV*, 1960, p. 13.
- 78-347 S. Kuczyński, Rozbiór krytyczny roku 1385 'Dziejów polskich' Jana Długosza, *SZ III*, 1958, pp. 213-218; J. Dąbrowski (and others), *Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego I*, 1961.
- 79-354 V. Shusharin, *Russko-vengerskie otnosheniya v IX v.*, in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 131-180.
- 79-356 E. Dąbrowska, *Wczesnośredniowieczne Morawy w świetle ostatnich badań archeologicznych, RB IV*, (1958) 1960, pp. 37-54; P. Tret'yakov, *Novye dannye o Velikomoravskom gosudarstve, Vol*, 1961 (5), pp. 72-80.

* The first marginal figure indicates the page number, the second the number of the footnote on that page.

- 89-395 As to the earliest past of Yur'ev (the present-day Bila Tserkva) see O. Bogdanov, *Novi dani pro drevn'orus'ke misto Bila Tserkva*, *Ar* VI, 1952, pp. 133-134; B. Butnik-Siversky, O gorode Belaya Tserkov', *SAr*, 1958 (2), pp. 263-267; M. Braichevsky and P. Trokhimits, *Novye arkhologicheskie materialy po istorii Beloi Tserkvi*, *SAr*, 1961 (4), pp. 218-226.
- 90-398 Cf. M. Lacko, in *OCF* XXIII, 1957, pp. 218-222.
- 91 (line 4) There exists an abundant literature on the missionary activities of Cyril and Methodius. Among recently published works see F. Grivec, *Konstantin und Method, Lehrer der Slaven*, 1960; F. Zagiba, Die bairische Slavenmission und ihre Fortsetzung durch Kirill und Method, *JGO* IX (1), 1961, pp. 1-56; *idem*, Zur Geschichte Kirills und Methods und der bairischen Ostmission, *JGO* IX (2), 1961, pp. 247-276.
- 91-403 A. Kazhdan, *Iz istorii vizantiiskoi khronografii* X v., *VV* XIX, 1961; XX, 1961, pp. 106-128.
- 94-418 W. Trillmich, *Thietmar von Merseburg*, n.d.
- 97-435 Cf. P. Karyshkovsky, Lev Diakon o Tmutarakanskoi Rusi, *VV* XVII, 1960, pp. 39-51.
- 98-440 V. Lazarev, *Novye otkrytiya v Sofii Kievskoi*, in *X Mezhdunarodnyi kongress po vizantinovedeniyu*, 1955, pp. 5-23; *idem*, *Mozaiki Sofii Kievskoi*, 1960.
- 114-111 M. Braichevsky, Ob 'antakh' Pseudomavrikiya, *SE*, 1953 (2), pp. 21-36; M. Tikhanova, O lokal'nykh variantakh chernyakhovskoi kul'tury, *SAr*, 1957 (4), pp. 168-194; Chernyakhovskaya kul'tura, *MIA* LXXXII, 1960.
- 120-48 S. Azbelev, K datirovke russkoi Povesti o vzyatii Tsar'grada turkami, *TODRL* XVII, 1961, pp. 334-337.
- 122-61 Ad. Stender-Petersen, Der älteste russische Staat, *HZ* CXCI, 1960, pp. 1-17.
- 127-92 I. Budovnik, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya mys' drevnei Rusi (XI-XIV vv.)*, 1960, pp. 250-268.
- 128-95 The literature concerning the report of monk Khrabr is listed by F. Sławski, *Apologia mnicha Chrabra*, in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* I (1), 1961, p. 43.
- 128-96 Ts. Todorov, Proizkhod i avtorstvo na slavyanskii azbuki, in *Slav. sbornik I Ezikoznanie*, 1958, pp. 35-72; M. Privalova, Ob istochnikakh glagolitsy (V diskussionnom poriadke), *UZLGU*, No. 267, 1960, pp. 17-33; T. Vinokur, *Drevnerusskii yazyk*, 1961, p. 31.
- 128-97 A. Nikolaeva, *Russkaya paleografiya*, 1956, pp. 20-22. In his last work (*Kul'tura russkogo naroda X-XVII vv.*, 1961, p. 16) Likhachev changes his view and accepts the thesis that both alphabets—the Glagolitic and the Cyrillic—came to Rus' from Bulgaria in the 10th century.
- 129-100 M. Kosven, L. Lavrov, G. Nersesov, Kh. Khashaev, *Narody Kavkaza I*, 1960, p. 73 (in S. Tolstov, *Narody mira. Etnograficheskie ocherki*).
- 131-105 J. Bielawski, *Książka w świecie Islamu*, Wrocław, 1961.
- 132-116 A. Zeki Validi (Togan), Die Nordvölker bei Biruni, *ZDMG* XC (XV), 1936, pp. 43-44; T. Lewicki, Bahr ar-Rūs wa' s-Saqaliba, in *Słownik starożytności słowiańskich* I (1), 1961, p. 68; W. Kowalenko, Baityk, *ibid.*, p. 84. See also W. Swoboda, al-Biruni, *ibid.*, p. 119.
- 141-186 D. Talis, *Voprosy periodizatsii istorii Khersona v epokhu rannego srednevekov'ya*, *VV* XVIII, 1961, pp. 70-72.
- 148-231 N. Meshchersky, K voprosu o vizantiisko-slavyanskikh literaturnykh svyazyakh, *VV* XVII, 1960, p. 68; see also K. Czeglédi, Bemerkungen zur Geschichte der Chazaren, *AOASH* XIII, 1961, pp. 239-251.
- 151-252 Cf. B. Schier, *Wege und Formen der ältesten Pelzhandels in Europa*, 1951.
- 153-267 The problem of the tribute paid by the Slavonic tribes to the Rus' is discussed by P. Khromov, *Ocherki ekonomiki feodalizma v Rossii*, 1957, pp. 312-315.
- 155 (line 21) N. Polovoi, O marshrute pokhoda russkikh na Berdaa i russko-khazarskikh otnosheniyakh v 943 g., *VV* XX, 1961, pp. 90-105.
- 155-273 B. Vasil'ev, Problema burtasov i mordva, *TIE* LXIII, 1960, pp. 180-209.
- 156-275 N. Nefedova, Kuda ezdili drevnie rusy v Andaluziyu ili Anatoliyu, *SVo*, 1958 (4), pp. 113-115 calls in question the existence of this Rus'ian expedition against Spain. B. Rybakov, Rus' i strana 'Andalus' v IX-X vekakh, *ibid.*, pp. 116-119 shares her view. Al-Mas'udi states that the Straits of Constantinople link the Black Sea with 'the Syrian Sea' (under which name the Sea of Marmara or the Aegean Sea or, in general, the eastern part of the Mediterranean should be understood; cf. T. Lewicki, *Źródła arabskie do dziejów Słowiańszczyzny* I, 1956, p. 92). According to al-Mas'udi, al-Andalus lies at the end of the Straits of Constantinople. C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *Maqoudi. Les Prairies d'or* I, 1861, p. 317. On the base of this report Nefedova believes that the term 'al-Andalus' was used by the Arabs not only with reference to the Iberian Peninsula as a whole or to the eastern, Moslem part of Spain—as is generally admitted—but also to Anatolia, the province of the Byzantine Empire on the peninsula of Asia Minor. When al-Mas'udi speaks of a Rus'ian raid on al-Andalus, he means, according to Nefedova

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(cont.)

and Rybakov, that this expedition was directed against Asia Minor, not against Spain (Andalusia).

In my opinion, Nefedova's conjecture is unacceptable for many reasons. First, the identification of Anatolia with al-Andalus is quite arbitrary. Anatolia, extending from Dorylaeum to Cilicia, did not stretch to the Straits of Constantinople. *EI* I, 1960, p. 461; see also W. Tomaschek, *Zur historischen Topographie von Kleinasien im Mittelalter*, *SPHC* CXXIV, 1891, pp. 1-106; H. Gelzer, *Die Genesis der byzantinischen Themenverfassung*, *ASGW* XLI, 1899, pp. 1-134. Recently, V. Beilis, *Al-Mas'udi o rusko-vizantiiskikh otnosheniyakh v 50-kh godakh X v.*, in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 23-24 indicated that this identification is erroneous.

In another passage of his work Mas'udi again speaks of the Straits of Constantinople and says that they have their source in the Black Sea and flow into the Mediterranean, linking Constantinople with the Apennine peninsula (cf. T. Lewicki, *Żródła arabskie* I, p. 89) and al-Andalus, i.e., Spain (the Russian translation cited by Nefedova: 'Konstantinopol' raspolozhen po zapadnoi storone etogo [Konstantinopol'skogo] proliva, kotoryi svyazan so stranoi Rumskoj, al-Andalus i drugimi'). C. Barbier de Meynard et Pavet de Courteille, *op. cit.* I, p. 261. It follows from this text that Mas'udi has here in mind a large stretch of water extending from the Bosphorus to Gibraltar. It seems to me that the previous passage should be interpreted in the same way. Benjamin of Tudela (12th century) relates that Constantinople is situated between two arms of sea, one being a branch of the Black Sea and the other of the Mediterranean. The latter is called by Benjamin 'the Spanish Sea' (the sea of Sepharad). Cf. A. Asher, *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela* I, 1840, p. 51; M. Adler, *The Itinerary of Benjamin of Tudela*, 1907, p. 12. Thus, the maritime connections between Constantinople and Spain are clearly emphasized.

Many sources describe the Norse attack upon Spain (844); cf. R. Dozy, *Recherches sur l'histoire et la littérature de l'Espagne pendant le moyen âge*, 3rd ed., II, 1881, pp. 252-267. Two of them (al-Ya'qubi and al-Mas'udi) call the invaders 'Rus'. Following Garkavi's (Harkavy's) conjecture, Nefedova and Rybakov advance three hypotheses: 1) the Rus' were not mentioned in al-Ya'qubi's original; 2) they were introduced into the text by a later, 13th-century copyist; 3) this copyist knew of al-Mas'udi's report on the Rus'ian expedition and wrongly transferred it to Spain. Unfortunately, there is not the slightest proof to support all these arbitrary suppositions created only to undermine the reliability of al-Ya'qubi's information. The many details preserved in al-Mas'udi's work concerning the Rus'ian incursion, invalidate any attempt to transfer this invasion to Asia Minor. Especially the geographical details have here the decisive voice.

Nefedova and Rybakov endeavour at all cost to prove that the Rus' had at that time nothing in common with the Iberian Peninsula. But this thesis is contradicted not only by al-Ya'qubi but also by many other authors. It suffices to quote, for instance, al-Mas'udi's report that the Rus'ian merchants brought their goods to Spain, to Rome, to Constantinople and to the Khazars. Ibn Hauqal, in the second half of the 10th century, recounts that after having looted the Volga Bulgars and the Khazars, in 969, the Rus' returned to their country (Scandinavia) by way of Rome (Byzantium) and Spain.

167 (line 20) Similarly—M. Tikhomirov, *Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR*, 1960, p. 121.

175 (line 9) M. Braichevsky, *Po povodu odnogo mesta iz Konstantina Bagryanorodnogo*, *VV* XVII, 1960, pp. 144-154 made recently some noteworthy observations. He reproaches Soviet historians for defending the ethnic connotation of the term 'Rus', which—in his opinion—designates only an upper, privileged class of East Slavonic society. Similarly—P. Lyashchenko, *Istoriya narodnogo khozaystva SSSR* I, 1956, p. 54. Analysing the text of Constantine Porphyrogenitus, Braichevsky comes to the following characteristic conclusion: 'Any attempt to interpret [the name] "Rus" in an ethnic sense leads inevitably to complete absurdity (*k polneishei nelepitse*) or (what is still worse) to the restoration of the idea long ago rejected by [historical] science of the non-Slavonic (i.e., Norse) descent of the Rus' (p. 151). Since the social (an upper group of East Slavonic society) interpretation of the name "Rus" is contradicted by the sources (see p. 100 of the present study), Braichevsky indirectly admits that the Anti-Normanist thesis lacks foundation.

181-29 A. Yakubovskiy, *K voprosu ob istoricheskoi topografii Itilya i Bolgar*, *SAr* X, 1948; B. Zakhoder, *Itil'*, in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 32-45.

181-31 L. Beskrovnyi, *Ocherki po istochnikovedeniyu voennoi istorii Rossii*, 1957, pp. 14-20; E. Razin, *Istoriya voennogo iskusstva* II, 1957, pp. 79-94.

189-77 *Istoriya russkoi dialektologii*, 1961; I. Ossovetsky, *Voprosy russkoi dialektologii*, *VAN*, 1961 (8), pp. 127-128.

190-81 V. Vinogradov, *Osnovnye problemy izucheniya obrazovaniya i razvitiya drevnerusskogo literaturnogo yazyka*, 1958; T. Vinokur, *Drevnerusskii yazyk*, 1961, pp. 32-34.

- 195-98 M. Karger, *Drevnii Kiev I*, 1958, pp. 123-124.
- 206 (line 21) M. Karger, *Drevnerusskii gorod Pereyaslaul'*, 1960. See also V. Lyaskoronsky, *Istoriya Pereyaslavskoi zemli*, 1897.
- 207-177 V. Sedov, K voprosu o klassifikatsii smolenskikh kurganov, *KSDPI LXXXI*, 1960, pp. 3-12 remarks that apart from Gnezdovo there are large quantities of other mounds in the Smolensk region.
- 209-184 Cf. M. Fekhner, Nekotorye svedeniya arkhologii po istorii russko-vostochnykh ekonomicheskikh svyazei do sereдины XIII v., in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 46-54.
- 212-194 I. Budovnits, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya mysl' drevnei Rusi (XI-XIV vv.)*, 1960, pp. 437-462; B. Putilov, Kuligovskaya bitva v fol'klоре, *TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 107-129; V. Shevyakov, *Podvig russkogo naroda v bor'be protiv tataro-mongol'skikh zakhvatchikov v XIII-XV vv.*, 1961.
- 214-198 G. Tsankova-Petkova, O territorii Bolgarskogo gosudarstva v VII-IX vv., *VV XVII*, 1960, p. 143.
- 215 (line 8) D. Likhachev, Literaturnyi etiket drevnei Rusi (k probleme izucheniya), *TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 5-16 rightly states that the use of Church Slavonic in Eastern Europe during so many centuries proves how important a role the Church played.
- 219-215 A. Soloviev, *Holy Russia. The History of a Religious-Social Idea*, 1959.
- 221-226 See also A. Czerny, *Marko Polo. Opisanie sviata* (with an introduction by M. Lewicki), 1954.
- 224-241 N. Zernov, *Vselenskaya tserkov' i russkoe pravoslavie*, 1952, p. 100 writes: 'It [the Orthodox Church] helped to unite and merge into one entity these different [ethnic] elements—Slavonic, Finnish . . . and Scandinavian—which formed the South-Rus'ian principalities. The Rus'ian writing, the Rus'ian culture, even the Rus'ian language itself arose under the patronage of the Orthodox Church.'
- 227-255 Cf. S. Reiser, 'Russkii bog', *IANOLY XX* (1), 1961, pp. 64-69.
- 229 (line 7) Cf. V. Kolobanov, Oblichenie knyazheskikh mezhdousobii v poucheniyakh Serapiona Vladimirovskogo, *TODRL XVII*, 1961, pp. 329-333.
- 234-299 B. Rybakov, Istoricheskii vzglyad na russkie byliny, *ISSSR*, 1961 (5), pp. 141-166; (6), pp. 80-96.
- 234-301 B. Putilov and B. Dobrovolsky, *Istoricheskie pesni XIII-XIV vv. Pamyatniki russkogo fol'klora*, 1960; V. Sokolova, Russkie istoricheskie pesni XVI-XVIII vv., *TIE*, LXI, 1960.
- 236-311 L. Bréhier, *Les institutions de l'Empire byzantin*, 1949; *idem*, *La civilisation byzantine*, 1950; G. Zananiri, *Histoire de l'église byzantine*, 1954.
- 238-323 W. Ohnsorge, *Abendland und Byzanz*, 1958.
- 239-330 I. Budovnits, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya mysl' drevnei Rusi (XI-XIV vv.)*, 1960, pp. 47-74.
- 240 (line 23) Cf. A. Kazhdan and G. Litavrin, *Ocherki istorii Vizantii i yuzhnykh slavyan*, 1598.
- 247-8 I. Skvortsov-Stepanov, Iz istorii russkoi pravoslavnoi tserkvi. Pravoslavnaya tserkov' v epokhu tataro-mongol'skogo vladychestva, *EMIRA IV*, 1960, pp. 263-272.
- 249-18 Cf. T. Alekseeva, Antropologicheskaya kharakteristika slavyanskikh plemen basseinov Dnepra i Oki v epokhu srednevekov'ya, *VA*, 1960 (1), pp. 97-101; M. Levin, Etnograficheskie i antropologicheskie materialy kak istoricheskii istochnik (K metodologii izucheniya istorii bespis'mennykh narodov), *SE*, 1961 (1), pp. 20-28.
- 253-48 M. Rabinovich and G. Latysheva, *Iz zhizni drevnei Moskvy*, 1961, p. 32.
- 256 (line 2) M. Stenberger, *Die Schatzfunde Gotlands der Wikingerzeit I* Stockholm—Lund, 1947; II, 1958.
- 260-90 V. Kozlov, Rasselenie mordvy (istoricheskii ocherk), in *Voprosy etnicheskoi istorii mordovskogo naroda*, *TIE LXIII*, 1960, pp. 6-62; A. Feoktistov, Mordovskie yazyki i ikh dialekty, *ibid.*, pp. 63-82; M. Zhiganov, K istorii mordovskikh plemen v kontse I tysyacheletiya n.e., *SAr*, 1961 (4), pp. 158-178.
- 262-102 V. Mavrodin, *Narodnye vosstaniya v drevnei Rusi XI-XIII vv.*, 1961.
- 265 (line 12) I. Erdei, 'Bol'shaya Vengriya', *AAASH XIII*, 1961, pp. 307-320.
- 265-112 M. Safargaliev, *Raspad Zolotoi Ordy*, 1960, p. 29.
- 270-126 Ya. Stankevich, K istorii naseleniya Verkhnego Podvin'ya v I i nachale II tysyacheletiya n.e., *MIA LXXXVI*, 1960, pp. 7-327; V. Sedov, Nekotorye voprosy geografii Smolenskoi zemli XII v., in N. Onaiko, Sessiya otdeleniya istoricheskikh nauk i plenum Instituta arkhologii AN SSSR, *SAr*, 1961 (4), p. 292; see also *idem*, Sel'skie poseleniya tsentral'nykh raionov Smolenskoi zemli (VIII-XV vv.), *MIA XCII*, 1960.
- 271-133 A. Artsikhovskiy, *Osnovy arkhologii*, 2nd ed., 1955, p. 237; see also S. Orlov, K topografii drevnego Novgoroda, *SAr*, 1961 (4), pp. 212-217.
- 271-133 B. Rybakov, Chto novogo vnosit v nauku stat'ya A. V. Artsikhovskogo 'O Novgorodskoi khronologii', *SAr*, 1961 (2), pp. 141-163; A. Artsikhovskiy, *Otvety B.A. Rybakovu*, *SAr*, 1961 (3), pp. 122-136.

- 272-138 A. Mongait, *Ryazanskaya zemlya*, 1961.
- 274-150 G. Kochin, *Razvitie zemledeliya na Rusi s kontsa XIII po konets XV v.*, in *Voprosy ekonomiki i klassovykh otnoshenii v Russkom gosudarstve XII-XVII vekov*, 1960, p. 261.
- 276-154 See also V. Bernadsky, *Novgorod i Novgorodskaya zemlya v XV veke*, 1961, pp. 23, 33-35.
- 282-179 The most remarkable contribution to the history of the ethnic relations in the Upper Volga region was recently made by E. Goryunova, *Etnicheskaya istoriya Volgo-Okskogo MezhduRech'ya*, MIA XCIV, 1961. The author extends the Merian period of the country to the 10th century ('The [archaeological] relics known to us contain no data indicating that the Slavs appeared here before the 10th and 11th centuries', p. 183) and maintains that the Slavonic colonization of the Rostov-Suzdal' land and the process of Slavonicization of the Merya tribe took place after the 10th century. But this supposition is visibly contradicted by the texts of the sources. It is impossible to believe that the Novgorodian Slavs, the Krivichians and the Vyatichians—common action by these tribes at that time is excluded—could conquer ('to use pokoreno bylo Bogom krest'yan'skomu yazyku poganskyya strany', *Slovo o pogibeli*) the territory under discussion independently of the Rus'-Varangians and in opposition to their plans and aims.
- 289-206 Recently, L. Golubeva, *Mogil'nik X-serediny XI vv. na Belom ozere*, SAr, 1961 (1), pp. 201-215; *Arheologicheskie pamyatniki vesi na Belom ozere*, SE, 1961 (3), p. 92 threw new light on the problem.
- 289-209 The quoted study by O. Backus (*Herberstein S. Commentaries on Muscovite Affairs*, 1956) was unavailable to me.
- 294-228 M. Kosven, *Iz istorii russkoi istoricheskoi nauki XVIII v. Nauchno-organizatsionnaya deyatel'nost'* V. N. Tatishcheva, *ISSSR*, 1961 (3), pp. 160-166; S. Petshich, *Russkaya istoriografiya XVIII veka I*, 1961, pp. 222-275; N. Skachenko, V. N. Tatishchev kak geograf, *VMU (Seriya V)*, 1961, pp. 74-75.
- 295-238 V. Illeritsky, *Izuchenie russkoi istoriografii*, in M. Nechkina, *Ocherki istorii istoricheskoi nauki v SSSR II*, 1960, p. 551.
- 310 (line 12) D. Obolensky, *Byzantium, Kiev and Moscow: A Study in Ecclesiastical Relations*, *DOP XI*, 1957, pp. 21-78 (see also *idem*, *Le Patriarcat byzantin et les Métropolitans de Kiev*, *SBN VII*, 1953, pp. 437-438) advances the hypothesis that the Metropolitans of Kiev were, from the earliest times to the end of the 14th century, in turn Greeks and Slavs. He bases his conjecture on the report of Gregoras (14th century) though he admits that 'his [Gregoras'] remoteness, in time and distance, from the events he recounts, and his occasional lapses into partiality, make it impossible to accept unquestioningly his evidence on the Russian Church, unless it is supported by the testimony of other sources', *ibid.*, p. 32; cf. A. Kartashev, *Ocherki po istorii Russkoi tserkvi I*, 1959, pp. 166-167. Unfortunately, these other sources—directly or indirectly—contradict Obolensky's surmise. That is why the view is generally accepted that during the pre-Mongol period there were only two Metropolitans, who were certainly not Greeks—Hilarion (1051) and Kliment (1147). All the known seals of the Rus'ian Metropolitans in the 11th-13th centuries bear Greek inscriptions; cf. N. Likhachev, *Materialy dlya istorii russkoi i vizantiiskoi sfragistiki*, *TMP II*, 1928, pp. 1-12. Obolensky supports his hypothesis by introducing quite unacceptable suppositions (e.g., that the Patriarch confirmed the election of Hilarion by the Rus'ian bishops) or by 'correcting' the source-texts. The Metropolitan Theognostus (d. 1353) appointed Alexius as his successor. This was approved by Constantinople, but the Patriarch Philoteus made the reservation that this appointment was not to be treated as a precedent ('we by no means permit nor concede that any other person of Russian origin should in the future become the primate in that country; on the contrary [the primates of Russia are to be chosen] from [among the clergy of] the . . . city of Constantinople', D. Obolensky, *op. cit.*, p. 39). Obolensky questions whether Philoteus was well acquainted with the ecclesiastical relations between Byzantium and Rus' ('his [Patriarch's] assertion that the appointment of a native Russian to this post was "by no means customary" was to say the least, an exaggeration. The acts of the 14th-century synods of Constantinople are, to be sure, sometimes at variance with historical fact', *ibid.*, p. 43) and considers that the Patriarch and the Synod 'were trying to introduce a new principle in the appointment of the metropolitans of Russia by wilfully ignoring the realities of the past', p. 43.
- There is no reason to doubt that Philoteus and the Synod were perfectly well acquainted with the realities of the past. It is true that the Rus'ian Metropolitans of the 14th century were in turn Greeks and Slavs. But this was an outcome, not of traditional usage—as Obolensky supposes—but of the new political and ecclesiastical situation in that century, particularly the enfeeblement of Byzantium and the growing power of Muscovy. It must be remembered that important transformations had taken place in Eastern Europe at that period. The Rus'ian Metro-

- 310 (line 12) (cont.) politan See was transferred from Kiev to Vladimir on the Klyaz'ma and later to Moscow, and this fact caused a split between the Slavonic Rus' and the Finnish Rus'. Both newly erected Sees, the Halicz and the Lithuanian one, were created by the Patriarchs under the pressure of political circumstances, and were in any case abolished by them soon after. It must always be borne in mind that when Philoteus agreed under dire necessity to the nomination of Alexius, the Metropolitan in Kiev was Theodoretus, consecrated by the Patriarch of Tirnovo. Lithuania took advantage of the cleavage between the Byzantine Church and the Bulgarian one at the time, and quickly withdrew Theodoretus from Kiev because Philoteus had—independently of Alexius—appointed Roman, the Lithuanian candidate, as the new Metropolitan of Rus'. 'In the same year—says the chronicler—a disturbance occurred in the Metropolitan See, such as had never before occurred in Rus': the Patriarch of Constantinople consecrated two Metropolitans of all the lands of Rus', Alexius and Roman'. And he adds: 'And there was great hostility between them.' *OR*, p. 227. Obviously, the Patriarch was acting under compulsion and nothing could be farther from his intentions than the disruption of the unity of the Rus'ian Metropolis. It is out of the question that Constantinople should under such circumstances have introduced the new principle of appointing none but Greeks as Metropolitans of Rus' (as Obolensky asserts) and thus risked raising the violent resentment of Moscow.
- There is another weakness in Obolensky's argument. Judging by their ecclesiastical (particularly the missionary aspect) and political activities, the Metropolitans of Kiev must have been men of unusual stature. Their profound knowledge of Church affairs and their political maturity indicate that they had received first-rate schooling in Byzantium. From the middle of the 11th century on, the position of these Metropolitans was a most difficult one as Rus' passed through a long period of internal dissensions and conflicts. The Metropolitans must there have been endowed with wisdom, tact and diplomatic ability to maintain their own authority, to preserve neutrality in the ceaseless quarrels between the princes, to undertake conciliatory action among the warring parties, and to keep all factions in communion with Byzantium by dint of ecclesiastical and other ties. It does not seem likely that Rus'ian Metropolitans of Slavonic (or Varangian) origin could have played such a role. From the nature of things, they would have been drawn into the internal conflicts and revealed their political inclinations. A classical example is afforded by the Metropolitan Alexius (1354–1378), who did so much for Muscovy and simultaneously caused so many misgivings to Lithuania and Constantinople. *OR*, pp. 223–229, 316–317. It is inconceivable that non-Greek Metropolitans would not have aimed at attaining the greatest possible measure of independence from Byzantium. Constant changes in the activities of Metropolitans caused by appointing in turn men of different ethnic stock and dissimilar political views would inevitably have evoked an enormous enfeeblement of the young Rus'ian Church.
- 310–317 I. Budovnits, *Obshchestvenno-politicheskaya mysl' drevnei Rusi (IX–XIV vv.)*, 1960, pp. 193–215.
- 312–327 O. Backus, Was Muscovite Russia Imperialistic? *ASEER* XIII (4), 1954, pp. 522–534 admits that the territorial expansion of Muscovy in the 15th century was inspired by religious-ecclesiastical factors but he does not perceive the purely political consequences of this Muscovite policy.
- 313–329 D. Likhachev, K voprosu o poddelkakh literaturnykh pamyatnikov i istoricheskikh istochnikov, *IA*, 1961 (6), pp. 145–150.
- 313–330 N. Zernov, *Moscow the Third Rome*, 1938; W. Lettenbauer, *Moskau das dritte Rome. Zur Geschichte einer politischen Theorie*, 1961.
- 320–351 W. Taszycki, Niezwykłe formy patronimiczne w Słowie o wyprawie Igora, *On VI* (1–2), 1960, pp. 193–200.
- 336–3 T. Lehr-Splawiński, Dokola obrządku słowiańskiego w dawnej Polsce, in *Księga pamiątkowa ku czci Stanisława Pigonia*, 1961, pp. 127–132 (reprint *idem*, *Od piętnastu wieków*, 1961, pp. 76–81). This article adds nothing new to the previous views of the author.
- 341–18 *Akty sotsial'no-ekonomicheskoi istorii Severo-Vostochnoi Rusi kontsa XIV–nachala XVI v.* I, 1952, p. 749; II, p. 681.
- 347–41 Recently, A. Kazhdan, K kharakteristike russko-vizantiiskikh otnoshenii v sovremennoi burzhuaznoi istoriografii (1947–1957), in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 9–15 defended the existence of Oleg's expedition in 907.
- 350–67 *Jana Długosza Roczniki czyli kroniki sławnego Królestwa Polskiego*, 1961, p. 137.
- 355–85 Z. Kaczmarczyk, One Thousand Years of the History of the Polish Western Frontier, *APH V*, 1961, pp. 80–84.
- 358–98 J. Kurz, *Słownik języka starosłowiańskiego* 4, 1961, p. 192 ('incolae ad Vistulam sedentes').

- 366-136 S. Runciman, *A History of the First Bulgarian Empire*, 1930, pp. 27, 145; V. Zlatarski *Istoriya na Blgarskata drzhava*, I (1), 1938, p. 351, I (2), 1927; *Istoriya na Blgariya v dva toma* I, 1954, pp. 74-75, 102, 128; G. Tsankova-Petkova, O territorii Bolgarskogo gosudarstva v VII-IX vv., *VV XVII*, 1960, p. 142.
- 366-139 B. Krzemińska, Polska i Polacy w opinii czeskiego kronikarza Kosmasa, *ZNUL XV*, 1960, pp. 75-95.
- 369 (line 7) Ya. Pasternak, *Starii Galich*, 1944; V. Goncharov, *Drevnii Galich*, *VUAN XXVII* (1), 1956, pp. 61-67.
- 374 (line 31) V. Potin, Nekotorye voprosy trgovli Drevnei Rusi po numizmaticheskim dannym, *VIMK*, 1961 (4), pp. 67-79; A. Florovsky, Cheshsko-russkie trgovye otnosheniya X-XII vv., in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 64-83; see also B. Widera, Die wirtschaftliche Beziehungen zwischen Deutschland und der Kiever Rus in der ersten Hälfte des XI. Jahrhunderts, in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der Beziehungen zwischen dem deutschen Volk und den Völkern der Sowjetunion*, 1954, pp. 3-39.
- 375 (line 32) W. Antoniewicz, *Recenti scoperte d'arte preromanica e romanica a Wislica in Polonia*, 1961, pp. 3-31.
- 381-188 B. Włodarski, Problem jaćwiński w stosunkach polsko-ruskich, *ŻTNT XXIV*, 1959, pp. 7-36; *idem*, Yatvyazhskaya problema v pol'sko-russkikh svyazyakh X-XIII vv., in *Mezhdunarodnye svyazi Rossii do XVII v.*, 1961, pp. 116-130.
- 385-206 The *Annales Quedlinburgenses* report that the death of St Bruno of Querfurt took place, in 1009, in *confinio Rusciae et Lituae* (*MGH Script.* III, p. 80). Thietmar states that it was in *confinio praedictae regionis* [Prussiae] et *Rusciae*. In my opinion, the term 'Ruscia' is used here in the broader territorial, i.e., ecclesiastical-religious sense. It proves that the missionary activities of the Rus'ian clergy were extended from Kiev to the north-western lands (e.g., Grodno) immediately after the conversion of Vladimir. These activities corresponded to the western expansion of the Kievan State. Archaeology supports to a certain degree my view. *OR*, p. 189.
- 386-207 F. Gurevich, Verkhnee Poneman'e v I tysyacheletii i nachale II tysyacheletiya nashei ery, *KSDPI LXXXI*, 1960, pp. 13-24 defends the thesis that the westward shift of the Dregovichians took place already in the second half of the first millennium.
- 390-223 The *Annales Quedlinburgenses* note, under the year 986, that Mieszko presented a camel to the German emperor, *OR*, p. 88. This indicates that there existed commercial relations between Poland and the steppe nomads at that time. There was a remarkable influx of Arabic coins into Poland during the reign of Mieszko. Cf. M. Gumowski, Moneta arabska w Polsce IX i X wieku, *ŻTNT XXIV*, 1959, p. 24.

ABBREVIATIONS*

<i>A</i>	<i>Atti del X Congresso Internazionale. Roma 4–11 Settembre 1955. Comitato Internazionale di Scienze Storiche. Roma.</i>
<i>AA</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica. Copenhagen.</i>
<i>AAASH</i>	<i>Acta Archaeologica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.</i>
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana. Bruxelles.</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Archiv für Diplomatik. Münster-Köln.</i>
<i>AE</i>	<i>Arkheograficheskii Ezhegodnik. M.</i>
<i>AECO</i>	<i>Archivum Europae Centro-Orientalis. Budapest. Leipzig.</i>
<i>AEO</i>	<i>Archives d'Etudes Orientales. Uppsala.</i>
<i>AFF</i>	<i>Arkeologiska Forskningar och Fynd. Stockholm.</i>
<i>AHASH</i>	<i>Acta Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.</i>
<i>AHK</i>	<i>Abhandlungen des Hamburgischen Kolonialinstituts. Hamburg.</i>
<i>AHR</i>	<i>The American Historical Review. New York.</i>
<i>AIPHOS</i>	<i>Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales et Slaves. Bruxelles.</i>
<i>AJ</i>	<i>Acta Jutlandica. Copenhagen.</i>
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Leipzig.</i>
<i>AL</i>	<i>Archivum Linguisticum. Glasgow.</i>
<i>ALASH</i>	<i>Acta Linguistica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.</i>
<i>AMV</i>	<i>Alma Mater Vilnensis. London.</i>
<i>ANF</i>	<i>Arkiv för Nordisk Filologi. Lund.</i>
<i>Ant</i>	<i>Antemurale. Roma.</i>
<i>AO</i>	<i>Archiv Orientální. Praha.</i>
<i>AOASH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.</i>
<i>AOBM</i>	<i>Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni. Roma.</i>
<i>AP</i>	<i>Archiv für Papyrusforschung. Leipzig.</i>
<i>APa</i>	<i>Arkheologichni Pam'yatki URSS. K.</i>
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Philosophisch-Historische Klasse. Berlin.</i>
<i>APH</i>	<i>Acta Poloniae Historica. Warszawa.</i>
<i>APo</i>	<i>Archeologia Polski. Warszawa—Wrocław.</i>
<i>APS</i>	<i>Acta Philologica Scandinavica. Copenhagen.</i>
<i>Ar</i>	<i>Arkheologiya. K.</i>
<i>Arch</i>	<i>Archeologia. Warszawa—Wrocław.</i>
<i>ARg</i>	<i>Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte. Gütersloh/Westf.</i>
<i>AS</i>	<i>Antikvariska Studier. Stockholm.</i>
<i>ASEER</i>	<i>The American Slavic and East European Review. New York.</i>
<i>ASGW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Philologisch-Historischen Classe der Königlich Sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften. Leipzig.</i>
<i>ASP</i>	<i>Archiv für Slavische Philologie. Berlin.</i>
<i>ATNL</i>	<i>Archiwum Towarzystwa Naukowego we Lwowie. Lwów.</i>
<i>AU</i>	<i>Archiv für Urkundenforschung. Berlin.</i>

* K—Kiev; L—Leningrad; M—Moscow; P—Petersburg St or Petrograd

- AUA *The Annals of the Ukrainian Academy of Arts and Sciences in the U.S.A. New York.*
- AUS *Annuaire de l'Université de Sofia (Faculté de Théologie). Sofiya.*
- AW *Ateneum Wileńskie. Wilno.*
- B *Byzantion. Bruxelles.*
- BBA *Berliner Byzantinische Arbeiten. Berlin.*
- BGA *Bibliotheca Geographorum Arabicorum (M. de Goeje). Leiden.*
- BM *Byzantina-Metabyzantina. New York.*
- BN *Beiträge zur Namenforschung. Heidelberg.*
- BNJ *Byzantinisch-Neugriechische Jahrbücher. Berlin.*
- BR *Belorussian Review. München.*
- BRe *The Baltic Review. Stockholm. New York.*
- BS *Byzantinoslavica. Praha.*
- BSE *Bol'shaya Sovetskaya Entsiklopediya. M.*
- BSOAS *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies. London.*
- BSSUJ *Biblioteka Studium Słowiańskiego Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Kraków.*
- BTH *Biblioteka Tekstów Historycznych Instytutu Zachodniego. Poznań.*
- BV *Bogoslovskii Vestnik. M.*
- BZ *Byzantinische Zeitschrift. Leipzig.*
- BZIH *Biuletyn Żydowskiego Instytutu Historycznego. Warszawa.*
- CAH *The Cambridge Ancient History. Cambridge.*
- CBHB *Corpus Bruxellense Historiae Byzantinae. Bruxelles.*
- CCH *Československý Časopis Historický. Praha.*
- CE *Československá Etnografie. Praha.*
- CEHE *The Cambridge Economic History of Europe. Cambridge.*
- CHJ *The Cambridge Historical Journal. London.*
- CHM *Cahiers d'Histoire Mondiale. Neuchatel.*
- CHR *The Catholic Historical Review. Washington.*
- CM *Classica et Mediaevalia. Copenhagen.*
- CMH *The Cambridge Medieval History. Cambridge.*
- CMRS *Cahiers du Monde Russe et Soviétique. Paris.*
- COID *Chteniya v Imperatorskom Obshchestve Istorii i Drevnostei Rossiiskikh pri Moskovskom Universitete. M.*
- COLDP *Chteniya v Obshchestve Lyubitelei Dukhovnogo Prosveshcheniya. M.*
- COS *Cambridge Oriental Series. London.*
- CPH *Czasopismo Prawno-Historyczne. Poznań.*
- CR *Caucasian Review. München.*
- CRe *Contemporary Review. London.*
- CSP *Canadian Slavonic Papers. Toronto.*
- DAN *Doklady Akademii Nauk SSSR. L.*
- DD *Dela i Dni. P.*
- DOP *Dumbarton Oaks Papers. Cambridge, Mass.*
- DOS *Dumbarton Oaks Studies. Cambridge, Mass.*
- DSII *Doklady i Soobshcheniya Instituta Istorii. M.*
- DSIY *Doklady i Soobshcheniya Instituta Yazykoznaniya. M.*
- DSMGU *Doklady i Soobshcheniya Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. M.*
- DSU *Doklady Sovetskikh Uchenykh na IV Mezhdunarodnom Sezde Slavistov. M.*
- DWAW *Denkschriften der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien.*
- E *Etnografiya. M.—L.*
- EFE *Elementa ad Fontium Editiones. Roma.*

<i>EHR</i>	<i>The English Historical Review. London.</i>
<i>EHRe</i>	<i>The Economic History Review. London.</i>
<i>EI</i>	<i>The Encyclopaedia of Islam. Leiden—London.</i>
<i>EMIRA</i>	<i>Ezhegodnik Muzeya Istorii Religii i Ateizma, M.—L.</i>
<i>EO</i>	<i>Echos d'Orient. Paris.</i>
<i>EP</i>	<i>Etnografia Polska. Wrocław.</i>
<i>EPS</i>	<i>Etudes de Philologie Slave Publiées par l'Institut Russe de l'Université de Stockholm. Uppsala—Stockholm.</i>
<i>EpV</i>	<i>Epigrafika Vostoka. M.—L.</i>
<i>ESEE</i>	<i>Etudes Slaves et Est-Européennes. Montreal.</i>
<i>ESF</i>	<i>Entsiklopediya Slavyanskoi Filologii. P.</i>
<i>ESR</i>	<i>Etudes Slaves et Roumaines. Budapest.</i>
<i>EV</i>	<i>Euraziiskii Vremennik. Berlin.</i>
<i>Exp</i>	<i>The Expositor. London.</i>
<i>FA</i>	<i>Foreign Affairs. New York.</i>
<i>Fo</i>	<i>Fornvännen. Stockholm.</i>
<i>FO</i>	<i>Folia Orientalia. Kraków.</i>
<i>FOG</i>	<i>Forschungen zur Osteuropäischen Geschichte. Berlin.</i>
<i>FRB</i>	<i>Fontes Rerum Bohemicarum. Praha.</i>
<i>FUF</i>	<i>Finnisch-Ugrische Forschungen. Helsinki.</i>
<i>GH</i>	<i>Geographica Helvetica. Zürich.</i>
<i>GRS</i>	<i>Göttinger Rechtswissenschaftliche Studien. Göttingen.</i>
<i>GS</i>	<i>Geograficheskii Sbornik. M.—L.</i>
<i>H</i>	<i>History. London.</i>
<i>HB</i>	<i>The Historical Bulletin. St. Charles, Ark.</i>
<i>HG</i>	<i>Hansische Geschichtsquellen. Lübeck.</i>
<i>HGe</i>	<i>Hansische Geschichtsblätter. Köln—Graz.</i>
<i>Hi</i>	<i>The Historian. Allentown, Pa.—Albuquerque, N.M.</i>
<i>HM</i>	<i>Historia Mundi. Bern.</i>
<i>HS</i>	<i>Historische Studien (Ebering). Berlin.</i>
<i>HSS</i>	<i>Harvard Slavic Studies. The Hague.</i>
<i>HT</i>	<i>Historisk Tidskrift. Stockholm.</i>
<i>HZ</i>	<i>Historische Zeitschrift. München.</i>
<i>I</i>	<i>Der Islam. Berlin.</i>
<i>IA</i>	<i>Istoricheskii Arkhiv. M.—L. M.</i>
<i>IANOEP</i>	<i>Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie Ekonomiki i Prava. M.—L.</i>
<i>IANOLY</i>	<i>Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Otdelenie Literatury i Yazyka. M.</i>
<i>IANSG</i>	<i>Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Seriya Geograficheskaya. M.</i>
<i>IANSI</i>	<i>Izvestiya Akademii Nauk SSSR. Seriya Istorii i Filosofii. M.</i>
<i>IBAI</i>	<i>Izvestiya na Blgarski Arkheologicheski Institut. Sofiya.</i>
<i>IGAIMK</i>	<i>Izvestiya Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury. L.—M.</i>
<i>IIAK</i>	<i>Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Arkheograficheskoi Komissii. P.</i>
<i>IIAN</i>	<i>Izvestiya Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk. P.</i>
<i>IIBI</i>	<i>Izvestiya na Instituta za Blgarska Istorija. Sofiya.</i>
<i>IIIK</i>	<i>Institut po Izucheniyu Istorii i Kul'tury SSSR. München.</i>
<i>IJ</i>	<i>Internationales Jahrbuch. Braunschweig.</i>
<i>IM</i>	<i>Istorič Marksist. M.</i>
<i>IMO</i>	<i>Izvestiya Moskovskogo Obshchestva Lyubitelei Dukhovnogo Prosveshcheniya. M.</i>
<i>INVIK</i>	<i>Izvestiya Nizhne Volzhskogo Instituta Kraevedeniya. Saratov.</i>

- IORYS *Izvestiya Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk. P.*
 IP *Istoricheski Pregled. Sofiya.*
 IRAIMK *Izvestiya Rossiiskoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury. L.—M.*
 IRY *Issledovaniya po Russkomu Yazyku. P.*
 IRYs *Izvestiya po Russkomu Yazyku i Slovesnosti. L.*
 IS *Istoricheskii Sbornik. L.*
 ISS *Indiana Slavic Studies. Bloomington.*
 ISSSR *Istoriya SSSR. M.*
 IsZ *Istoricheskii Zhurnal. M.*
 IVGO *Izvestiya Vsesoyuznogo Geograficheskogo Obshchestva. M.—L.*
 IZ *Istoricheskie Zapiski. M.*
 J *Jantar. Toruń.*
 JAF *Journal of American Folklore. Boston.*
 JCEA *Journal of Central European Affairs. Boulder, Colo.*
 JEBH *Journal of Economic and Business History. Cambridge, Mass.*
 JEH *Journal of Ecclesiastical History. London.*
 JGO *Jahrbücher für Geschichte Osteuropas. München.*
 JIA *Journal of International Affairs. New York.*
 JMH *The Journal of Modern History. Chicago.*
 JOBG *Jahrbuch der Österreichischen Byzantinischen Gesellschaft. Graz—Köln.*
 JP *Język Polski. Kraków.*
 JS *Jazykovedný Sbornik. Bratislava.*
 K *Kyrios. Königsberg—Berlin.*
 KH *Kwartalnik Historyczny. Lwów. Warszawa.*
 KhC *Khristianskoe Chtenie. P.*
 KHKM *Kwartalnik Historii Kultury Materialnej. Warszawa.*
 KIPR *Kwartalnik Instytutu Polsko-Radzieckiego. Warszawa.*
 Kom *Kommunist. M.*
 KOPAN *Komitet Orientalistyczny Polskiej Akademii Nauk. Warszawa.*
 KS *Kirchengeschichtliche Studien. Münster i. W.*
 KSDPI *Kratkie Soobshcheniya o Dokladakh i Polevykh Issledovaniyakh Instituta Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury. M.—L.*
 KSIE *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Etnografii. M.—L.*
 KSIS *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Slavyanovedeniya. M.*
 KSIV *Kratkie Soobshcheniya Instituta Vostokovedeniya. M.*
 KV *Katolicheskii Vremennik. Paris.*
 LECU *Liv-Est- und Curländisches Urkundenbuch. Reval.*
 LeS *Letopis' Severa. M.*
 LF *Listy Filologické. Praha.*
 LS *Leksikograficheskii Sbornik. M.*
 LTN *Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe. Prace Wydziału II. Łódź.*
 LTNa *Łódzkie Towarzystwo Naukowe. Prace Wydziału I. Łódź.*
 LUA *Lunds Universitets Arsskrift. Lund.*
 LVS *Leipziger Vierteljahresschrift für Südosteuropa. Leipzig.*
 LZAK *Letopis' Zhanyatii Arkheograficheskoi Komissii. P. (L.).*
 M *Movoznavstvo. K.*
 MAA *The Mediaeval Academy of America. Cambridge, Mass.*
 MGH *Monumenta Germaniae Historica. Hannover.*

MGT	<i>Magyar—Görög Tanulmányok. Budapest.</i>
MIA	<i>Materialy i Issledovaniya po Arkheologii SSSR. M.—L.</i>
MIŻ	<i>Materialy po Istorii Żemledeliya SSSR. M.</i>
MN	<i>Magyar Nyelv. Budapest.</i>
MOIG	<i>Mitteilungen des Österreichischen Instituts für Geschichtsforschung. Wien.</i>
MP	<i>Moskovskii Propagandist. M.</i>
MPH	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica. Lwów—Kraków.</i>
MPHNS	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Historica, Nova Series. Kraków.</i>
MPV	<i>Monumenta Poloniae Vaticana. Kraków.</i>
MS	<i>Monde Slave. Paris.</i>
MSH	<i>Małopolskie Studia Historyczne. Kraków.</i>
MTŻ	<i>Münchener Theologische Zeitschrift. München.</i>
MVE	<i>Mitteilungen des Vereins für Erdkunde. Leipzig.</i>
NB	<i>Namn och Bygd, Tidskrift för Nordisk Ortnamnsforskning. Uppsala.</i>
NDVS	<i>Nauchnye Doklady Vysshei Shkoly, Istoricheskie Nauki. M.</i>
NE	<i>Numizmatika i Epigrafika. M.</i>
NIŻ	<i>Nauchno-Istoricheskii Zhurnal. P.</i>
NM	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen. Helsinki.</i>
NP	<i>Nasza Przyszłość. Kraków.</i>
NPo	<i>Nauka Polska. Warszawa.</i>
NRT	<i>Nouvelle Revue Théologique. Louvain.</i>
NS	<i>Numizmaticheskii Sbornik. M.</i>
NTA	<i>Neue Theologische Abhandlungen.</i>
NV	<i>Novyi Vostok. M.</i>
NŻ	<i>Naukovii Zhbirnik. K.</i>
NŻa	<i>Naukovi Zapiski. K.</i>
NŻUAN	<i>Naukovii Zhbirnik Ukrain'skoi Akademii Nauk. K.</i>
NŻUVU	<i>Naukovii Zhbirnik Ukrain'skogo Vil'nogo Universitetu. München.</i>
O	<i>Onomastica. Winnipeg.</i>
OC	<i>Orientalia Christiana. Roma.</i>
OCA	<i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta. Roma.</i>
OCP	<i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica. Roma.</i>
ODO	<i>Osteuropa und der Deutsche Osten. Köln—Braunsfeld.</i>
OE	<i>Oriente Europeo. Madrid.</i>
OF	<i>Osteuropäische Forschungen. Berlin.</i>
ON	<i>Die Österreichische Nationalbibliothek. Wien.</i>
On	<i>Onomastica. Wrocław—Kraków.</i>
OsC	<i>Das Östliche Christentum. Würzburg.</i>
OSP	<i>Oxford Slavonic Papers. Oxford.</i>
Ost	<i>Ostkirchliche Studien. Würzburg.</i>
OW	<i>Ostdeutsche Wissenschaft. München.</i>
P	<i>Palaeologia. Osaka.</i>
PA	<i>Przegląd Archeologiczny. Poznań.</i>
PaP	<i>Past and Present. London.</i>
PaS	<i>Palestinskii Sbornik. M.—L.</i>
PBDU	<i>Pratsy Belaruskaga Dzyarzhavnaga Universytetu. Minsk.</i>
PDP	<i>Pamyatniki Drevnei Pis'mennosti. P.</i>
PDRL	<i>Pamyatniki Drevnerusskoi Literatury. P.</i>
PG	<i>Patrologia Graeca (Migne). Paris.</i>

- PH *Przegląd Historyczny. Warszawa.*
- PHLP *Prace z Historii Literatury Polskiej. Kraków.*
- PI *Problemy Istochnikovedeniya. M.*
- PIDO *Problemy Istorii Dokaipitalisticheskikh Obshchestv. M.—L.*
- PIHUW *Prace Instytutu Historycznego Uniwersytetu Warszawskiego. Warszawa.*
- PIMK *Problemy Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury. L.*
- PJ *Prace Językoznawcze PAN. Wrocław.*
- PKH *Prace Komisji Historycznej Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Poznań.*
- PKJ *Prace Komisji Językowej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Kraków.*
- PKJIF *Prilozi za Kn'izhevnost, Jezik, Istoriyu i Folklor. Beograd.*
- PKO *Prace Komisji Orientalistycznej Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Kraków*
- PKu *Pamyatniki Kul'tury—Issledovanie i Restavratsiya. M.*
- PL *Pamiętnik Literacki. Warszawa—Wrocław.*
- PM *Pravoslavnaia Mysl'. Paris.*
- PMPDU *Pam'yatki Movi ta Pis'menstva Davnoi Ukraini. K.*
- PNHS *Przegląd Nauk Historycznych i Społecznych. Łódź.*
- PO *Pravoslavnoe Obozrenie. M.*
- PoJ *Poradnik Językowy. Warszawa.*
- POr *Przegląd Orientalistyczny. Wrocław—Warszawa.*
- POS *Princeton Oriental Studies. New Jersey.*
- PP *Prace Polonistyczne. Wrocław.*
- PPS *Pravoslavnyi Palestinskii Sbornik. P.*
- PR *The Polish Review. New York.*
- PRI *Pamyatniki Russkoi Istorii. M.*
- Pri *Priroda. M.—L.*
- PRP *Pamyatniki Russkogo Prava. M.*
- PS *Pamiętnik Słowiański. Kraków. Wrocław. Warszawa.*
- PSQ *Political Science Quarterly. New York.*
- PSRL *Polnoe Sobranie Russkikh Letopisei. P. M.—L.*
- PSSS *Proceedings, Shevchenko Scientific Society. New York.*
- PST *Pamyatniki Staroslavianskogo Yazyka. P.*
- Pu *Put'. Paris.*
- PUNI *Pratsi Ukrain'skogo Naukovogo Institutu. Warszawa.*
- PV *Problemy Vostokovedeniya. M.*
- PW *Przegląd Wielkopolski. Poznań.*
- PZ *Przegląd Zachodni. Poznań.*
- R *Relazioni. X Congresso Internazionale di Scienze Storiche. Roma 4–11 Settembre 1955. Firenze.*
- Ra *Rapports. XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Göteborg—Stockholm—Uppsala.*
- RB *Rocznik Biblioteki PAN w Krakowie. Wrocław—Kraków.*
- RC *Russie et Chrétienté. Paris. Boulogne-sur-Seine.*
- RCAV *Rozprawy Československé Akademie Věd. Praha.*
- RdC *Résumés des Communications. XIe Congrès International des Sciences Historiques. Stockholm. Août 1960. Göteborg—Stockholm—Uppsala.*
- RDSG *Roczniki Dziejów Społecznych i Gospodarczych. Lwów. Poznań.*
- REB *Revue des Études Byzantines. Bucarest.*
- ReC *Records of Civilization. New York.*

RES	<i>Revue des Études Slaves. Paris.</i>
RFV	<i>Russkii Filologicheskii Vestnik. Warszawa.</i>
RG	<i>Rocznik Gdański. Gdańsk.</i>
RH	<i>Roczniki Historyczne. Poznań.</i>
RHC	<i>Revue d'Histoire Comparée. Budapest.</i>
RHE	<i>Revue d'Histoire Ecclésiastique. Louvain.</i>
RHKUL	<i>Roczniki Humanistyczne Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Lublin.</i>
RHR	<i>Revue de l'Histoire des Religions. Paris.</i>
RHSEE	<i>Revue Historique du Sud-Est Européen. Bucarest.</i>
RHWTN	<i>Rozprawy Historyczne Warszawskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego. Warszawa.</i>
RIB	<i>Russkaya Istoricheskaya Biblioteka. P.</i>
RIHP	<i>Relationes Instituti Historici Polonici. Roma.</i>
RIŻ	<i>Russkii Istoricheskii Zhurnal. P.</i>
RK	<i>Rocznik Krakowski. Kraków—Wrocław.</i>
RL	<i>Russkaya Literatura. L.</i>
RO	<i>Rocznik Orientalistyczny. Warszawa.</i>
Ro	<i>Romanoslavica. Bucarest.</i>
ROb	<i>Russkoe Obozrenie. M.</i>
RoB	<i>Rocznik Białostocki. Białystok.</i>
RoP	<i>Rocznik Przemyski. Przemyśl.</i>
RP	<i>The Review of Politics. Notre Dame.</i>
RPAU	<i>Rozprawy Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Kraków.</i>
RPh	<i>Romance Philology. Berkeley—Los Angeles.</i>
RPTNO	<i>Rocznik Polskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego na Obczyźnie. London.</i>
RR	<i>The Russian Review. Hanover, N. H.</i>
RS	<i>Rocznik Slawistyczny. Kraków. Wrocław—Kraków.</i>
RSI	<i>Ricerche Slavistiche. Roma.</i>
RW	<i>Rocznik Wołyński. Równe.</i>
RYs	<i>Russkii Yazyk v Shkole. M.</i>
S	<i>Slavia. Praha.</i>
SA	<i>Slavia Antiqua. Poznań.</i>
Saec	<i>Saeculum. Freiburg—München.</i>
SAn	<i>Sovetskaya Antropologiya. M.</i>
SAr	<i>Sovetskaya Arkheologiya. M.—L. M.</i>
SBN	<i>Studi Bizantini e Neellenici. Roma.</i>
SDAWB	<i>Sitzungsberichte der Deutschen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin. Klasse für Philosophie, Geschichte, Staats-Rechts-und Wirtschaftswissenschaften. Berlin.</i>
SDW	<i>Studia do Dziejów Wawelu. Kraków.</i>
SE	<i>Sovetskaya Etnografiya. M.—L.</i>
SEEJ	<i>The Slavic and East European Journal. Bloomington.</i>
SEER	<i>The Slavonic and East European Review. London.</i>
SEES	<i>Slavic and East European Studies. Montreal.</i>
SEHR	<i>The Scandinavian Economic History Review. Copenhagen.</i>
SES	<i>Saratovskii Etnograficheskii Sbornik. Saratov.</i>
SF	<i>Südost-Forschungen. München.</i>
SFo	<i>Särtryck ur Fornvännern. Stockholm.</i>
SFPS	<i>Studia z Filologii Polskiej i Słowiańskiej. Warszawa.</i>
SFu	<i>Sovetskoe Finnougrovedenie. Saransk.</i>

- SG *Slavische Geschichtsschreiber. Graz—Wien—Köln.*
 SGO *Studien zur Geschichte Osteuropas. Leiden.*
 SGP *Sovetskoe Gosudarstvo i Pravo. M.*
 SGr *Studii Gregoriani. Roma.*
 SHASH *Studia Historica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.*
 SK *Seminarium Kondakovianum. Praha.*
 SKUL *Sprawozdania Katolickiego Uniwersytetu Lubelskiego. Lublin.*
 Sl *Slavistica. Winnipeg.*
 SLA *Slavyanskii Arkhiv. M.*
 Slav *Slavyane. M.*
 Slo *Slovo. Zagreb.*
 SLTN *Sprawozdania Łódzkiego Towarzystwa Naukowego. Łódź.*
 SM *The Scientific Monthly. New York.*
 SMAE *Sbornik Muzeya Antropologii i Etnografii. M.—L.*
 SN *Sprawy Narodowościowe. Warszawa.*
 SO *Slavia Orientalis. Warszawa.*
 SOc *Slavia Occidentalis. Poznań.*
 SORTS *Sbornik Otdeleniya Russkogo Yazyka i Slovesnosti Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk. P.*
 SP *Studia Patristica. Berlin.*
 Sp *Speculum. Cambridge, Mass.*
 SpA *Sprawozdania Archeologiczne. Wrocław.*
 SPANK *Sprawozdania z Posiedzeń Komisji PAN, Oddział w Krakowie. Kraków.*
 SPAU *Sprawozdania Polskiej Akademii Umiejętności. Kraków.*
 SPB *Studia Patristica et Byzantina. Ettal.*
 SPBU *Sbornik Praci Filosofické Fakulty Brněnské University. Brno.*
 SPHC *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-Historischen Classe der Kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien.*
 SPM *Sacrum Poloniae Millennium. Roma.*
 SPMA *Sprawozdania Państwowego Muzeum Archeologicznego. Warszawa.*
 SPN *Sprawozdania z Prac Naukowych Wydziału Nauk Społecznych PAN. Warszawa.*
 SPTPN *Sprawozdania Poznańskiego Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk. Poznań.*
 SR *Slavistična Revija. Ljubljana.*
 SRAO *Sbornik Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obshchestva v Belgrade. Beograd.*
 SRP *Scriptores Rerum Prussicarum. Leipzig.*
 SrV *Srednie Veka. M.*
 SRYS *Sbornik po Russkomu Yazyku i Slovesnosti. P.*
 SS *Science and Society. New York.*
 SSASH *Studia Slavica Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae. Budapest.*
 SSb *Slawistische Studienbücherei. Leipzig.*
 SSL *Scando-Slavica. Copenhagen.*
 SSt *Soviet Studies. Oxford.*
 ST *Svensk Tidskrift. Stockholm.*
 StN *Studia Neophilologica. Uppsala.*
 StS *Stat'i po Slavyanovedeniyu. P.*
 SV *Slavistische Veröffentlichungen, Osteuropa-Institut an der Freien Universität Berlin. Berlin.*
 SVo *Sovetskoe Vostokovedenie. M.—L. M.*
 SW *Studia Wczesnośredniowieczne. Warszawa—Wrocław.*

- SWAW *Sitzungsbericht der Wiener Akademie der Wissenschaften. Wien.*
Swi *Światowit. Warszawa.*
 SWTN *Sprawozdania Wrocławskiego Towarzystwa Naukowego. Wrocław.*
 SZ *Studia Źródłoznawcze. Warszawa—Poznań.*
 T *Thought. New York.*
 TGAIMK *Trudy Gosudarstvennoi Akademii Istorii Material'noi Kul'tury. L. M.*
 TGIM *Trudy Gosudarstvennogo Istoricheskogo Muzeia. M.*
 TH *Teki Historyczne. London.*
 TIAI *Trudy Istoriko-Arkhiwnogo Instituta. M.*
 TIE *Trudy Instituta Etnografii. M.*
 TIG *Trudy Instituta Geografii. M.*
 TIRY *Trudy Instituta Russkogo Yazyka. M.—L.*
 TIY *Trudy Instituta Yazykoznaniya. M.*
 TKDA *Trudy Kievskoi Dukhovnoi Akademii. K.*
 TMIAI *Trudy Moskovskogo Istoriko-Arkhiwnogo Instituta. M.*
 TMIRM *Trudy Muzeia Istorii i Rekonstruktsii Moskvy. M.*
 TMP *Trudy Muzeia Paleografii. L.*
 TMU *Trudy Moskovskogo Universiteta Istorii, Filosofii i Literatury. M.*
 TODRL *Trudy Otdela Drevnerusskoi Literatury. M.—L.*
 TPAPA *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association. Boston, Mass.*
 TR *Theologische Rundschau. Tübingen.*
 Tr *Traditio. New York.*
 TRHS *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society. London.*
 TSK *Trudy Slavyanskoi Komissii. L.*
 TSRAO *Trudy Sezda Russkikh Akademicheskikh Organizatsii za Granitsei. Beograd.*
 TsV *Tserkovnye Vedomosti. P.*
 TVGOM *Trudy Vladimirskego Gosudarstvennogo Oblastnogo Muzeia. Vladimir.*
 UCPL *University of California Publications in Linguistics. Berkeley—Los Angeles.*
 UIK *Universitetskie Izvestiya. K.*
 UIZ *Ukrains'kii Istorichnii Zhurnal. K.*
 UJ *Ungarische Jahrbücher. Berlin—Leipzig.*
 UMS *Ukrains'ka Mova v Shkoli. K.*
 UQ *The Ukrainian Quarterly. New York.*
 US *Ukrainian Studies. New York.*
 UUA *Uppsala Universitets Aarsskrift. Uppsala—Wiesbaden.*
 UZa *Uchenye Zapiski. Nauchno-Issledovatel'skii Institut Yazyka, Literatury i Istorii pri Sovete Ministrov Chuvasckoi ASSR. Cheboksary.*
 UZGPI *Uchenye Zapiski Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta, Filologicheskaya Seriya. Stalinabad.*
 UZIS *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Slavyanovedeniya. M.*
 UZIV *Uchenye Zapiski Instituta Vostokovedeniya. M.—L.*
 UZIYU *Uchenye Zapiski Imperatorskogo Yur'evskogo Universiteta. Yur'ev.*
 UZKGU *Uchenye Zapiski Kazanskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. Kazan'.*
 UZLGPI *Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta im. A.I. Gertsena. L.*
 UZLGU *Uchenye Zapiski Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. L.*
 UZMGU *Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta. M.*
 UZMI *Uchenye Zapiski Mariiskogo Instituta Yazyka, Literatury i Istorii. Ioshkar-Ola.*

- UZMOPI *Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Oblastnogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta, Trudy Kafedry Russkogo Yazyka. M.*
 UZMYI *Uchenye Zapiski Moskovskogo Yuridicheskogo Instituta. M.*
 UZVSO *Uchenye Zapiski Vysshei Shkoly G. Odessy. Otdelenie Gumanitarno-Obshchestvennykh Nauk. Odessa.*
 UZYGPI *Uchenye Zapiski Yaroslavskogo Gosudarstvennogo Pedagogicheskogo Instituta. Yaroslavl.*
 V *Veda. Brooklyn.*
 VA *Voprosy Antropologii. M.*
 VAN *Vestnik Akademii Nauk SSSR. M.*
 VANB *Vestsi Akademii Navuk BSSR. Minsk.*
 VAr *Voprosy Arkhivovedeniya. M.*
 VBSI *Veröffentlichungen des Baltischen und Slavischen Instituts an der Universität Leipzig. Leipzig.*
 VCAV *Věstník Československé Akademie Věd. Praha.*
 VDI *Vestnik Drevnei Istorii. M.*
 VG *Voprosy Geografii. M.*
 VIMK *Vestnik Istorii Mirovoi Kul'tury. M.*
 VIRA *Voprosy Istorii Religii i Ateizma. M.*
 VKP *Vestnik Kul'tury i Politiki. P.*
 VLU *Vestnik Leningradskogo Universiteta. L.*
 VMU *Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta. M.*
 VoI *Voprosy Istorii. M.*
 VOIM *Veröffentlichungen des Osteuropa-Instituts München. München.*
 VSI *Veröffentlichungen des Slavischen Instituts an der Friedrich-Wilhelms-Universität Berlin. Leipzig.*
 VSY *Voprosy Slavyanskogo Yazykoznaniiya. M.*
 VUAN *Visnik Ukrains'koi Akademii Nauk. K.*
 VV *Vizantiiskii Vremennik. M.*
 VY *Voprosy Yazykoznaniiya. M.*
 W *Word (Slavic Word). New York.*
 WA *Wiadomości Archeologiczne. Warszawa.*
 WAGSO *Wiener Archiv für Geschichte des Slawentums und Osteuropas. Graz—Köln.*
 WAI *World Affairs Interpreter. (U.S.A.).*
 Wfb *Wissenschaftliche Forschungsberichte. Geisteswissenschaftliche Reihe. Bern.*
 WG *Die Welt als Geschichte. Stuttgart.*
 WS *Die Welt der Slaven. Wiesbaden.*
 WSJ *Wiener Slavistisches Jahrbuch. Graz—Köln.*
 WZ *Wissenschaftliche Zeitschrift der Martin-Luther-Universität Halle—Wittenberg. Halle/Saale.*
 WZKM *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes. Wien.*
 YM *Yazyk i Myshlenie. M.—L.*
 Z *Zion.*
 ZDMG *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft. Leipzig.*
 ZG *Zeitschrift für Geschichtswissenschaft. Berlin.*
 ZGE *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde. Berlin.*
 ZIAN *Zapiski Imperatorskoi Akademii Nauk. P.*
 ZIF *Zapiski Istorichno-Filologichnogo Viddilu, Ukrains'ka Akademiya Nauk. K.*
 ZIFV *Zbirnik Istorichno-Filologichnogo Viddilu, Ukrains'ka Akademiya Nauk. K.*
 ZIOO *Zapiski Imperatorskogo Odesskogo Obshchestva Istorii i Drevnostei. Odessa.*

ŽK	<i>Zeitschrift für Kirchengeschichte. Gotha.</i>
ŽKV	<i>Žapiski Kollegii Vostokovedov pri Aziatskom Muzei Akademii Nauk SSSR. L.</i>
ŽM	<i>Życie i Myśl. Poznań.</i>
ŽMNII	<i>Žapiski Mordovskogo Nauchno-Issledovatel'skogo Instituta. Saransk.</i>
ŽMNP	<i>Žhurnal Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosveshcheniya. P.</i>
ŽNTIS	<i>Žapiski Naukovogo Tovarstva Im. Shevchenka. Lwów.</i>
ŽNUJ	<i>Żeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Jagiellońskiego. Kraków.</i>
ŽNUL	<i>Żeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu Łódzkiego. Łódź.</i>
ŽNUM	<i>Żeszyty Naukowe Uniwersytetu im. A. Mickiewicza. Poznań.</i>
ŽO	<i>Zeitschrift für Ostforschung. Marburg/Lahn.</i>
ŽOG	<i>Zeitschrift für Osteuropäische Geschichte. Berlin.</i>
ŽORSA	<i>Žapiski Otdeleniya Russkoi i Slavyanskoi Arkheologii Imperatorskogo Russkogo Arkheologicheskogo Obschestva. P.</i>
ŽOW	<i>Ż Otcłani Wieków. Wrocław—Poznań.</i>
ŽP	<i>Żeszyty Prehistoryczne. Poznań.</i>
ŽR	<i>Zeitschrift für Rassenkunde. Wrocław.</i>
ŽRG	<i>Zeitschrift für Religions- und Geistesgeschichte. Marburg.</i>
ŽS	<i>Zeitschrift für Slawistik. Berlin.</i>
ŽSP	<i>Zeitschrift für Slavische Philologie. Heidelberg.</i>
ŽSSR	<i>Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte. Weimar.</i>
ŽTNT	<i>Žapiski Towarzystwa Naukowego w Toruniu. Toruń.</i>

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* The texts of the sources and the historical publications are placed together in the present list to avoid repetition. Historians often reprint these texts and translate them in their works. Sometimes editors of sources append such vast commentaries that their editions must be considered as part of the literature. The list of literary sources on which the present book is based is given in a special index ('Sources').

'The Making of the Russian Nation' was finished at the end of 1961 and appears at the beginning of 1963. The present bibliography does not embrace the whole material belonging to the period, but only those works which are connected with the problems examined by me. I do not pretend to have exhausted the abundant literature on the subject. So far nobody has done this.

The publications which were already listed in my previous book (*OR*, pp. 470–519) are not quoted here, though they are mentioned in the text. Only the editions of the sources are repeated. The present bibliography contains over 2500 items and the previous one—almost 2000. This is the minimum which any scholar has to take under consideration when discussing the Rus'ian problems in the early times.

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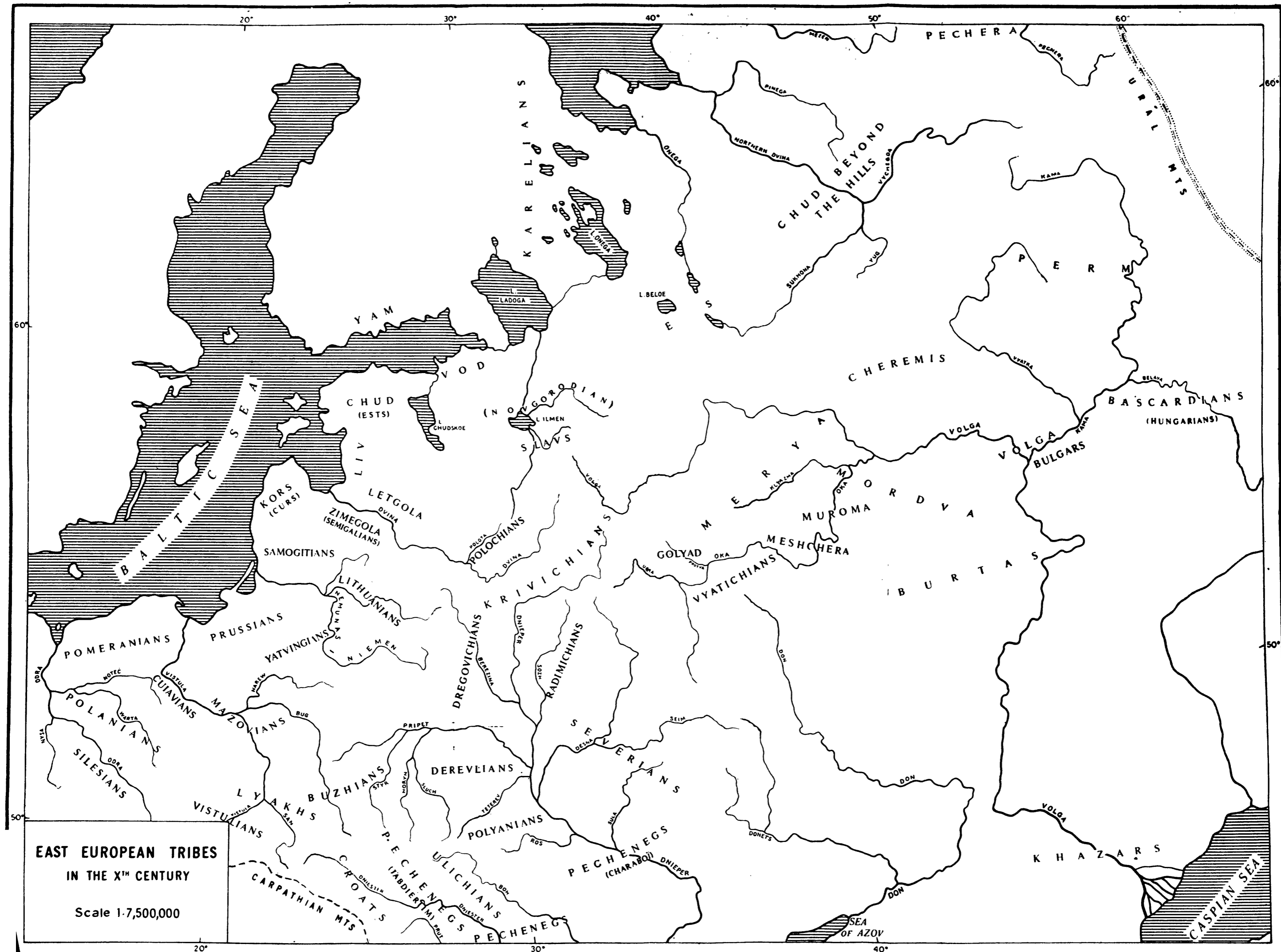
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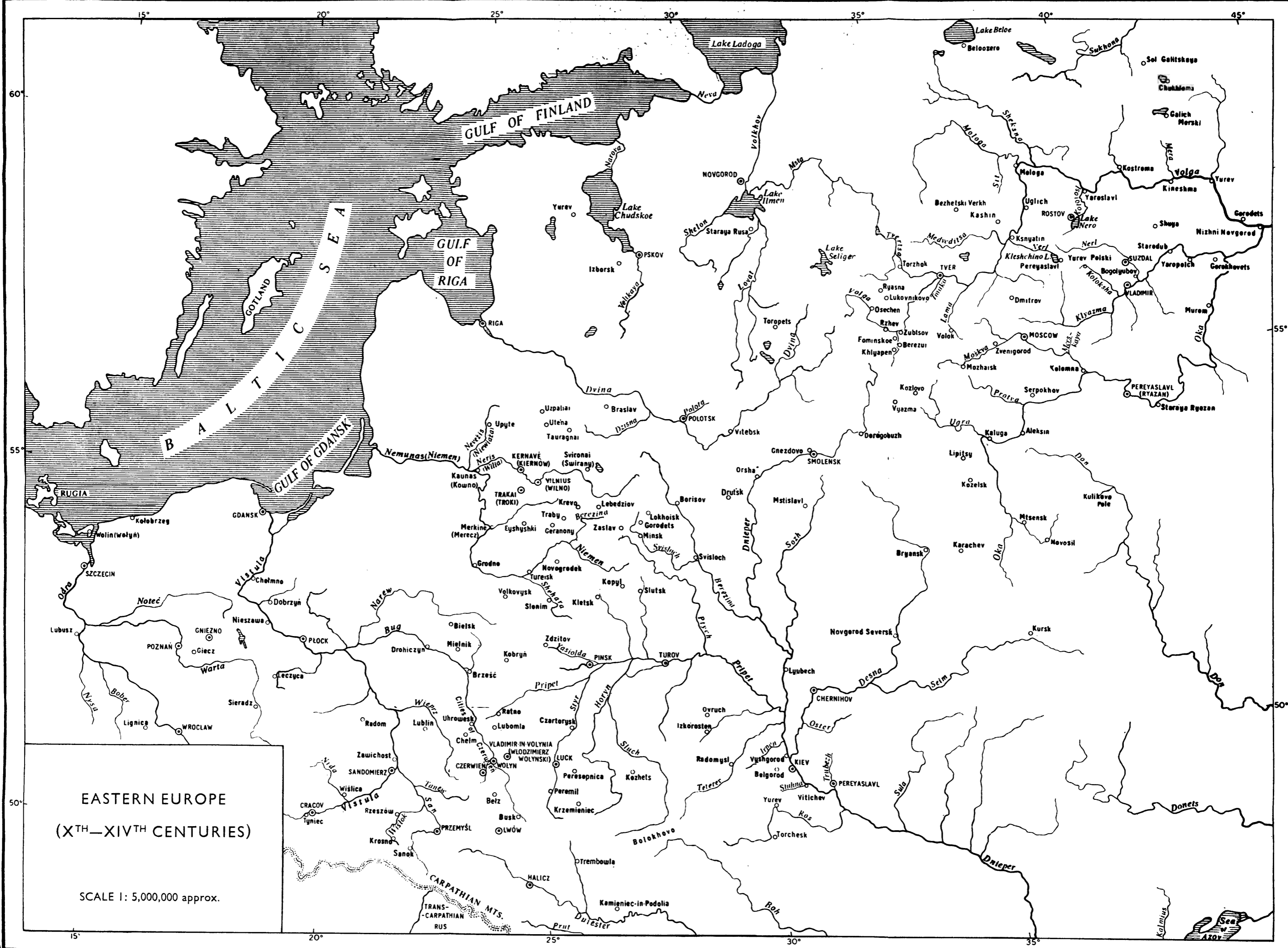
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